UMESHA MISHRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume



Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Motilal Nehru Park, Allahabad-2
1970

Price
Rs. 115.00 (Inside India)
Rs. 175.00 (Outside India)

First Edition **1970**

Published by
The Honorary Secretary
Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Motilal Nehru Park, Allahabad-2.
Printed by **P. L. Yadava**
at The Indian Press (P) Ltd.,
Allahabad.

PREFACE

Pandit Umesha Mishra joined the University of Allahabad as Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit in 1923 and served the Department till his retirement in 1959 with considerable devotion. He was educated at Darbhanga and Varanasi and he studied Sanskrit under his own father Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Jayadeva Mishra. Pandit Mishra obtained the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Allahabad in 1933 on a thesis dealing with Indian Philosophy. His researches continued up to the moment of his death and obtained universal appreciation and recognition. The Government awarded the title of 'Mahamahopadhyaya' in 1943 to him in recognition of his work.

Dr. Mishra was the Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute from its foundation and continued to be in that office upto his death. In the work of the Institute, he was mainly guided by Pandit Amaranatha Jha and in later days by Pandit Adityanatha Jha —two distinguished sons of the great Scholar, whose name is commemorated in this Institute. Dr. Mishra's devotion to this Institute was great and the progress that the Institute made, was mostly due to his efforts. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Institute is honouring the memory of Dr. Mishra by bringing out the Commemoration Volume.

My personal association with Dr. Mishra was since his arrival in Allahabad in 1923 and continued up to the last. As a colleague in the University of Allahabad and as a neighbour in the city, I found Dr. Mishra a great friend and a loyal co-worker.

I hereby express my gratitude to the contributors to this Volume and to the members of the Editorial Board.

B. R. SAKSENA
Chief Editor
Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume

23—8—1969

PREFACE

[illegible] Mishra joined the University of Allahabad as Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit in 1923 and served the Department till his retirement in 1950 with considerable devotion. He was educated at Darbhanga and Varanasi and he studied Sanskrit under his own father, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Jayadeva Mishra. Pandit Mishra obtained the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Allahabad in 1935 on a thesis dealing with Indian Philosophy. His studies continued up to the moment of his death [illegible] and recognition. The Government [illegible] of Mahamahopadhyaya in 1948 to him in recognition of his work.

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I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the contributors to this Volume and to the members of the Editorial Board.

B. R. Saksena
Chairman
Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume

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A LIST OF THE WORKS OF MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. UMESHA MISHRA

I. ORIGINAL BOOKS:

In English

1. History of Indian Philosophy Vol. I (1957) (out of print); Vol. II (1966); Vol. III (in Manuscript). (Published by Tirabhukti Publications, Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad).
2. Conception of Matter according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika (1936) (Published by ibid).
3. Mīmāṁsākusumāñjalī or Critical Bibliography of Mīmāṁsā (Joint author with Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganatha Jha) (Published by Banaras Hindu University).
5. A Critical Study of the Bhagavat-Gītā, 2nd Edn. (1966) (Published by Tirabhukti Publications, 1 Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad 2).
6. Index to the English Translation of Śabara Bhāṣya by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, No. CIII.

In Hindi

7. Sāṅkhya-Yoga Darśana, 1958. (Published by Tirabhukti Publications, 1 Sir P. C. Banerji Road, Allahabad 2).
8. Bhāratīya Tarkaśāstra Kī Rūparekhā, 1950. (Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad).
9. Bhāratīya Darśana, 1960. (Published by Hindi Samiti, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow).
10. Vidyāpati Ṭhākura, 4th Edn. (Published by Hindustani Academy, Motilal Nehru Park, Allahabad 2).

In Maithili

11. Maithila Saṁskṛti O Sabhyatā (2 parts), 1961. (Published by Vaidehi Samiti, Lalbag, Darbhanga).
12. Kamalā (novellette). Published in Mihira.
13. Nalopākhyāna and five other Ākhyānas from the Mahābhārata
14. Commentary on Sāṅkhyakārikā (in Manuscript). (Published in Mithilamoda, and Batuka 1965).

II. COMPILED BOOKS

In English

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad. Vol. I Parts 1 and 2. (Published by the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Allahabad).

In Sanskrit

2. Vedānta-kośa. (For the Post-graduate Research Institute, Deccan College, Poona). (In Manuscript).

III. EDITED BOOKS :

In English

1. Nyāyakaustubha by Mahādeva. (Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Text Series, Benares, 1930).
2. Mīmāṁsāśāstrasarvasva by Halāyudha (Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna 1934).
3. Ekādaśādyādhikaraṇa by Murāri Miśra. (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).
4. Medhātithi-Bhāṣya on Manusaṁhitā Vol. II (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1939).
5. Vijñānadīpikā along with its Vivṛtti by Padmapādācārya. (Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, Vol. I, 1940).
6. Vidyākara-Sāhasrakaṁ, (An Anthology of Sanskrit Verses) by Vidyākara Miśra. (Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, Vol. II, 1942).
7. Paribhāṣenduśekhara with Vijayā of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, 1941. Three editions.
8. Vyutpattivāda with Jayā by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya, 1940. Two Editions.
9. Śāstrārtharatnāvalī by Mahāmahopādhyāya Jayadeva Miśra, 1940. Three editions.
10. Tantra-ratna, Part I, by Pārthasārathinātha Miśra, (Sarasvatibhavana Text Series, Benares, 1930). Edited jointly with Mahāmahopādhyāyaya Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā.
11. Bhedaratna by Śankara (Ibid).
12. Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama with Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya (Poona Oriental Series 58, 1939). Edited jointly with Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā.
13. Nibandhasārasaṅgraha (XIV Oriental Conference, Darbhanga Session, Poona).

14. Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gangeśa Upādhyāya with Āloka and Darpaṇa (Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga), 1957.
15. Sanskrit Documents in the National Archives of India. (Jointly edited with Dr. S. N. Sen). (Published by the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad 2).
16. Chāndogya Upaniṣad : Translation of Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā. (Poona Oriental Series No. 78, 1942).
17. Vācaspati Miśra's Vivādacintāmaṇi. Translated by Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā. (Gaekward Oriental Sanskrit Series, Baroda, No. 99, 1942).
18. Smṛtisārasaṅgraha by Harināthopādhyāya. A Dharamaśāstra work (For the Gaekwad Sanskrit Series). (In Manuscript)
19. Ātmabodha of Govindabhagavatpādācārya. (In manuscript)
20. Nyāya-Ratnākara by Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra. (Published ?)
21. Proceedings of the XIV Oriental Conference, Vol. I, 1948.
21—44. Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute. (Vols. I to Vol. 23).

In Maithili

45. Manabodha's *Kṛṣṇajanma*, (18th century classic). 2nd Edn. (Published first by Pustakabhandar, Laheriaserai; then by Tirabhukti Publications, 1 Sir P.C. Banerji Road, Allahabad 2).
46. Maithili Gadyakusumāñjalī. Prose Selection. (Published by All India Maithil Sahitya Parishad, Darbhanga).
47. Maithili Kusumamālā. (Ibid).
48. Vidyāpati's Kīrttilatā. (Along with translation into Modern Maithili). Published by All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.
49. Vidyāpati's Kīrttipatākā, (Jointly with Dr. Jayakanta Mishra). (Published by Ibid.).
50. Sahityadarpaṇa (translation into Maithili). (In Manuscript).

IV. RESEARCH PAPERS

In English

1. Dream Theory in Indian Thought. (Allahabad University Studies).
2. Physical Theory of Sound in Indian Thought, (Allahabad University Studies).

3. Bhāskara School of Vedānta, (Allahabad University Magazine).
4. Synthetic Gradation in Indian Thought. (Allahabad University Studies Vol. I).
5. Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura and Maithili. (Allahabad Universities Studies, Vol. VII).
6. Gauḍapāda and Māṭharavṛtti. (Allahabad University Studies Vol. VIII).
7. Meaning of the term Parārddha—an Indian Numerical Notation (Princes of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Studies) Government Sanskrit College, Benaras 1929).
8. Maithili and Rucipati. Upādhyāya (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 1928).
9. Maithili and Jogaddhara. (Ibid).
10. Murārestṛtīyaḥ Panthāḥ. (Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, 1928).
11. Annihilation of Karaman as the cause of Mokṣa according to Padmapādācārya. (Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference 1933).
12. Smṛti Theory according to Nyāya Vaiśeṣika. (K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, Poona 1930).
13. Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra and his views. Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume, 1932).
14. Background of the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras. (Vedanta Number of the Kalyana-Kalpataru, Gorakhpur).
15. Introduction to Indian Philosophy. (Twentieth Century, Allahabad, August 1936).
16. A Brief Note on the Kandahā Inscription of King Narasiṁhadeva 1435 A.D. (Allahabad University Studies, Vol. XII.
17. Stray Thoughts on the Great Vācaspati Miśra and his Tattvakaumudī. (Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Mysore 1935).
18. A Critical Study of Bhavabhūti. (Mihira, 1922).
19. Takṣa-Sūtra. (B.C. Law Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1946).
20. The Law of Karman in the Vedic Saṁhitā. (Allahabad University Magazine).
21. Kālidāsa's Supremacy. (Ayodhyāsiṁha Commemoration Volume, Arrah, 1936).
22. Maithili 1900—1945 (The Indian Literatures of To-day) (Published by the All India P.E.N. Centre, Bombay).
23. Indian Materialism. (Twentieth Century, Allahabad, 1937)

24. Presidential Address—A Review of Philosophy and Religion 1940—1943 (Modern Review, 1944).
25. Review of Professor Radhakrishnan's second volume of Indian Philosophy. (Published in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928).
26. The Missing Kārikā of Sāṅkhyasaptati. (Vidyabhavana Patrika, Bombay).
27. Jīva-its movement and uplift. (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda).
28. The Nature of Physical World according to Nyāya Vaiśeṣika (Ram Krishna Mission Cultural Heritage of India. Vol. IV).
29. Downfall of Buddhism in India. (Published in Gode Commemoration Volume and Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institude).
30. Law of Karma. (Hiralal Khanna Commemoration Volume, Kanpur).

In Hindi

31. Prācīna Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya. (Published serially in Hindustani, Allahabad.)
32. Bhāratīya Darśana kī Rūparekhā. (Presidental Address, Philosophy Section, All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Meerut session).
33. Maithili Sāhitya. (Published Serially in Hindustani, Allahabad).
34. Ṛgveda mẽ karmavicāra. (Śrīkṛṣṇasingha Abhinandana-grantha, Monghyr.)
35. Bhāratīya Darśanõ kā Svarūpa Nirūpaṇa. (Vikrama Smṛti Grantha, Gwalior, 2001 V.S.).
36. Prācīna Bhārata-mẽ Śalyavidyā. (Vikrama Smṛti Grantha —Nibandha Sangraha, Hindu Sangh, Kanpur).
37. Kāvya aura kavi (Hindustani, Allahabad 1944).
38. Tyāga (Sri Rajendra Abhinandana Grantha, Arrat, 1950).
39. Pramāṇa in Sānkhya. (Sampūrṇānanda Abhinandana Grantha 1950).
40. Duṣyanta kā eka āṁśika caritra. (Kishora, Kalidasa Number, Patna, 1944).
41. Govardhanācārya aura unakī Saptaśatī (Vaiśāli Muzaffarpur, Vol. I and Manorama, Allahabad).

In Maithili

42. Cori Vidyā (Mithilānmoda 1922, Varanasi).
43. Tirhutā Lipi (Ibid. 1923).

44. Śaṅkara Miśra and His Works (Ibid).
45. Mithilā, Maithila, Maithili (Patna Maithili Sahitya Parishad, Patna College, Patna, published in Mithilanka of Mihira, 1935).
46. Presidental Address to Patna Maithili Sahitya Parishad (Mihira 1938).
47. Presidential Address (III All India Maithili. Sahitya Parishad, Ghongharadīhā 1933.)
48. Maithili Lekhaśailī (VI All India Mathili Sahitya Parishad, Muzaffarpur 1936).
49. Maithili Lekhaka-Sammelana Address (Darbhanga, 1944).
50. Śāstrārtha Paripāṭī. (Mithilāmoda 1923).
51. Ānanda Kī Thika ? (In Manuscript).
52. Deśa-daśā (Published in Mithilāmihira).
53. Ṛtuvarṇana. (Published in Svadesha etc.).



महामहोपाध्याय-डाक्टर-उमेशमिश्रः
(१८९५-१९६७)

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE LIFE OF MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA Dr. UMESHA MISHRA

(1895—1967)

November 18, 1895	..	Birth at Binhī in the kingdom of Nepal, near Janakapur Dhām.
1902	..	Death of mother Sūgā Devī.
1903	..	Arrival at Varanasi with father Mahāmahopādhyāya Jayadeva Mishra.
1914	..	Matriculation from Bengali Tola High School, Varanasi and won Shiromani Gold Medal for standing first in Sanskrit.
1916	..	Madhyamā from Banaras Sanskrit College.
1918	..	Intermediate from Central Hindu College, Varanasi. Married Shrimati Kumudinī.
1920	..	B.A. from Banaras Hindu University.
1922	..	M.A. in Sanskrit (Indian Philosophy group) from Banaras Hindu University.
1923	..	Title Examination (Kāvyatīrtha) from Sanskrit Association, Calcutta and appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit Department Allahabad University.
1926	..	Death of father.
1929	..	Presided over a historic session of the All India Maithilī Sāhitya Parishad at Ghongharaḍīhā.

	1932	..	Obtained the degree of Doctor of Letters from the Allahabad University. Examiners were Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. A. B. Keith, Dr. A. B. Dhruva, Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj and Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha.
	1934	..	Built a house in village home at Gajaharā.
September	1936	..	Publication of *Conception of Matter according to Nyāya Vaiśeṣika.*
	1938	..	Publication of critical edition of Manabodha's *Kṛṣṇajanma* and a critical study of *Vidyāpati Ṭhākura.*
March	1939	..	Built a house at Allahabad.
	1940	..	Publication of *Nimbārka School of Vedānta* by the University of Allahabad.
	1942	..	Publication of *Critical Bibliography of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā,* Banaras Hindu University.
January 1,	1943	..	Awarded the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya by the Government of India.
	1943	..	Elected on the Committee for Reorganization of Sanskrit Studies in Bihar; presided over the Philosophy and Religion section of the All India Oriental Conference held at Varanasi; elected Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute; presided over the Maithilī Shailī Nirdhāraṇa Samiti, Muzaffarpur.
	1946	..	Published *Bhāratīya Tarkaśāstra*; presided over the Philosophy and Religion Section of the All India Oriental Conference at Nagpur.

	1948	..	Organized the XIV All India Oriental Conference at Darbhanga as its Local Secretary.
	1949	..	Joined the Mithila Research Institute at Darbhanga as Registrar-cum-Professor and later as Director.
	1952	..	Left the Mithila Research Institute and rejoined the University of Allahabad.
	1957	..	Published *History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. I); *Maithila Saṁskṛti Sabhyatā* (2 parts), and *A Critical Study of Bhagawadgītā*.
	1958	..	Published *Bhāratīya Darśana* by the Uttar Pradesh Government Hindi Samiti.
June	1959	..	Retired from the University of Allahabad.
January 26,	1961	..	Appointed Vice-Chancellor of Sanskrit University, Darbhanga.
February	1964	..	Retired from Vice-Chancellorship of Sanskrit University, Darbhanga, and got dug a tank in his home village.
	1966	..	Published *History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. II) and got built a Śiva temple in memory of his parents in his village.
September	1966	..	Awarded the title of *Sāhitya Vāridhi* by U.P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.
May 16,	1967	..	Paralytic stroke while performing Aṣṭādaśa-Purāṇa-Pārāyaṇa Yajña in his home village Gajahara, District Darbhanga.
September 8,	1967	..	Finalised the press copy of *History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. III) and death after midnight in Allahabad.

SECTION I

MESSAGES AND TRIBUTES

MESSAGES AND TRIBUTES

2 A Sigra

Varanasi, 1—3—1969

I have been asked to write a few words, by way of reminiscense on the late Dr. Umesh Misra, who passed away on the 7th September 1967. When my mind goes back to the early days of our first acquaintance there shines before it the beaming face of a young man with a passionate desire for learning. He came to me first, in company with one or two fellow students, seeking as an enquiring student for a regular course of studies in the text of Jayanta's *Nyāya Mañjarī*. Though I did not know Umesh personally at that time I knew very well his illustrious father, the late lamented Mm. Pt. Jayadeva Misra, a distinguished grammarian of Varanasi school. Jayadeva Ji enjoyed reputation as a great Pandit and this reputation was based on his authorship of a commentary on the *Śekhara* as well as on his subtle dialectical intellect, one instance of which I had personally experienced in the controversy of a Paṇḍita Sabhā called by the late Mm. Dr. Ganga Nath Jha in his house at Varanasi.

Umesh in the beginning read with me Jayanta's classical work. But later on, he read many other works. When working at his Doctorate Thesis he regularly attended my class. My relation with Umesh Ji started as a teacher and a student. It developed later on into that of a fellow-worker when as the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Banaras, I was responsible for the chief editorial function of the *Saraswati Bhawan Texts*. In this field Umesh Ji was my fellow-worker. He was a versatile scholar interested in many subjects. He also worked on Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta. He was a voracious reader and was specially interested in my written papers (in Bengali and in English) each of which I had to present to him personally. He laboured very hard in his later days and did not and could not take as much rest as his body and mind demanded. He could not sustain the strain in his body and nerves. In the later days he began to take deeper interest in Āgamas, but before he could make much progress he was taken away. The most notable achievement of his life was the acquisition of the *Mahā Kāla Saṁhitā* from Nepal (photostat

copy). It is unfortunate that he did not survive to see its publication. His labours in connection with the Gangā Nātha Jhā Research Institute and with the editorial supervision of its Journal told upon his health. His history of Indian philosophy shows the range of his studies and the nature of his intellectual activities. He worked for some days in Darbhanga but his real field of work was Allahabad.

Umesh Ji very often came to see me at Varanasi. Even a few days before his end, Umesh Ji came to see me and asked me for the explanation of a certain dream which he had had some days before. My relation with him which began as a teacher and pupil grew into a friendship of mature life which he valued as much I did. May he rest in peace on the lap of the Divine Mother in Heaven and look down with approbation on the intellectual activities of the Institute with which he was so long associated.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

"GIRIJA"
30, Edward Elliot Road
Mylapore, Madras-4

May 19, 1968

Dear Sri Saxena,

Mahāmahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra has to his credit valuable work in Indian philosophy. I hope all those interested in the work will find a good example in his endeavours.

Yours sincerely

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
NEW DELHI—4

August 17, 1968

I commend the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute, Allahabad, on its decision to bring out a Commemoration Volume in honour of Dr. Umesh Mishra, through whose personal devotion, energy and scholarship the Institute has been built up. Dr. Mishra will be remembered for his distinguished contributions to Indian Philosophy and for its exposition through his eminent works which have received universal acclaim. I wish the volume all success.

ZAKIR HUSAIN

National Library Campus
Belvedere, Calcutta—27

July 26, 1968

I consider it to be a great honour and a privilege to associate myself with the Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume by testifying to my highest regard for the scholarship and personal qualities of Dr. Mishra whose untimely death we all mourn as the passing away of a great scholar of present-day in India and of a man of fine character who had dedicated himself to learning and to the service of his people.

I knew Dr. Mishra for a long number of years, and from the very beginning I was attracted by his quiet and unassuming manners which was quite in consonance with the profundity of his learning in Sanskrit and other Indian lore. *Vidyā dadāti Vinayam*—True Learning brings in its train a sense of Humility as we have in the old Sanskrit adage. Dr. Mishra was well known all over the country as a most erudite teacher who had inspired two generations of students. In this he followed his great master, another illustrious son of India, coming from the same sacred land of Mithilā as Dr. Mishra himself, namely, Mm. Ganganath Jha of illustrious memory. Like his master, Prof. Mishra has done some work of important character in Indian

Philosophy, but he was a versatile scholar for whom no branch of Indology as it expressed itself in Sanskrit literature was outside his ken . It very frequently happens that our scholars neglect their mother-tongue—they are so very much wrapped in admiration of a great classical language like Sanskrit that they have no time to do any service to their mother-tongue. There have been some conspicuous examples to the contrary, and in Mithilā itself we have a number of fine scholars from medieval times, with the origin and establishment of the Maithil language, who have rendered service to both Maithil and Sanskrit, beginning with Halāyudha and Jyotirīshvara. Mm. Umesha Mishra presided over Maithil literary conferences, and he also edited some Old Maithili texts. By his living example he put heart in our young scholars of Mithilā drawing their attention to the rich treasures and to the beauty of their mother-tongue. From this point of view also the late Pandit Umesha Mishra may be looked upon as one of those who wanted to build up the culture of modern India through the help of the Modern Indian Languages, which were to develop to their fullest without being suppressed by some other language, and at the same time through the glorious heritage of Sanskrit which still continues to have a supreme value on the Indian scene.

I trust the Commemoration volume will be, by virtue of the various learned papers contributed to it (I have to express my greatest regret that owing to a number of circumstances beyond my control I could not find time for a suitable scholarly paper in his honour), a volume of scholarly content which will be "a possession for ever" for all students of Indian lore. I can only wish that the memory of such a great scholar and such a good man will for ever remain green in the minds and hearts of his countrymen.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

"KAMALA SADAN"
Dharampeth, Nagpur—1

3rd August 1968

Dear Dr. Mishra,

Please refer to your letter dated the 26th July re contribution of a research article to Dr. Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume. I have just now no research article ready, but I remember to have sent an appreciation of the late Dr. U. Mishra's contribution to scholarship several years ago. It may be lying somewhere in your file. This Volume has been awaiting publication for several years. I am glad to know that you intend to bring it out early. I send you again my message of appreciation for the Volume.

"The late Dr. Umesh Mishra rose to the highest academic post during his life time. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Darbhanga University for some years. But he will be remembered by future generations more for his valued contributions to our knowledge of Indian philosophy in general and to the Nyāya system of philosophy in particular. He gloriously maintained the high tradition of the Allahabad University."

Yours sincerely

V. V. Mirashi

HINDSKA
38, Major Banks Road

Lucknow

5—8—68

I am very happy to learn that the 1968 volume of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal will be the Dr. Umesh Misra Commemoration Volume. Dr. Misra, was a keen student of the Darśanas and made several valuable contributions to the study of Indian Philosophy. I have seen his *History of Indian Philosophy*. Even after the works of Das Gupta and Radhakrishnan, one can see many new features in it. I hope that proper arrangements will be made for the continuation of the G.J.R.I. Journal to which Dr. Misra had devoted a great deal of his time.

K. A. Subramania Iyer

RAJ NIVAS
Delhi
28 August, 68

My Dear Jayakanta,

Herewith my tribute to Pandit Ji.

Yours sincerely

A. N. JHA

मिथिलायाँ दरभङ्गामण्डलावयव-गजहड़ाग्रामे लब्धजन्मा विश्वविश्रुत मत्पितृपाद-महामहोपाध्यायडॉ० सरगङ्गानाथझाशर्मगुरुवरमहामहोपाध्यायजयदेवमिश्रतनयस्तत्रभवान् सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रो मिश्रपादोऽयं स्वकीयलोकोत्तरदर्शनपाण्डित्येन, निरुपमया भारतीय-संस्कृति-सेवया च विश्वस्मिन् संस्कृतविश्वे स्वीयां शारदनिशानिशाकरविजित्वरां कीर्त्तिं वितीर्य, तीर्थराजे प्रयागे 'गङ्गानाथझाशोधप्रतिष्ठाने' 'महाकालसंहितां' सम्पादयन्नेव परुद्देवभावङ्गतः ।

भारतीयधर्मदर्शनयोरमुष्य न केवलं विलक्षणं वैदुष्यमासीदपि तु व्यावहारिकी सर्वदुर्लभा निष्ठाऽप्यासीत् । प्रयागविश्वविद्यालयस्य दर्शनप्राध्यापकत्वेन, आधुनिकमिथिलाया राजधान्यां दरभङ्गायां सम्पन्नस्य प्राच्यविद्यामहासम्मेलन-विशेषाधिवेशनस्य स्वागतमन्त्रित्वेन, मिथिलासंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य प्रथम-निदेशकत्वेन, कामेश्वरसिंहदरभङ्गा-संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्रथमोपकुलपतित्वेन, विविधभाषामय-नानाग्रन्थरत्न-लेखकत्वेन च सुरसरस्वतीसेवायामात्मानंसमर्प्यान्ते 'गङ्गानाथझाशोधप्रतिष्ठान'स्य समुचितविकासाय यावच्छक्ति योऽमुना चूडान्तप्रयासोऽकारि, तेन वयमेव न कृतज्ञाः, प्रत्युत समस्तं संस्कृतजगत् कृतज्ञम् ।

मैथिलीतिनाम्ना प्रसिद्धायाः परमरमणीयाया विद्यापति-गोविन्द-चन्द्र-हर्षनाथादिकाव्य-समलङ्कृताया मातृभाषाया आधुनिकसाहित्यिक-स्वरूप-निर्धारणाय तद्विकासाय च यः सरलो मञ्जुलश्च पन्था अनेनोपदिष्टः स एवेदानीं तत्सेवकानामस्माकमाधारः ।

अस्मान् प्रति योऽस्मिन् दार्शनिक-पुङ्गवे पुत्रवत्स्नेहः, मत्पितृपादान्प्रति याऽनन्य-विलक्षणा गुरुभक्तिश्च दरीदृश्यते स्म वचसा तन्निरूपणं कर्त्तुं न प्रभवो वयम् ।

अतो मिथिला-संस्कृतिमूर्त्ति महादार्शनिकं योगिजीवनं महनीयचरितं दिवङ्गतं मिश्रपादं प्रणतिश्रद्धाञ्जलिभिरभिनन्दामः ।

GOVERNOR'S CAMP
UTTAR PRADESH
Lucknow

April 5, 1968

I am happy to learn that the Quarterly Research Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad is trying to bring out a Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume, suspending the usual four numbers of 1968.

I am very happy you are perpetuating the memory of a savant in this manner. Dr. Umesha Mishra's services in the field of learning are well known and his learned treatise of India's Philosophy has won great recognition in our country and abroad. I am glad I could meet him when I visited the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute in August last year. I could see in what esteem he was held by those who knew him personally.

I wish the Commemoration Volume every success and popularity.

B. Gopala Reddi

INDIA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
40 Lodi Estate, New Delhi—3

August 6, 1968

Dear Shri Mishra,

I can only send my homage to the memory of the eminent Sanskrit Scholar, whose memory is being perpetuated by the commemoration volume. The dwindling number of those who take an interest in the promotion of Sanskrit in India will have increasingly to rely on the shining example set by our redoutable Sanskrit Scholars of a bygone age.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

C. D. Deshmukh

SENATE HOUSE
ALLAHABAD

October 17, 1968

I am very happy to know that the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute is bringing out a special number combining the four quarterly issues of 1968 as Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume.

I came in touch with Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha Mishra when I joined the staff of the University as a Lecturer in 1935. We met frequently at the residence of Dr. Amaranatha Jha who was not only a distinguished Professor and Vice-Chancellor of this University but also a patron of artists, scientists, scholars and researchers. Dr. Mishra had already built up at that time a reputation for profound scholarship. As the years passed, Dr. Mishra came to be recognized as a great authority on Indian Philosophy. He always believed in simple living and high thinking. He had a passionate devotion for research, and from himself and his students he demanded the highest standards in this field.

After the death of Dr. Ganganatha Jha it was decided to perpetuate his memory by establishing a research Institute in his name. Dr. Amaranatha Jha and other scholars decided that there will be no better person than Dr. Umesha Mishra to look after this Institute as its Secretary. It was mainly due to the efforts of Dr. Mishra that the Institute acquired reputation in India and abroad. Again it was Dr. Mishra who started and edited the Research Journal of the Institute.

Later Mahamahopadhyaya Ji was called upon to shoulder the office of Vice-Chancellor at the Sanskrit University at Darbhanga, but he always maintained his interest in the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad, and directed and guided the work of this institution right up to the end of his earthly career.

I heartily welcome this idea of devoting the four issues of 1968 to the memory of such an eminent scholar; and on this occasion I pay my homage to his scholarship and his achievements in the field of letters.

A. B. Lal

Nirman Bhavan

New Delhi

October 25, 1968

I am glad to know that the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute is bringing out a commemoration volume in honour of Dr. Umesha Mishra.

Today as never before we need the services of people who have a scientific and highly objective outlook on matters and problems which affect the people and the country. The role of Indologists is particularly great in the present context of things in order to bring about, by their learning and by their interpretations, a greater sense of oneness and integration.

One thing, amongst many, which can bring about this sense of oneness is the acceptance and practice of the small family norm by our people irrespective of their language, caste or creed.

I wish the commemoration volume all success and I hope that it will undoubtedly be a fitting recognition of the great contribution made by Dr. Umesh Mishra.

S. N. SINHA

I first saw Dr. Umesh Mishra at the P-E-N Conference at Jaipur, some two decades back. His special Mahāmahopādhyāya Bihāri Turban attracted my notice. When I heard him speaking in English I was pleasantly surprised to find this old erudite Sanskrit Pandit able to use English for expressing his views.

I used to meet him somewhere almost annually in conferences. Thus I remember to have met him in the Vice-Chancellors' conference at Delhi, which was addressed both by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Kothari, Chairman of the Grants Commission. Dr. Umesh Mishra took part in discussions and fervently pleaded for Sanskrit.

When I was appointed Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board for the first time about 1962, Dr. Umesh Mishra was a member of this Board.

During this long association of mine with this old eminent Sanskrit Pandit I found Dr. Umesh Mishra a genial companion and a good friend. He always stood in the defence of Institutions in the north whenever some controversy between North and South took place.

The death of Dr. Umesh Mishra has removed from this world a great scholar and his loss to oriental learning will be deeply mourned by all.

DATTO VAMAN POTDAR

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

November 16, 1968

Dear Dr. Umesha Mishra,

It is an honor to be able to join with scholars around the world in paying tribute to your distinguished life work. As Secretary of the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute, Allahabad, you have built it into one of the world's leading Research Institutes of Indology, and developed its *Journal* comparably. If institutions stand as shadows of great men, these institutions are memorials to your impressive stature.

Most sincerely yours,

HUSTON SMITH

भारतीयसंस्कृति-दर्शनमूर्त्तिः

महामहोपाध्यायडा० उमेशमिश्रमहाभागः

विश्वविख्यातपण्डितमण्डलपुण्डरीकमार्त्तण्डस्य पावकविजित्वरदेदीप्यमानकमनीय-तपःकान्तिमण्डितशरीरस्य शाब्दिकगुरोः श्रीमतो महामहिममैथिलमहामहोपाध्यायस्य प्रातस्स्मरणीयजयदेवमिश्रस्याऽत्मजत्वेन वर्त्तमानकालात् त्रिसप्ततिवर्षेभ्यः पूर्वं भारतीय-संस्कृतिसंस्कृतदर्शनकमलिनीभानुरयं परमरमणीये पुण्यतमे तस्मिन् मिथिलाप्रदेशे प्रादुर्बभूव यत्र दर्शनशास्त्रे चिन्ता, शारदाऽर्चनेऽभिनिवेशः, पुण्यकर्मणि धनव्ययोऽति-थिवरिवस्यायामुत्तमर्णान्वेषणं, राजभवने मणिसंग्रहो, वसने रागः, कामिनीषु केशवेशो, यज्ञे हिंसा, काव्ये युद्धम्, नव्यन्यायचर्चायां कलहः, साहित्ये परकीयाग्रहणम्, धर्मशास्त्रे-ऽशुद्धपदप्रयोगो, दैनिकहोमधूमेषु मालिन्यम्, वाहीके जाड्यमासीत् । यत्र च भगवान् याज्ञ-वल्क्यः 'शतपथब्राह्मणं', गौतमो 'न्यायसूत्रं', गङ्गेश'श्चिन्तामणिं,' कुमारिलः 'श्लोक-वार्त्तिकं', मण्डनो 'विधिविवेकं, पक्षधर 'आलोकं', शङ्करमिश्रो 'वादिविनोदम्', उदयनो 'न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिं', गोकुलनाथः 'पदवाक्यरत्नाकरं', चित्रधरः 'प्रमाणप्रमोदं', धर्मदत्तश्च 'गूढार्थतत्त्वालोकं व्यरचयन् । यत्र खलु विश्वविजयी श्रीजगद्गुरुशङ्कराचार्यपादोऽपि शास्त्रार्थे महिलया प्राक् पराजितो बभूव । यस्य सीता कृषिफलं, विदेहाश्चापि शासका अभूवन् ।

लोकोत्तरप्रतिभाकौमुदीकलाधरोऽसौ मिश्रपादः शैशवे बृहस्पतिकल्पात् पितृ-पादाद्, यौवने विश्वविश्रुत-महामहोपाध्याय डॉ० सर्-गङ्गानाथझा शर्मपण्डितराज-गोपीनाथकविराजाभ्यामामूलमाचूलं भारतीयदर्शनशास्त्रमधीत्य, यद्वैदुष्यमवाप; तेन 'आत्मा वै जायते पुत्र' इति श्रुतिरपि सर्वथा सार्थकताङ्गता ।

मनोविनोदाय न केवलमनेन विद्वद्वरेण्येन संस्कृतकाव्यसाहित्ययोर्ज्योतिषधर्म-शास्त्रयोश्च परिशीलनं कृतम् प्रत्युत पाश्चात्यभाषासाहित्य-दर्शनानामपि निरुपमन्तुल-नात्मकमध्ययनमकारि ।

'क्व भोगमाप्नोति न भाग्यभाग् जन' इति महाकविश्रीहर्षस्य सूक्तिरमुष्मिन् पण्डिततल्लजे साधु सङ्गता, यतोऽयं भारद्वाजाद्याश्रमादिपरिलसितेऽक्षयवटान्विते तीर्थ-राजे प्रयागे निवसन्नेव विश्वविद्यालय-दर्शनप्राध्यापकपदे नियुक्तः पारिवारिक-प्रमोदसन्दोह-मप्यनुबभूव ।

नानाग्रन्थरत्नं रत्नाकर इवार्पयन्नयं न केवलं भारतेऽपि तु विश्वस्मिन् विश्वे शारदसुधाकरधवलां स्वलोकोत्तर-पाण्डित्यप्रसूतां कीर्त्तिं व्यस्तारयत् । येन समाकृष्ट-चित्तस्तदानीन्तनो गौराङ्गभारतसर्वंकारो महामहोपाध्यायोपाधिना सादरममुमलञ्चकार ।

इदमीयविद्याविनयतपोभिः समाकृष्टदृष्टिस्तत्रभवान् त्यागवीरो महामनीषी दरभङ्गामहाराजाधिराज-मिथिलेश-डॉ० सरकामेश्वरसिंहशर्माऽधिमिथिलं स्वराजधान्यां दरभङ्गानगरे प्राच्यविद्यामहासम्मेलनस्य विशेषाधिवेशनं सम्पादयितुमस्मै पञ्च-लक्षासन्नमुद्रात्मकधनराशिं प्रदाय संस्कृतजगतः कल्याणाय सर्वप्रथममेनं न्ययोजयत् ।

अथ दरभङ्गामहेशनगरे मिथिलासंस्कृतविद्यापीठाभिधं ज्ञानतीर्थमिव महा-शोधप्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयन् दरभङ्गामहाराजाधिराजो मिथिलायास्तदानीन्तनैकमात्रे महा-महोपाध्याये मिश्रमहाभागे निदेशकपदानुकूलामार्हन्तीं परिलक्ष्य, सादरमेनन्तत्पदे नियोज्य स्वकुलपरम्पराप्राप्तं नैसर्गिकवैदुष्यपक्षपातं प्राकटीत् । तद्विद्यापीठं सञ्चालन्नय संस्कृत-संसारस्य या निरुपमाः सेवा अकार्षीत् ता न केवलं विद्वद्गोष्ठ्याञ्चचर्चाविषयः, अपि तु संस्कृतेतिहासस्य पर्याप्ताः सामग्र्यो विद्यन्ते ।

संस्कृतजगतः सर्वेषामस्माकं सुरभारतीसेवकानाञ्च सौभाग्येन चिरादखिल-भारतीय-संस्कृतसाहित्यसम्मेलनम्प्रत्यात्मनोऽन्तःकरुणां वहन्नप्ययं कामेश्वरसिंहदरभंगा-संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयोपकुलपतिपदे विराजमान एवं सम्मेलनेन साकमात्मनः प्रत्यक्षं सम्बन्धं स्वीकृत्य जीवनान्तकालपर्य्यन्तन्तदुपाध्यक्षत्वेन संस्कृतहिताय यत्साहाय्यमकार्षीत् यञ्च स्नेहमस्मान् प्रति प्रादर्शयत्, तद्गणना गणनाथेनापि विधातुमशक्या ।

केन्द्रीयसंस्कृतमण्डलसदस्यत्वेन, भारतीयानेकविश्वविद्यालयशोधमहानिबन्धपरी-क्षकत्वेन, नानासंस्कृतमहाप्रतिष्ठानसञ्चालकत्वेन, भारतीयसंस्कृतिसंरक्षकत्वेन, विविध-भारतीयपाश्चात्यभाषामयानन्वयालङ्कारोदाहरणभूतदर्शनग्रन्थप्रणेतृत्वेन, सदाचारपालनो-पदेशकत्वेन गद्यपद्यात्मकस्फुटकाव्यलेखकत्वेन मैथिलीभाषासमुन्नायकत्वेन निर्भीकव्याख्या-तृत्वेन, निदेशकोपकुलपतित्वाभ्याञ्चासौ भारतभूभागस्य प्रतिकोणं सादरं साम्प्रतमपि जेगीयते ।

दार्शनिकचूडामणि-विश्वप्रसिद्ध-महामहोपाध्यायः प्रातःस्मरणीयः श्रीमान् डॉ० सरगङ्गानाथझा-महोदयः, योऽस्य पितुः शिष्येषु प्रमुखो गुरुश्चासीत् तत्स्मारकत्वेन तत्पु-त्ररत्नेन विश्वप्रसिद्धशिक्षाशास्त्रिणा श्रीमता डॉ०अमरनाथझामहाशयेन अन्यैश्च विद्वद्भिः संस्थापित प्रयागस्थं 'गङ्गानाथझाशोधप्रतिष्ठानं' सुरसरस्वतीसपर्याबुद्धया दिवङ्गतगुरु-कीर्त्तिविकाशभावनया चावैतनिक-निदेशकत्वेन सञ्चालयन्नसौ देशस्य प्रतिकोणं स्वयं पर्यट्य चूडान्तप्रयासेन दुर्लभानाममूल्यानां प्राचीनतमानां संस्कृतपाण्डुलिपीनां यं संग्रहमकार्षीत् सोऽधुना सुतरां विस्मयकरः संस्कृतसंसारस्य ।

गङ्गानाथझाशोधप्रतिष्ठानस्य विकाशाय मिथोविरुद्धं कर्मयोगित्वं ज्ञानयो-गित्वञ्चावहन्नयं जीवनस्यान्तिमक्षणं यावत् यम्प्रायासं कृतवान् न स कदाऽपि संस्कृतजगता विस्मर्तुं शक्यते ।

पुण्यश्लोकस्य महादार्शनिकस्य मिथिलाया अन्तिममहामहोपाध्यायस्यास्य भारतीय-संस्कृतौ या निष्ठा यश्च तत्पालनक्रमो दरीदृश्यते स्म तद्दर्शनमन्यत्र दुर्लभमेव । संस्कृत-

जगतः सेवायै भारतराजधान्यां मुहुर्मुहुरागतस्यास्य लोकोत्तरां जीवनपद्धतिम्पश्यतः कस्य चेतश्चित्रितं न बभूव ।

आजीवनमयं महात्मा कदाऽपि क्वचन नलिकानीरोपयोगं नाकार्षीत् । बहिः सदा फलदुग्धकूपजलाहारैरेव सर्वथा शरीरं कार्यक्षममनैषीत् । होरात्रयमेवास्य मनीषिणो नैशो निद्राकाल आसीत् । दिवास्वापस्तु रुग्णावस्थायामेव जातुचिद् दृश्यते स्म ।

इत्थं लोकोत्तरमहापुरुष महामहिममहामहोपाध्यायस्वर्गीयडा०उमेशमिश्रमहाभागो भारतीयसंस्कृतिदर्शनमूर्त्तिरिति निश्चिन्वन् अस्मै गतेऽब्दे देवभावङ्गतायलालबहादुरशास्त्रीराष्ट्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठसंस्थापकेष्वन्यतमाय गुरुकल्पाय महात्मने सप्रणति श्रद्धाञ्जलिमर्पयामि ।

मण्डनमिश्रः

२२-८-६८

महामहोपाध्याय डाक्टर उमेशमिश्र

श्रीबुद्धिधारीसिंह 'रमाकर'

हमर पिता सुरथचरित महाकाव्यादि अनेक ग्रन्थक रचयिता पं० क्षेमधारी सिंह म० म० जयदेव मिश्रक शिष्य छलाह । हुनक जेठ बालक म० म० उमेश मिश्रसँ स्वतः पूर्ण मैत्री छलन्हि । हिनक परिवारसँ हमरा परिवारकेँ गुरु-शिष्यक सम्बन्ध छल । म० म० उमेश मिश्रसँ कुलाचारानुसार हमरो पढ़बाक तथा अनेक उपदेश पएबाक अवसर भेल । जखन देश आवथि तखन भेट होइतहिं छल आ शास्त्रीय विषय बुझबाक सौभाग्य प्राप्त होइत छल । अत्यन्त स्नेह छलन्हि—"बच्चा" कहि सम्बोधन करथि । प्रायः कोनो बेर एहन नहि होइत छल जे कोनो ने कोनो विशेष विषय नहि कहथि । १९२६ ई० सँ (जे हमरा स्मरण अछि) १९६७ धरि अर्थात् एकतालीस वर्ष हमरा हुनक सम्पर्क रहल । देहान्तसँ किछु दिन पूर्व भेंट भेल छल । कतेको गूढ़ विषय कहलन्हि । दौर्भाग्यवश ओतेक स्मरण नहि रहि सकल आ ने टिपिए सकलहुँ तथापि दुइ चारि प्रधान वस्तुक उल्लेख करबाक प्रयास करैत छी ।

(१) अन्तिम मैथिल महामहोपाध्याय छलाह । मिथिलाक माटि पानिक प्रभाव हिनकापर पूर्ण छल यद्यपि जीवनक अधिक अंश उत्तर प्रदेशमे बितोलन्हि । कर्म्मकाण्डक कट्टर पक्षपाती छलाह । कहथि, पत्रोमे लिखथि—"मिथिलाक कर्म्मकाण्ड लुप्त भेल जाइत अछि—एकर रक्षा करैत जाएब । एहि ठामक वा कहि सकैत छी समस्त भारतक

भित्ति थिक सदाचार जकर बिना शुद्धि नहि भए सकैत अछि आ विना शुद्धिक ज्ञान प्राप्त नहि भए सकैत अछि। बाह्य शुद्धि एक वैज्ञानिक विषय थीक। प्रत्येक आचरणमे युक्ति अछि तें ओकर पालन धर्म्म कहल गेल अछि जाहि आधारपर मानवताक अस्तित्व छैक। यदि ओ लुप्त भए गेल तँ पाशव धर्म्म आबि जाएत तें ई सतत स्मरण राखब जे आचारक वर्जनसँ लोक अधःपतित होइत अछि आ पालनसँ उपर उठैत अछि। वेद आओर उपनिषद् एकरा सर्वत्र पुष्ट करैत अछि।"

(२) "मिथिलामे शिव-शक्तिक उपासनाक बड़ छूटि अछि एकर दार्शनिक हेतु अछि आओर एही दूनूसँ सकल चराचरक सृष्टि होइत अछि।" अपन प्रिय श्लोक,

शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुं
न चेदेवं देवो न खलु कुशलः स्पन्दितुमपि।
अतस्त्वामाराध्यां हरिहरविरंच्यादिभिरपि
प्रणन्तुं स्तोतुं वा कथमकृतपुण्याः प्रभवन्ति॥

(श्रीशङ्कराचार्य्य––आनन्दलहरी)

एकर उल्लेख अधिक काल करथि। विद्यापतिक प्रसंग रामकृष्ण महाविद्यालय मधुवनी, दरभंगामे जयन्तीक अवसरपर सभापतिक पदसँ बाजल छलाह जे "प्रत्येक व्यक्तिमे अर्द्ध-नारीश्वर-तत्व अछि। सबहिक शरीरमे शिवशक्ति विद्यमान छथि। अहाँकेँ ज्ञानोपार्जनक हेतुक कतहु अन्यत्र नहि जाए पड़त––सभटा आत्मनिष्ठे अछि। एहन कोनो जीव नहि अछि जकरा मे माता-पिता दूनूक अंश नहि छैक। इएह भावना नर-नारीक बीच अभेद स्थापित करैत अछि। विश्वक सकल कर्त्तृत्व एहीपर अवलम्बित अछि। "कलौ चण्डीमहेश्वरौ" जे मिथिलामे लोक कहैत छैक तकर कारण इएह थीक। वाह्याचरणमे शिवपूजन आओर दुर्गामाहात्म्य पाठ एहीसँ आएल। अहुखन गाम-गाममे लाखक लाख शिवलिंगक पूजा होइत अछि, प्रायः अधिक लोक दुर्गापाठ करैत अछि। शारदीय नव-रात्र मनबैत अछि। तेँ वाह्यसँ अन्तरमे प्रवेशक ई एक संकेत थीक।"

(३) "मिथिला जे यज्ञभूमि कहल गेल अछि तकर कारण अछि जे जहिना मेघ-वर्षा-अन्न आओर प्राणीक उत्पत्ति तथा विकास यज्ञसँ होइत अछि तहिना अन्त-र्मुख यज्ञ सेहो जानक थीक। पूर्व-मीमांसा एहि ठाम सोपान मानल जाइत छल। जेना बहुत उच्च पदार्थकेँ बिना सिढ़ीपर चढ़ने अहाँ नहि पाबि सकैत छी तहिना बिना पञ्चयज्ञक सम्पादन कएने ज्ञानक अधिकारी नहि होएब। वेदाध्ययनोक इएह प्रयोजन अछि। तेँ प्राणीक ऐहिकामुष्मिक हितसाधनक हेतु एकरा जानब। "यज्ञः कर्मसु कौशलम्"। एतावता सकल यज्ञानुष्ठान ओहि दिशा दिश इङ्गित करैत अछि जाहि ठाम लोक-कल्याण आओर आत्मज्ञान दूनू प्राप्त भए सकैत छैक। "आहुति" शब्द अत्यन्त मार्मिक अछि ओहि मे त्याग आओर तपस्या दूनू अछि। एक-एक शब्दक विश्लेषणाक बिना अनुसन्धान पूर्ण नहि भए सकैत अछि। यज्ञशेषग्रहणक जे व्यवहार अछि तकरा ईशा-

वासोपनिषद् दून्नू दिश सूचित करैत अछि —"तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथाः मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ।" प्राणीक हितसाधने सर्वत्र संकल्प जानक थीक।"

(४) पत्र लिखने छलाह—"मैथिली गद्यक द्वारा भारतीय शास्त्रक विषयपर यदि अहांलोकनि प्रकाश नहि देबैक तँ मिथिलामे दून्नूक प्रति आघात पड़त।" हुनक ई विचार भविष्यक हेतु एक प्रेरणा दए रहल अछि। तेँ मैथिली सेवीकेँ एहि दिश ध्यान देब आवश्यक। मैथिलीभाषी जे विभिन्न शास्त्रक विद्वान्लोकनि छथि ओलोकनि अपन अपन विचारकेँ यदि लिपिवद्ध कए प्रकाशमे आनथि तँ एक पैघ अंशक पूर्ति भए जाएत।

महामहोपाध्याय हमरा जनैत प्रधानतः एक दार्शनिक छलाह जे हिनक कृतिसभसँ प्रमाणितो होइत अछि। नेनामे हम "Dream Theory" पढ़ल आ समर्थ भेने "Conception of Matter" तथा "A Critical Study of Bhagawadgitā" | एहि सबहुक अध्ययनमे विशेषता पाओल—विषयक स्पष्टीकरण तथा विभिन्न मतक समालोचना प्राचीन शास्त्रार्थक ढंगसँ। खण्डन-मण्डन ऊहापोहपुरस्सर विचार-वैशद्यसँ ज्ञान प्राप्त होइत अछि। तेँ हिनक कृतिपर शोधकार्य्य एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कर्त्तव्य अछि। समयाभाव तथा स्थानाभावक कारणें केवल विषय-प्रवेश मात्र ध्यानपर देल अछि। म० म० स्वतन्त्र विचारक लोक छलाह। प्राचीनो आचार्यक कथनकेँ आँखि मूनि नहि मानथि। एहि हेतुक यदि रूढ़िवादीक संग मतान्तरो भए गेलन्हि, तथापि अपन संकल्पसँ कहिओ च्युत नहि भेलाह। "स्ववीर्यगुप्ता हि मनोः प्रसूतिः"क ई एक प्रतीक छलाह।

TRIBUTE TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF LATE MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. UMESH MISHRA

The death of Dr. Mishra has removed from the literary world of Northern India one who dedicated his life to the cause of higher education for several decades in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. His field of literary activities was first at Allahabad, then at Darbhanga where he adorned the coveted post of the Vice-Chancellor of Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit University for some years.

It was during the period of his Vice-Chancellorship that I had an opportunity to come in closer contact with him.

A versatile genius, a talented scholar, a seasoned academician and a patron of learning, Dr. Mishra won a name in the hierarchy of eminent scholars of India and outside.

Mithila is really proud of having produced a son of the calibre of Dr. Umesh Mishra. He began his educational career as a teacher and ended it as the Vice-Chancellor of a university. He was a true friend to his colleagues, a noble guide to his students, a sincere adviser to his friends, a loving relation to his kinsmen and a successful pilot to educational institutions and universities. His students are spread over in different walks of life in various states of India.

Like a typical orthodox Brahmin of Mithila, he was very simple but conservative in his habits with regard to food and drink. He spent the best part of his life in studying books and teaching his pupils. He was God-fearing and religious-minded and devoted some time every day to meditation and religious pursuits. Everybody who came in personal contact with him, was charmed by his profound scholarship and deep learning. He had no doubt a rough exterior which scared away many persons from his presence, but his heart was full of the milk of human kindness. He always rendered a helping hand to the poor and indigent students. And those who approached him in distress with a begging bowl, were never disappointed. He passed the few years of his retired life in his home land, Mithila, for the development of his mother-tongue but the cruel hand of death snatched him away from the midst of his co-workers, without his life's mission being fulfilled.

His death has dimmed the literary horizon of Mithila and belied the hopes of scholars who worked with him. It is difficult to fill up the void created by his sad demise in the near future. But his sacred memory still exists amongst the people of Mithila to serve as a beacon light and guide them to the right path.

ARUN KUMAR DUTTA

SECTION II

PHILOSOPHY

THE DOCTRINE OF ĪŚVARA AS EXPOSED IN THE NYĀYAKANDALĪ

By George Chemparathy*

The Nyāyakandalī is one of the three commentaries on Praśastapāda's Padārthadharmasaṁgraha that have come down to us.[1] In it, Śrīdhara[2] gives us a lucid explanation of the text of the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha followed often by an excursus, long or short as the case may be, in which the author offers us an exposition of the discussions on the topic dealt with, together with remarks of his own. Without putting forward any claim to an exhaustive study, I have tried to put together in this paper the main outlines of Śrīdhara's Īśvara-doctrine as it has been constructed from the scattered passages in his Nyāyakandalī,[3] which is the only work of his that is available to us.[4]

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1. Meant here are the Vyomavatī of Vyomaśiva, the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara and the Kiraṇāvalī of Udayana. The Līlāvatī ascribed to Śrīvatsa by Rājaśekhara in the opening lines of his Pañjikā to the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara,—if such an ascription is indeed right—has not come down to us. The Līlāvatī, or more correctly, the Nyāyalīlāvatī as it is named in the second introductory verse of the work, of Vallabha is not a commentary, in the strict and traditional sense of the term, of the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, but rather an independent work based on and closely following the Padārthadharmasaṁgraha.

2. It may be noted that, although the author of the Nyāyakandalī is often called Śrīdhara *sine titulis*, in the colophons at the end of his commentary on each of the six *padārthas* of the Vaiśeṣika system and in the ninth of the concluding verses, the author's name is given as Bhaṭṭaśrīśrīdhara. But the seventh of the concluding verses mentions his name simply as Śrīdhara.

3. The edition used for Padārthadharmasaṁgraha (hereafter abbr. PDS) and for Nyāyakandalī (hereafter abbr. Ny. Kand) is: Praśastapādabhāṣya (Padārthadharmasaṁgraha) with commentary Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa along with Hindi translation, (=Gangānātha-Jhā-Granthamālā Vol. I) Varanasi 1963. The other edition of the Nyāyakandalī (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, Vol. 4, Benares 1895) was, to my deep regret, not easily accessible to me for consultation.

4. But Śrīdhara mentions in his Nyāyakandalī the following works of his:

(1) Advayasiddhi (cf. p. 11, 3);

(2) Tattvaprabodha (cf. p. 197, 6; 347, 11);

(3) Tattvasaṁvādinī (cf. p. 197, 6).

In his conception of the nature and functions of Īśvara, Śrīdhara follows the tradition common to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. Thus, to start with the less important function of Īśvara, Śrīdhara conceives of Īśvara as the author of the Veda. Even though in his excursus on the authoritativeness or validity (*prāmāṇya*) of the Veda[5] he never employs the term "Īśvara" in connection with the authorship of the Veda, there can be no doubt that he recognises Īśvara as the author of the Veda, since the term *puruṣaviśeṣa* used by him[6] stands for no other than Īśvara. It is further interesting to note that while refuting the Mīmāṁsaka view that the Veda is authoritative because it is eternal, Śrīdhara maintains that the authoritativeness of the Veda is based not on its eternity but on its author's freedom from faults or defects (*doṣābhāva*).[7] Such a view appears, at least in its formulation, to be different from the opinion generally accepted by the Naiyāyikas of the time, according to whom the authoritativeness of the Veda is based not simply on the absence of faults or defects in its author, but rather on the presence in him of positive good qualities of a trustworthy author (*āptakartā*) such as a direct and accurate cognition of the Dharma taught in the Veda, compassion towards the living beings to whom the Veda is communicated, the desire to communicate the truth exactly as he knows it and finally the capacity to communicate it to men.[8]

Despite his negative formulation of the criterion of the authoritativeness of the Veda, Śrīdhara seems to have conceived of the "absence of faults" (*doṣābhāva*) in the author of the Veda in a more

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The Saṁgrahaṭīkā mentioned on p. 279, 13 and 377, 10 and which is considered by D. N. Shastri as another work of Śrīdhara (Cf. his, Critique of Indian Realism, Agra 1964, p. 118) is but another name for the Nyāyakandalī itself. In the colophon at the end of each of the *padārthas* the Nyāyakandalī is termed a Ṭīkā. Although it is said to be the Ṭīkā on Padārthapraveśa, the latter work was more properly called Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, so that also the word 'Saṁgrahaṭīkā' can be explained.

5. Ny. Kand, p. 519 ff.

6. Ibid., p. 520, lines 1-2, 5 and 8. Note that the term is used in the singular in each of these cases.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 520, 3–6.

8. Such was the view generally accepted from the time of Pakṣilasvāmin onwards, although the fourth quality was explicitly mentioned for the first time by Vācaspati in his Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā (Edition used: Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares 1925. Hereafter abbr. NVTT) p. 431, 3–6. Note that Vācaspati refutes (Ibid., p. 202, 22) a view according to which trustworthiness of the author consists in the absence of defects.

positive manner than the expression seems to suggest; for, while arguing against the Mīmāṁsakas that the Veda is authoritative even though it is composed by a person (*pauruṣeya*), he remarks: "For it cannot (even) be doubted that one who has cognised the object really as it is, who is devoid of love and hatred (lit. "from whom love and hatred have disappeared") (and) who is compassionate, while engaged in instructing (others) would teach (them) what is true."[9] Such a statement, in fact, agrees with the view of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school that was current at the time of Śrīdhara.[10]

That the Veda has been composed by a special person (*puruṣa-viśeṣa*) namely, Īśvara, is proved by Śrīdhara on the ground that its teaching (*artha*) is unanimously accepted as authoritative by all the four castes belonging to the four stages of life.[11] The sacred scriptures of the Buddhists and other heterodox sects are not authoritative precisely because their teaching is not thus universally accepted.[12]

However, for Śrīdhara, as it is indeed for all the adherents of philosophic theism, Īśvara is, first and foremost, the creator (*kartā*) of the universe. It is around this most characteristic function of Īśvara that the exposition of the Īśvara-doctrine is usually centred. And it is in his commentary on Praśastapāda's account of the creation and the dissolution of the universe, and more especially in his excursus that follows this section of the commentary,[13] that we have the important material for our study of Śrīdhara's Īśvara-doctrine.

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9. Ny. Kand., p. 520, 6-7: *na hi yathārthadraṣṭā prakṣīṇarāgadveṣaḥ kṛpāvān upadeśāya pravṛtto 'yathārtham upadiśatīti śaṅkām ārohati.*

10. Cf. Udayana's Ātmatattvaviveka (Chowkh. S. Series edition, Benaras 1940) p. 413, 8 ff.

11. Ny. Kand., p. 520, 8-9.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 520, 9-10; 428, 15-17.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 121, 10–142, 11. The excursus begins on p. 133, 12.

Furthermore in the introductory verses at the beginning of his commentary to each of the six *padārthas* Śrīdhara makes his obeisance to Īśvara viewed under various aspects, but mainly considered as the cause of the creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe and endowed with eternal cognition and infallible volition (*satyasaṅkalpa*). We leave these verses out of consideration here, as they are rather expressions of the author's personal attitude of devotion to Īśvara and mixed up with mythology.

We shall, for the sake of convenience, arrange the material of our study under the following heads:

I. The Existence of Īśvara.

II. The Nature and Attributes of Īśvara.

I. *The existence of Īśvara*

The major part of Śrīdhara's excursus on Īśvara deals with his existence. We shall restrict ourselves here to the main outlines of this problem without entering into all the details or implications of the discussions mentioned there, especially since these discussions repeat themselves more or less, in content and often even in form, in many of the philosophical treatises where Īśvara's existence is dealt with.

Like the other followers of theism, Śrīdhara admits two means of establishing the existence of Īśvara, namely scripture or revelation (*āgama*) and inference (*anumāna*).[14] He does not deal any further in this excursus with the proof from scriptural texts for the obvious reason that it has not much convincing value in the eyes of the opponents, since such texts are either differently interpreted by them (v.g. the Mīmāṁsakas) or because they are not accepted as authoritative texts by them (v.g. the Buddhists etc.).

The proof for the existence of Īśvara based on inference is formulated by Śrīdhara as follows:

"The fourfold gross elements (*mahābhūtacatuṣṭayam*) have an intelligent cause; because they are effects.

That which is an effect has an intelligent cause, as in the case of a pot.

And the fourfold gross elements are effects.

Hence they too must have an intelligent cause."[15]

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14. *Ibid.*, p. 133, 12.

15. Ibid., p. 133, 12–14: *mahābhūtacatuṣṭayam upalabdhimatpūrvakaṁ kāryatvād, yat kāryaṁ tad upalabdhimatpūrvakaṁ yathā ghaṭaḥ, kāryañ ca mahābhūtacatuṣṭayaṁ tasmād etad api upalabdhimatpūrvakam.*

With the expression *mahābhūtacatuṣṭayam*[16] Śrīdhara brings under the subject of the thesis (pakṣa) all the compound forms or products of the four elements, earth, water, fire and air, their *dvyaṇuka*-compounds not excepted. The reason (*hetu*) brought forward by Śrīdhara is the classical reason for proving the existence of Īśvara adduced by the theists. That the fourfold gross elements or compounds such as earth etc. are effects is proved by Śrīdhara on the ground that they have parts (*sāvayavatvena*).[17]

The opponent raises a number of objections against this proof. First of all, the operation of inference, argues he, takes place through the establishment of the pervasion between that which proves (the Hetu or the reason) and that which is to be proved (the Sādhyam). But no universally valid pervasion can be established between the "being a product" (*kāryatvam*) and "having an intelligent being as maker" (*buddhimatpūrvakatvam*); for, although we observe such a pervasion in the case of effects like pot etc., we do not find it in the case of the sprout etc. that come into being. Consequently a valid inference of Īśvara from the product is impossible.[18]

Secondly, the theists aim at proving not merely an agent in general (*kartṛmātram*), that is to say, some agent such as the human agents, for example, but rather a particular agent (*kartṛviśeṣa*) who is capable of producing the effects such as the earth etc. and who possesses special qualities such as eternal omniscience necessary for producing those effects. Such a special agent cannot be established by inference without a contradiction; for he would be either endowed with a body or devoid of a body. If he is endowed with a body, he cannot be the special agent that produces the earth etc., since, being possessed of sense organs, he would not be able to know the causal potency of such causes as the ultimate atoms (*paramāṇu*) and the merit (*dharma*) and the demerit (*adharma*) of the souls, which are beyond the domain of the sensible perception. On the other hand, an agent devoid of body cannot be the agent that produces the earth

16. The term *mahābhūta* is, really speaking, more a Sāṁkhya term than Vaiśeṣika. Praśastapāda uses it in the introductory line of his account of *sṛṣṭi* and *saṁhāra* and Śrīdhara probably uses the term because it was used by Praśastapāda. The prefix *mahā*– here is meant to exclude the ultimate atoms (*paramāṇu*) from the *pakṣa*. Cf. Ny. Kand., p. 122, 6 ff.

17. Ny. Kand., p. 134, 1–3.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 134, 3–135, 4.

etc.; for it is established by the methods of concomitance and non-concomitance (*anvayavyatireka*) that every agent at first cognises the nature of the causes he has to employ; thereafter he desires to produce a particular effect out of those causes; afterwards he wills to produce it and causes his body to act accordingly; then he directs the causes and finally he poses the action that produces the effect. But he who does not know the causes nor desires nor wills nor causes his body to act, does not put forth the action of producing the effect. Hence, argues the opponent, one has to infer from an effect also an agent possessed of a body with as much logical necessity as when one infers from the effect an agent that is endowed with intellignce.[19]

Such being the case, conclude the opponents, the argument for the existence of Īśvara brought forward by the theist is inconclusive and thus it fails to establish his existence.

These objections are familiar to us from the works anterior to Śrīdhara[20] and his answer also follows in many respects the answer found in those works. In answer to the first objection of his opponents, he argues that, although the presence of an intelligent agent cannot be observed in the production of the earth etc., still the existence of such an agent can be inferred by means of the type of inference called *Sāmānyatodṛṣṭam;* for from the universally valid pervasion that is perceived to exist between the effect and an intelligent maker, we can conclude to the existence of an intelligent maker for the earth etc., even though he is not perceived, on the strength of the perceived pervasion between effect and an intelligent maker, since earth etc. possess the nature of effect (*kāryatvam*).[21]

To the second objection Śrīdhara answers that just as the opponent infers the presence of fire in general (*agnisāmānyam*) from the smoke and a special kind of fire (*agniviśeṣa*), namely fire existent on the ridge of a mountain, from the fact that the smoke in question belongs to that particular subject as its quality (*pakṣadharmatāvaśena*), in the same manner, also in the case of the inference of Īśvara,

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 135, 4 ff. The same objection can be found in Kumārila's *Ślokavārttikam*, Saṁbandhākṣepaparihāraḥ, Chowkh, S. S. edition, Benares 1998) verses 47 ff.

20. Cf., for example, *Vyomavatī* (Chowkh, S. S. edition, Benares 1930), p. 302, 12 ff.

21. Ny. Kand., p. 134, 7 ff.

his existence as an agent in general (*kartṛmātram*) is inferred from the pervasion of effect with an intelligent cause in general, while his existence as a particular kind of agent is inferred on the strength of the nature of the effect present in the particular subject of the thesis of the argument, namely, the products of earth, water, fire and air. It is only a special kind of agent endowed with omniscience that can explain the quality of effect (*kāryatvam*) existing in this particular product we call universe.[22]

With regard to the objection that the inference can lead only to an agent endowed with a body, Śrīdhara answers by showing the opponent that the possession of a body is not invariably connected with action. He argues that agency (*kartṛtvam*) does not consist in the mere possession of the body; otherwise even an idle or sleeping person would have to be considered an agent. Agency consists rather in the employment of the causes that have been observed to be capable of producing the effect (*paridṛṣṭasāmarthyakārakaprayojakatvam*). This is possible even when the agent is devoid of a body, as seen in the case of our soul (*ātmā*) which, though itself unbodied, is able to set in motion the body it occupies or animates. It is, indeed, true that the soul possesses the body it animates and sets in motion, in as far as the soul has acquired that particular body through the fruit of its own actions; but the soul does not make use of the body as a means for setting the body in motion. If the opponent argues that the soul acts because it possesses the body as that which is to be set in motion (*preryatayā*), that is granted, but then Īśvara too could be, in the same manner, said to possess the atoms as that which is to be set in motion by him.[23]

The opponent now tries to show that the body is employed by the soul indeed as a means for its own action (*svapreraṇāyām*), and

22. *Ibid.*, p. 135. 9 ff.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 138. 9—139. 5. Compare Vyom., p. 305. 12—14. It is interesting to note that Udayana in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (Kashi S. S. edition, Varanasi 1957), p. 494, 13—495. 5 argues that the atoms might be considered, with respect to the creative action of Īśvara, as that which is to be directed, but he too refuses to admit that the atoms are the body of Īśvara in the sense of their being a subject of sense organs. It may also be noted here, with regard to the example given of the soul setting the body in motion, that in the *Vaiśeṣika*—we would even say, in Indian philosophy in general—this dichotomic conception of the soul and the body has been so clearly maintained that they could not be thought of as forming one single being in substantial unity.

not only as that which is to be set in motion. For, argues he, it is only when the body is present that desire (*ichhā*) and volition (*prayatna*) are produced, and not when the body is absent. Śrīdhara answers that the body serves as a cause only in the generation of desire and volition; but once desire and volition have thus been generated, the soul operates without using the body as a means for its own operation. Furthermore, the soul stands in need of a body for the generation of desire and volition only when these two are adventitious or non-eternal (*āgantuka*), but not when they are eternal (*nitya*). And there is no contradiction whatever in the desire and volition being eternal or non-generated, since qualities such as colour etc. are known to be either eternal or non-eternal according to the substance in which they inhere.[24] Since the cognition, desire and volition in Īśvara are eternal, they do not need to be generated, and consequently they do not require a body for their coming into being. And, as said earlier, the body can be said to be necessary only for the sake of the generation of desire and volition, but not necessarily for the action of the agent.[25]

Śrīdhara then mentions one of the old objections against the inference of Īśvara as the cause that directs and sets in motion the atoms and the merit and demerit of the souls etc. at the time of creation.[26] The opponent argues that the ordinary souls themselves are able to direct these causes for the production of the universe. Granted that the directing agent must have perfect and direct cognition of these causes, the opponent maintains that the souls, although devoid of all conjunction with a body at the period of dissolution, possess an innate consciousness or cognition (*sahaja-caitanyam*) that extends itself to all objects (*sarvaviṣayavyāpi*), so that they are capable of directing these causes for the origin of the universe, even without the directing agency of an Īśvara.

Śrīdhara rejects this argument on the ground that the souls are devoid of any consciousness or cognition whatever until they are, at

24. Cf. Vaiśeṣikasūtras VII, 1, 4—9; PDS, (Ny. Kand., edition), p. 251, 1 ff.

25. Ny. Kand., p. 139, 5—140, 4.

26. Cf. Nyāyavārttikam (Edition used is · Nyāya-Darśanam, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXIX, Calcutta 1944. Abbr. NV hereafter), p. 947, 8—20; Nyāyamañjarī (Edition used is: Kashi S. Series, No. 106, Benares 1934. Hereafter abbr. NM), p. 186, 20 ff; Ślokavārttikam, Saṁbandhākṣepaparhāra, verse 75.

the time of creation, united with a body.[27] Thus he does not agree with the opponent that the souls are endowed with innate consciousness even at the period of dissolution. For if the souls really possess such an innate omniscience, how can we explain the fact that we experience things as earlier unknown to us? It cannot be argued that this innate omniscience remains locked up within the soul without being directed outwards on the ground that it is, so to say, concealed by the cover of the body; for such a concealment of the innate omniscience is ununderstandable, since, being eternal and in constant contact with the object through the omnipresence (*vyāpakatvam*) of the soul, its nature of being a light with regard to the objects cannot be removed. Nor can it be maintained that the concealment of this innate consciousness consists merely in the hindrance of the activity of the soul; for in that case one cannot explain how the embodied souls are at all able to grasp the objects. If one explains the activities of the embodied soul through the propinquity of the sense organs with the object, then it should be conceded that the operation of the soul is really dependent upon the sense organs, and not merely on the presence of the objects. Hence, concludes Śrīdhara, the souls that are devoid of body do not have any cognition of the objects and therefore they cannot direct the atoms etc. at the beginning of creation for the origination of the universe. Consequently, a director (*adhiṣṭhātā*) superior to them, possessed of an innate cognition of all objects as well as the nature of an agent (*kartṛsvabhāva*) must be inferred, since the general principle that non-conscious (*acetana*) causes cannot act unless they are directed by a conscious agent, admits of no exception. Such an agent is the Īśvara.[28]

The author of the Nyāyakandalī has thus vindicated against the objections of the opponents the existence of Īśvara as the maker of the universe. In connection with the creative activity of Īśvara the exponents of the Īśvara-doctrine have often also dealt with the motive or purpose (*prayojana*) which prompts Īśvara to his creative activity; for no reasonable agent poses an action without an end in view.[29] Although Śrīdhara makes no reference

27. Ny. Kand. 140, 6. Instead of *śarīrotpatteḥ vinā* I read *śarīrotpatteḥ prāk*.

28. Compare Uddyotkara's answer in NV p. 947, ff. and Vyomaśiva's answer in Vyom. 304, 2—15.

29. Śrīdhara himself says in Ny. Kand., p. 5, 7-8: *prayojanādhigatipūrvakatvāt sarvaprekṣāvatpravṛtteḥ*.

in his long excursus, to the motive of Īśvara in his activity, yet in commenting upon a passage of the section of the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* on creation and dissolution he indicates his view with regard to this problem. The creative activity of Īśvara is prompted, according to him, not through any motive of self-interest (*svārtha*), but only for the sake of the others (*parārtha*), that is to say, for the sake of helping the living beings that are still in the bondage of Saṁsāra. The fact of the presence of sufferings does not go counter to such a conception, since Īśvara in his creative activity is conditioned by or dependent upon the merit and demerit of the souls. Although Īśvara is able to direct these causes, he cannot alter the irreversible law of Karma according to which each soul must experience or enjoy the fruit of its past deeds. Such a dependence of Īśvara on the merit and demerit of souls goes as little against his nature as Īśvara as does the nature of an earthly master become affected by his conferring upon his servants the fruits of their services, to each according to his merit. Furthermore, Śrīdhara makes an observation at this juncture which is, as far as I know, not met with in Vaiśeṣika works earlier to him, namely that even the creation of the universe with suffering does not go against the compassionate nature of the creator, since these sufferings become indeed a means for the attainment of the supreme end of man, the final liberation from the bondage of Saṁsāra, by producing in men dispassionateness or detachment (*vairāgya*) from this world.[30]

The creator of the universe established by Śrīdhara is not only endowed with eternal cognition and the nature of an agent, but he is also only one (*eka*), without a second to equal him. The postulation of several Īśvaras who are all non-omniscient would be as unsatisfactory to explain the universe as is the case with the ordinary souls. If one of the several Īśvaras is omniscient, then there is no need of accepting any other. If we assume several Īśvaras, all of equal importance, there is no reason at all that they should at all times be unanimous in their decision and thus the effect may not at times originate. If the others direct their activity in accordance with the will (*abhiprāya*) of one of them, then that one, whose will the others follow, will be the Īśvara, and not the others. If all the Īśvaras agree unanimously concerning the production of an effect, just as the several members of a religious assembly agree unanimously

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30. Ny. Kand., p. 132, 1–133, 2.

on a particular undertaking, then no single one of them can be called Īśvara.[31]

II. *The Nature and Attributes of the Īśvara*

The Vaiśeṣikas had classified the totality of reality under the well-known six categories (*padārthāḥ*) of substance, quality, movement, generality, particularity and inherence. Of these, as can easily be understood, Īśvara could be classed only under the category of substance (*dravyam*). In the enumeration of the substances,[31a] however, there is no mention of Īśvara as a separate substance. Hence it was generally accepted by the theists that Īśvara belongs to the class of "soul" (*ātmā*) mentioned among the nine substances.[32]

Śrīdhara shares the general view that Īśvara belongs to the class of substances called souls on the ground that Īśvara possesses cognition (*buddhi*)[33] which, according to the Vaiśeṣika system, is one of the specific, though not essential, qualities of the soul.[34] No doubt, Īśvara differs from the ordinary souls; for while Īśvara possesses, according to him, only six qualities (*guṇa*), as we shall soon mention, the ordinary souls possess no less than fourteen of them.[35] Yet Īśvara and the ordinary souls do not differ in their nature as souls solely through the difference in their qualities (*na ... guṇabhedena bhidyate*); for otherwise it would follow that the liberated souls would cease to belong to the class of souls, since, in the view of the Vaiśeṣikas, they are devoid of cognition etc. in the liberated state.[36]

In what does, then, Īśvara differ from the ordinary souls? Since Īśvara was considered to belong to the class of souls, the problem

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31. Ibid., p. 141, 9—142, 1. Similar arguments can be found in Yogabhāṣyam to Yogasūtra I, 24; NV p. 950, 13—16; NM p. 186/20—187, 10.

31a. There are 9 substances enumerated in Vaiśeṣikasūtra I, 1, 4; PDS, p. 20, 2-3.

32. We have sufficient indications in the early Nyāya-literature to suppose that there was probably a discussion on this point, but the treatment of this special problem must be deferred to another occasion.

33. Ny. Kand., p. 26, 12.

34. PDS p. 202 4 ff; 230, 3-4. It is specific to the soul in as far as it is found only in the souls (ātmā); but it is not an essential quality of the soul in as far as souls can exist, as they indeed do, in the states of *pralaya* or of liberation, without this quality.

35. PDS p. 208, 1-2.

36. Ny. Kand., p. 26, 12-13.

seems to have been posed already from an earlier period whether he belongs to the group of souls that are said to be bound (*baddha*), that is to say, still entangled in the cycle of Saṁsāra, or to that of the liberated souls (*mukta*). Śrīdhara answers that Īśvara is not "bound" since the causes of bondage such as afflictions (*kleśa*) are absent in him. Nor can he, on the other hand, be said to be a liberated soul, since he was never under the bondage of Saṁsāra. If one insists on classifying Īśvara under one of these two groups, one might designate him as eternally liberated (*nityamukta*), which naturally implies that he was at no time subject to bondage. In this context Śrīdhara quotes with approval the definition of Īśvara given by the author of Yogasūtras: "Īśvara is a special soul, untouched by the afflictions, the Karma and its maturations and latent impressions." (YS I, 24). Thus while belonging according to his nature to the class of souls, Īśvara is still different from the ordinary souls in that he is not subject like them to the causes of bondage.[37]

With regard to the attributes of Īśvara, Śrīdhara mentions two views. The upholders of the first view deny in Īśvara six of the fourteen qualities ascribed to the ordinary souls, namely pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*duḥkha*), hatred (*dveṣa*), merit (*dharma*), demerit (*adharma*) and impressions (*saṁskāra*). Thus they admitted in Īśvara eight qualities: three qualities, namely, cognition (*buddhi*), desire (*icchā*) and volition (*prayatna*) which are specific to the soul, and five common qualities, namely, number (*saṁkhyā*), size (*parimāṇa*), individuality (*pṛthaktva*), conjunction (*saṁyoga*), and disjunction (*vibhāga*). The followers of the second view deny in Īśvara even desire and volition as distinct from his cognition and thus admit only six qualities in him: one specific quality of the soul, namely cognition (*buddhi*) and the five abovementioned common qualities.[38]

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37. Ibid., p. 142, 8—11; Yogabhāṣyam to YS I, 24; NV p. 952, 15-16. Thus, according to Śrīdhara, the difference between Īśvara and the ordinary souls does not consist in their nature as soul; for both belong to the same class called *ātmā*. Nor do they differ from each other through a difference in their qualities (as Uddyotkara admitted, Cf. NV, p. 951, 5—8), since this possibility is excluded by a positive statement of Śrīdhara (Ny. Kand., p. 26, 12-13). The real difference between them consists, according to Śrīdhara, in the fact that Īśvara is eternally liberated, in other words, he never was and never will be in bondage, while the ordinary souls, even when they attain liberation, were at some time subject to bondage.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 142, 1—8.

While speaking of these two views Śrīdhara does not make any explicit mention of his own standpoint, but ascribe them respectively to "some" (*kecit*) and to "others" (*anye*).[39] But in an earlier passage, while speaking of Īśvara as belonging to the class of souls, he mentions that Īśvara is the subject of six qualities (*ṣaḍguṇādhikaraṇa*).[40] On the other hand, we know that he admitted in Īśvara innate (*svābhāvika*),[41] eternal (*nitya*)[42] and single (*eka*)[43] desire and volition. Hence we have to conclude that Śrīdhara conceived of the desire and volition of Īśvara, not as qualities distinct from the cognition of Īśvara, but as identical in nature with it, or as different aspects of it.

If we cast a glance at the history of the development of the Īśvara doctrine, we see that the second view, which is also the one followed by Śrīdhara, is an older view maintained, for example, by Uddyotkara in his *Nyāyavārttikam*. Uddyotkara had admitted in Īśvara desire (*icchā*) (with volition probably implied in it), but while enumerating the qualities of Īśvara, he omits desire (and volition) and mentions only six qualities: the five common qualities, namely, number, size, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction, and the specific quality of cognition.[45] The first view, according to which Īśvara possesses eight qualities is the view maintained by the theistic philosophers in general from the time of Vācaspati onwards.[46]

It is rather surprising that Śrīdhara follows the older view of Uddyotkara in preference to the view more commonly accepted at his time. Further, it is also to be observed that, although Śrīdhara mentions only two views concerning the number of qualities in Īśvara, they cannot be taken to be the only theories that existed. For we know that Jayanta, who is believed to have lived in the ninth

39. *Ibid.*, p. 142, 6.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 26, 12.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 140, 1.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 140, 2.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 127, 16-17: *digādivan nityatvād ekaiveśvarecchā* ...

44. NV p. 952, 13-14: *icchā tu vidyate 'kliṣṭā 'vyāhatā sarvārtheṣu.*

45. *Ibid.*, p. 951, 13-14: *saṁkhyā-parimāṇa-pṛthaktva-saṁyoga-vibhāga-buddhaya eva tasya* (=*īśvarasya*) *guṇāḥ*.

46. NVTT p. 604, 2.

century,[47] explicitly admits in Īśvara five of the nine specific qualities (*viśeṣaguṇa*) of the soul, namely, cognition, desire, volition, and merit and pleasure as well as the five common qualities,[48] so that Īśvara possesses, according to him, ten qualities. It is strange that Śrīdhara makes no mention of this view according to which Īśvara would be said to possess ten qualities (*daśaguṇādhikaraṇa*).

I have tried in the preceding pages to reconstruct Śrīdhara's Īśvara-doctrine in its main outlines, as it is exposed in the Nyāyakandalī. It can safely be said that he has given us a very clear account of most of the problems connected with the Īśvara-doctrine, the major portion being dedicated to the establishment of the existence of Īśvara. Much of the contents of his exposition may be found in the works of authors before him, but there are also, it seems to me, some ideas that we come across for the first time in his commentary. Such seem to be for example, some of his arguments against the opponents who maintained that an agent must necessarily be bodied, or his idea that the creation of a world full of sufferings does not go against the compassionate nature of Īśvara in as far as these sufferings become for the living beings a means towards the attainment of the final end, or his arguments against those who held that the souls possess an innate consciousness that enable them to be eternally in cognition of all objects. Of course, we must not forget that we do not possess much of the Vaiśeṣika literature that existed before Śrīdhara,[49] so that we cannot be sure whether or how far even these ideas or arguments are his own or reproduction of the ideas and arguments of those who went before him. We cannot certainly place him on a par with an original thinker like his contemporary Udayana but we can certainly say that Śrīdhara has given us a very clear exposition of the Īśvara-doctrine under its different aspects and it is certainly in this manner that he has made a valuable contribution to the development of the Īśvara-doctrine.

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47. Cf. B. Gupta: Die Wahrnehmungslehre in der Nyāyamañjarī, Bonn 1962, pp. 11-12.

48. NM p. 185, 14-15: *tad evaṃ navabhya ātmaguṇebhyaḥ pañca jñānasukhecchā-prayatnadharmāḥ santīśvare* ...

49. Perhaps one of the important Vaiśeṣika works on Īśvara doctrine that has been lost to us is that of the teacher of Vyomaśiva who seems to have "given a detailed exposition" (*vistareṇoktam*, Vyom., p. 308, 7) of the Īśvara-doctrine.

STATISTICS OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ[1]

By R. MORTON SMITH*

This article aims to continue the search for statistical methods of separating different authors in composite and anonymous work, which we began with our study of Ambā (Adyar Bulletin 1955), and expanded on Nala (JOIB 1960) and Śākuntalā (JBRS 1960). We intend to app'y these techniques to some of the Rāmāyaṇa, and also to some Brāhmaṇa; we hope to find some indications of relative chronology as a by-product. While aiming at criteria that eliminate personal impression or prejudice, we find it is easier said than done, because one is continually having to decide e.g. whether a *-ta* participle is a noun or verb, or when is a compound a compound, e.g. *nṛpa*. I am inclined to think that it does not matter significantly how one decides so long as one is consistent in the texts counted and compared. The method would be ideal for a computer, but I suspect programming would be rather complicated for Sanskrit. Human counting is laborious, and one is apt to miss the odd occurrence, sufficiently to be irritating to one's love of accuracy, while statistically insignificant.

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1. *Abbreviations*

We use the ordinary grammatical abbreviations but append the following for readers' convenience.

Scansion; vipulas –,– – – M – ⏑ ⏑ – X ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – π – ⏑ – ⏑ T ⏑ ⏑ – – im

Others.

Adj.	adjective	ath.	athematic
B	bahuvrīhi	D	dvandva
cpd.	compound	excl.	excluding
fin.	finite	infin,	infinitive
ger.	gerund	incl.	including
K	karmadhāraya	n.	neuter
m.	masculine	f.	feminine
pass.	passive	pl.	plural
pt./part.	participle	prep.	preposition
r	ratio : to	s./sing.	singular
T	tatpuruṣa	th.	thematic

We offer these techniques as a *pis aller,* not a substitute for the old-fashioned literary criticism and its sensitivity of experience; some traits elude grammatical statistics, e.g. whether the vocabulary is rare, precious or common, and even with common vocabulary, real differences can be shown by the words preferred, e.g. for 'king' or 'speak.' Differences of statistics do not prove conclusively that a writer might not have more than one style, depending on age or mood; nor since some differences must be expected between narrative and philosophy, that one person could not write both; e.g. one would expect more imperfects in narrative, and presents in philosophy.

We classify differences as A and B; in class A the figures of the alleged authors differ so that $X+20\%$ is outside of $Y-20\%$. In the B difference, the variations overlap, though the central figures are outside the 20%. Within this interval, difference of two central figures is not significant. There are apt to be considerable differences between chapters in any one grammatical form, but unless they coincide with a significant number of other unrelated differences, they can be safely ignored. Many things can be counted, and we have to discover by experience what counts show differences, and what do not; for instance, the ratio of athematic to thematic verbs or nouns does not seem to change much; figures for Gītā and Ambā are much the same. However the labour of the negative result has provided some interesting figures on the frequency of grammatical forms, unexpected by the writer. I would have liked some figures from the Śānti and Anuśāsana Parvans, but I have not had time to get them.

One may look for differences in absolute quantity, e.g. the ratio of presents to lines, or relative frequency, e.g. how many perfects to imperfects. The most significant differences should occur between alternatives. Our figures are for the ślokas; but we have taken figures for the triṣṭubhs, and they seldom seem to raise the language to a more 'poetic' level, e.g. with the appearance of rare grammatical forms or more elaborate compounds. In our figures for nouns, we omit proper names, numbers and pronouns; we sometimes transfer categories, e.g. it is misleading to take sat or jagat as present participles, and we treat them as consonant stems; so too we take dhī as a root stem, not fem. —ī like devī. In compounds, we do not take verbal prepositions as separate members, e.g. rūpa-sam-anvita we take as a simple compound of two members, not four. In the participial figures we do not consider the negative as making a compound verb, though we do acknowledge the negative in our figures

for compounds; e.g. adṛṣṭa is a simple compound, while a-pūrva-dṛṣṭa would be a 3-member compound.

Prof. Ingalls suggests that the authority of the Gītā is late, since the philosophers do not quote it till late: this may well be right. My own feeling is that such a poem would have a rapid appeal, and this is why it is comparatively uninterpolated; interpolations would have to be early and with the popularity of the work became impossible quite soon. The Gītā mirrors the situation at Pāṭalīputra on the death of the bandhu, regent, in 212 B.C. (except that Śāliśūka was willing to kill his kin), and I would suggest was composed between 210 and 200 B.C., it carries its interpolated authority into the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, where Śvet. 3.16-7 quotes Gītā 13.13-4, and 3.18a quotes Gītā 5.13c. The lateness of the Gītā quotations by the great philosophers I would explain by suggesting that they belonged to the court brahmins (or their tradition did), just as we find Nāgārjuna or Dignāga at court, whereas the epic, with the Gītā was in the hands of the non-court, village Brahmins till about the time of Vasudeva I Kushan. Indeed I would be willing to believe that there are only minor additions to the Māhābhārata after his reign, 189–232 A.D. Judging from Gītā 10.22, .25 and .31, I would suggest that the author was a Bhārgava of the Sāmaveda; the Bhāgavas had control of the epic, and Rāma in .31 is quite likely to have been Paraśurāma in 200 B.C.

The last chapters of the Gītā have long been suspected as unoriginal from their content. 17 and the first part of 18 go closely together, but as the poem was made up for its present place, and so must have had verses preparing for the resumption of narrative, the last part of 18 should be original. 12 is also needed for the anticlimax from the vision of 11. The division we suggest is therefore Chh. 1 – 12+18.55 – .78 as the original, and we call it A, its author A. Chh. 13 – 16 we ascribe to author B, though more than one may be involved. Chh. 17-18.54 we ascribe to author C. In A there seems to me very little that can be shown to have been interpolated. Misapplied particles often show up insertions, but particles are relatively few in the Gītā, and offer no suspicion. I suspect 2.19-20, quoting the Kaṭha-upaniṣad and 2.28-29, interrupting a run of .. *na tvaṁ śocitum arhasi* .. are interpolated; but by 200 B.C. quotation might be perfectly natural. 3.23cd does look inserted, interrupting construction and sense, but excellent in its recurrence at 4.11cd. I strongly suspect tampering in 10, where Kṛṣṇa is the best of everything; but the order is so chaotic, and I have so failed to

find an original order, boustrophedon or other, that I hesitate to expel, though e.g. 10.37 I would gladly dismiss. For instance, I would like to follow Skanda of generals in .24c with Rāma of weapon-bearers in 31b, rather than by Ocean of streams, and precede Rāma with wind of purifiers. But I have taken no action, and considering that it would take a very strong anomaly to upset the general statistic, I give the figures for the text as I find it in the Poona edition.

In the following figures we will omit Gītā 1, unless otherwise said, owing to its very different content of narrative; the remainder is like the alleged interpolations, philosophic, and therefore most closely comparable. Nevertheless, there are many figures which the inclusion of Ch. 1 does not alter appreciably, e.g. the vipula pattern,

A incl. Ch. I	(827P/10M	25X	45	18T	1 im	926	lines
excl.	738P/10	25	43	15	1	832	„
B	175P/ 7	3	7	8	—	200	„
C	138P/ 8	6	10	2	—	164	„

While the patterns of B and C show a class A difference only in respect to T, (and in ratio to lines, also for X), A shows a very different pattern, with M as the least favoured vipula, and showing a class A difference in ratio both to X and π against authors B and C.

The figures following we will give in the order A (original minus Ch. 1), B (Chh. 13–16), C (Chh. 17–18.54), underlining the B and C figures when they give a class A difference from A.

Verbs

Thematic verbs	322	71	34	r : lines	1 : 2.58	2.7	4.82
athematic „	246	48	24	„	3.38	4.16	6.83
ratio ath. : them. not significantly different.							
Par. (pres/fut. stems)	500	93	42	r : lines	1.64	2.15	3.9
Atm.	123	37	16	„	6.78	5.4	10.25
r At. : Par					4.065	2.51	2.625
No past stems Ātm. Add.	4	1	—	aor. Par.			
	24	7	3	perf. Par.			
Simple vbs. all parts	842	147	144	r : lines	0.988	1.37	1.14
cpd. 1 prep. „	369	91	68	„	2.25	2.198	2.41
„ 2 & 2+ prep. „	45	11	14	„	18.49	18.18	11.71

-ta pt. simple non-cpd.	220	32	43	,,	3.78	6.25	3.81
,, +prep.	158	45	47	,,	5.26	4.65	3.49
,, simple in cpd.	199	52	61	,,	4.17	3.857	2.69
,, +prep. ,,	179	25	29	,,	4.58	8	5.65
r simple cpd. : non-cpd.					1.105	0.615	0.7049
,, +prep. ,,					0.88	1.8	2.103
gerunds	104	25	18	r : lines	8	8	9.11
-tva	50	11	5	r -tva : -ya	1.08	1.27	2.6
-ya	54	14	13				
r ger. : finite vbs (non-significant difference)					6.03	6.44	5.92
,, : pres. pt. (all voices)					0.952	0.6	0.22
pres. pt. ,,	99	15	4		8.404	13.33	41
r pres. pt. Ātm./Par. : finite pres. stem					2.03	3.71	20.33
Fut. pt. poss. -tavya	10	—	3		83.2	0	54.67
-ya non-cpd.	26	7	15	r : lines	32	28.57	10.93

(non-cpd. does not exclude simple negatives in a; -tavya does not occur in other compounds, whereas —ya does, e.g. avadyāṅga).

Nouns/Adj.

The ratios of declined stems of various kinds to lines does not seem to differ significantly, nor does it do so greatly between philosophy and narrative; e.g. the ratio of -a/ā stems to lines is 1 : 0.49, 0.422, 0.39 in the Gītā, and 0.483 in Ambā. However differences can show up on breaking down the figures. For instance

-i stems	195	47	37	r : -a stems	8.118	9.51	10.65
but -u ,,	63	9	7	,,	23.54	50.77	56.28
-r ,,	18	10	8	,,	87.94	45.7	39.25
-in ,,	80	11	22	,,	19.788	41.54	17.91
-as ,,	97	35	22	,,	16.32	13.05	17.91
-a/-ā ,, declined	1698	474	420				
,, prior in cpd.	572	153	149	r cpd. : decl.	2.968	3.163	2.856
-i/u/r/ declined	270	65	50				
,, prior in cpd.	38	19	10	r cpd. : decl.	7.105	3.42	5

The ratio of nominal compounds to lines does not differ between authors;

total cpds.	874	210	181	r : lines	0.953	0.952	0.906
2 members	719	162	133		1.157	1.23	1.23
3 ,,	121	32	33		6.87	6.5	4.97
4+ ,,	34	16	15		24.47	12.5	10.93

r 3+ : 2 members						4.632	3.375	2.77
cpds. excl. a-, su- etc.	B	250	41	47				
	TK	388	102	88	r B : TK	1.54	2.4878	1.87
	D	24	9	12	r D : lines	34.6	22.22	13.67
a-, su-, etc. only	B	57	14	14				
	TK	155	44	20				

Class A differences are not easily found among the compounds.

-an stems are like -a stems in compound, and we find their ratios as prior in cpd.: declined is much the same, 2.76, 2.07, 3.08. But other root and consonant stems do show class A difference:

prior in cpd.	14	8	16				
declined	383	91	61	r cpd. : decl.	27.357	11.375	4.0265

Turning to particles, the descending order of frequency is

A : ca —eva —hi —api —tu — evaṃ (total) — k. cid — tasmād — tathā — iha — caiva — tatas — eva ca — tatra — atha — k. cana — others under 7

B : ca — eva ca — api — tu — caiva — eva — evaṃ (total) — tathā — api ca — tatas — cāpi — others twice or less.

C : ca — tu — caiva — eva — eva ca — hi — tathā — others occur twice or less, or not at all.

Absolute numbers:

ca	132	53	42	r : lines	6.303	3.77	3.905
eva	70	5	9	„	11.88	40	18.22
eva ca	10	13	3	„	83.2	15.38	54.67
api	51	9	7	„	16.31	22.22	23.428
hi	52	2	3	„	16	100	54.67

(hi is used 7 times to avoid hiatus by A, but not by B or C)

tu	41	6	14	r : lines	20.29	33.33	11.71
caiva	13	5	10	„	64	40	16.4
tathā	14	4	3	„	59.43	50	54.67

Others could be added; but it would seem that particles show up differences well, and it may indicate that individual words do so better than grammatical forms.

In B there is no name of or vocative to Kṛṣṇa, and only 4 in C (1 : 41 lines) A's ratio (excl. Ch. 1) is 1 : 25.1. The figures for Arjuna are:

s a Arjuna	20	0	2	r : lines	41.6	—	82
Bhārata	10	9	2	,,	83.2	22.22	82
Dhanañjaya	9	0	1	,,	92.4	—	164
Pārtha	29	2	9	,,	28.69	100	18.22

In the figures given we have found between A and B 16 class A differences out of 38, excluding particles and scansion, and between A and C 21 out of 38. There are only 15 between B and C. One might expect more differences between shorter units from the randomness of sampling; but these B and C figures would indicate that 150 ślokas can form a fair test.

We suggest that the figures given are enough to substantiate the probability of different authors for A, B and C; what we would like to find is some other part of the epic, preferably philosophic, where the same figures coincided 80% within 10% of the central figures of B or C, indicating the same hand at work elsewhere.

In the course of our counting we have noticed several interesting facts of frequencies of grammatical forms in Epic Sanskrit, which we offer tentatively. The -s Aorist is distinctly unpopular, while the perfect vies with the imperfect; this is the opposite of the Pālī position. Fut. part. pass. -anīya is absent from Gītā and Ambā, and from author A of Nala. The fem. gender does not occur as often as one would except, and in Gītā it makes a poor showing; except for instr. sing. (10) and 1 fem. acc pl. in -i, the fem. endings in -i and -u stems do not occur; nor does the neut. except for 5 NVA pl. in -i, 2 in -u. Instr. sing. masc. e.g. Śucinā, is not popular.

The nom. s. and acc. s. are usually of a different order of frequency from the other cases, the former perhaps half as common again as the latter. (We hope soon to publish some figures from several texts.) But the consonantal accusatives especially those in (v) ant (which does not include pres. part. Par.) are relatively much rarer, except for -an stems, e.g. Gītā A acc. : nom, s. m. st. and consonant stems, 3 : 20; -in 4 : 37; -an 16 : 32; - (v) ant 1 : 22; - (a) s 2 : 12. In Gītā B and C the nom. superiority is much less, but -vant acc. is relatively equally unpopular in Nala (all authors) and Ambā.

The dative is a rare case outside -a stems, except for names, and this unpopularity may explain its disappearance from the infinitive. In Ambā (ślokas) there are 18 dat. s.+18 more proper names against 809 nom. s. excluding proper names. In the Gītā the figures are dat. s. -a 14–5–1, -i 3–0–1, -u 2–0–1, -an 0–0–1; dat. pl. -a only, 0–1–1. Ambā has no dat. pl. The abl. is almost as unpopular outside -a stems. This again may explain the failure of the abl. infinitive. The figures for Gītā are -a 54–10–8, -i 2–0–0, consonant stems 5–2–0; abl. pl. -a 7–2–0, + -in 3–0–0. The figures for Ambā are much the same, and curiously it is absent from the fem. -ī and -ā stems, and so too in Nala. The relative frequency of sing. and pl. in the various declensions is very similar in Gītā and Ambā. While -i stems are much commoner than -u stems in the sing., this does not hold for the plural. While loc. s. is much commoner than gen. s. in the -a stems, they are roughly equal in other stems.

I have not noticed anything particular on the verbal usage; narrative is a better field for that. But I hope to include pronominal figures in further studies, and trust that this article would have interested the distinguished scholar in whose honour it has been written.

VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY IN PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS WORKS

By HAJIME NAKAMURA*

It is needless to say that the *Vedānta* philosophy has far more frequently been taken up for discussion in the field of philosophy and religion than in any other cultural areas since it is the most important philosophical thought among the orthodox Brahmanical traditions. For this reason a number of philosophical works of the orthodox Brahmanical traditions which were composed before Śaṅkara constitute the most valuable materials for clarifying how the early Vedānta school was. There are, however, only a few passages in these works which refer to the *Vedānta* philosophy. The majority of the extent philosophical works of the orthodox Brahmanical traditions were written after the time of Śaṅkara, and only a few texts which were written before him have been handed down by each school of philosophy. Other religious and theological works, especially those of Hinduism, should also be taken into consideration, but almost all of the extant texts of this kind were composed after Śaṅkara, though the historical origin of Hinduism can be traced back to an exceedingly ancient period. Because of the scarcity of materials, the passages which refer to the early *Vedānta* philosophy are very few in number and far less than the data which are available from the Buddhist and the Jaina scriptures. However, no matter how scanty the materials may be, they are so important that they cannot be overlooked. In the following pages I would like to examine them one by one.

First of all, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* (7, 2, 3 and 4) refutes the view that everything is one (*sarvaikatva*), and concludes that the theory

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that all is one is wrong (*bhrānta*). Here it may be rejecting the *Sāṁkhya* as well as the *Vedānta,* but at any rate it is clear that it refutes the monism of the *Vedānta* philosophy.

Moreover, the same text (4, 2, 2 and 3) refutes not only the theory that the body consists of the five material elements but also the opinion that the body consists of the three material elements, earth, water and fire. As the reason for his rejection the author states: "For the other attributes (*guṇa*) do not appear." The attributes of water and fire do not appear in the dead body. If the body were composed of earth, water and fire, their attributes should appear in the body not only while alive but also after death. But this does not occur. This fact demonstrates that the body is not composed of the three elements, but it has one element, earth, as its chief component. This argument is evidently made against the *Vedānta* school which asserts on the basis of Uddālaka's thought (*Chāndogya Up*. VI, 3–6) that all things consist of water, fire and earth and the body is also composed of the same three elements (*cf. Brahmasūtra* II, 4, 20-22).

Furthermore, while demonstrating the existence of *ātman,* the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* refers to the argument of the opponents that the existence of *ātman* cannot be established by means of inference but only by means of the *Veda*. Even if one touches another person, e.g. Yajñadatta, the sense-perception does not arise that this *ātman* is Yajñadatta. Therefore, there is no visible mark (*liṅga*) which indicates the existence of *ātman*. Since tangibility is commonly seen in other things than *ātman,* it is not distinct from them in this respect. One cannot, therefore, know the existence of *ātman* through sense-perception. For this reason *ātman* should be known by means of the *Veda* (*āgamika,* III, 2, 2–68).[1] Since it is chiefly the *Upaniṣads* that teach the existence of *ātman,*[2] those who attack the *Vaiśeṣika* view here might be *Vedāntins* who adhere to the *Upaniṣads*. The view, that *ātman* cannot be established by means of logic but only by means of the *Veda,* is what is emphasized by Bhartṛhari and

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1. As for such an interpretation of these *sūtras,* see Hakuju Ui, *Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyū* (=A Study of Indian Philosophy), Vol. III, pp. 487 ff. and p. 520.

2. *tasmāt samyag Upaniṣadāṃ śravaṇāt tattvasākṣātkāra upapadyate, natu mananapraṇālikāyā* (Upaskāra and *Vaiśeṣikasūtra,* III, 2, 8).

Śaṅkara later.[3] However, since the *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Vedānta* schools had not yet been divided at that time, it might well be thought that the *Mīmāṁsakas* are also included among the opponents of the *Vaiśeṣika* school who hold the above view. (It is likely that the *Mīmāṁsā* school at that time had not yet been influenced by the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy).

Our examination of the above arguments reveals that a group of Brahmans who regarded the *Upaniṣads* as their absolute authority attacked, and were refuted by, the *Vaiśeṣika* school in the first century, A.D. since the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* took its form in 50—100 A.D.[4]

There is no other reference to the *Vedānta* philosophy[5] in the works of the *Vaiśeṣika* school which were written before Śaṅkara, but the works of the *Nyāya* school, a sister system of the former, provide information about it which should be examined in order to know the history of the *Vedānta* school. There is no direct reference to it in the *Nyāyasūtra* but some interesting information about it is available in Vātsyāyana's commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra*.

Vātsyāyana accepts the fourfold learning exactly as it is taught in the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāṣtra*.[6] According to him, philosophy (*ānvīkṣikī*) is the fourth learning (*caturthī vidyā*) which means nothing but logic (*nyāyavidyā, nyāyaśāstra*). Against the charge that: "Is it not meaningless to construct a philosophical system of the *Nyāya* school by setting up doubt (*saṁśaya*) and other items? For they are comprised in the right means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*)

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3. As for the doctrine of Bhartṛhari, see the present work, Vol. IV, pp. 141 ff. *śrutyavagāhyam evedam atigambhīraṃ brahma na tarkāvagāhyam* (Śaṅkara *and Brahmasūtra* II, 1, 32, Vol. I, p. 502, line 2); [*vedānta*—] *vākyārthavicāraṇādhyavasānanirvṛttā hi brahmāvagatir nānumānādipramāṇāntara-nirvṛttā* (Saṁkara *and Brahmasūtra* I, 1, 1, Vol. I, p. 36, line 2): *tasmāt Śabdamūla evātīndriyārthayāthātmyādhigamaḥ* (Śaṁkara *and Brahmasūtra* II, 1, 27, Vol. I, p. 496, line 8). In addition to those Śaṁkara's argument of this kind can be frequently seen in his works.

4. Hakuju Ui, *Indo Tetsugaku Shi* (=A History of Indian Philosophy), p. 178.

5. In addition to the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, Praśastapada's *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* and the *Daśapadārthaśāstra* were also composed before Śaṅkara but in neither of them any passages can be found which present the doctrine of the *Vedānta* school.

6. Vātsyāyana *and Nyāyasūtra* I, 1, 1, pp. 4-5; 10 (Ānandā) stanza Sanskrit Series).

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and the objects of knowledge (*prameya*) and they are not separate things" he asserts that "doubt and other items should be set up" and discusses as follows:

"If these [items] be not stated separately, this [philosophy] would become merely [a study] of the inner *ātman* like the *Upaniṣads*. Therefore, [philosophy] is separately established by means of doubt and other items."

teṣām pṛthagvacanam antareṇādhyātmamātram iyaṃ syāt, yathopaniṣadaḥ. tasmāt saṁśayādibhiḥ padārthaiḥ pṛthak prasthāpyate.

Commenting on this, Uddyotkara says:

"[If there be no such items as doubt in philosophy, it] would be included in the *Vedic* study like the *Upaniṣadic study* since [it] would be merely a study of the inner *ātman*. Thus the four-foldness [of the learning] would cease to exist."

adhyātmavidyāmātravad Upaniṣadvidyāvat trayyām evāntarbhāva iti catuṣṭvam nivarteta.[7]

Thus both Vātsyāyana and Uddyotkara regard the "*Upaniṣadic* study" (*Upaniṣadvidyā*) or a "study of the inner *ātman*" merely as theology or the *Vedic* study and not as philosophy. According to them a learning which gives rise to doubt about every aspect of nature and life and then an answer to it by means of reasoning can really deserve the name of philosophy. However, the *Vedānta* school attaches importance only to the *Upaniṣads* and negates the meaning of logical thinking. Considering, therefore, that the *Vedānta* is not philosophy in its pure sense of the term, they decline to give the name of philosophy to it. It is clear that with regard to this point as well these *Nyāya* philosophers hold the same opinion as the author of the *Arthaśāstra*.

In this way the early *Nyāya* philosophers refused to admit the significance or raison d'être of the *Vedānta* philosophy as philosophy. Nevertheless, they would not neglect the social fact that this philosophy was actually gaining strength in the intellectual world of that

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7. *Nyāyavārttika*, p. 12.

time. Referring clearly to the *Vedānta* philosophy in another place[8] of his commentary, Vātsyāyana refutes it as follows:

> "[Final release] is to discard life already received and not to receive another life. The people who know final release set forth that this state of infinity is final release. '[It is taught in the scripture that] "*Brahman* is the fearless, immortal and non-aging state and arrival at peace." Alike [its] greatness the eternal bliss of *ātman* is manifest in the state of final release. When it is manifest, a man is absolutely released and becomes joyful.'———thus think some people. [However,] their argument is not reasonable because of the absence of evidence. There is neither sense-perception nor inference nor scriptural testimony with which to prove that "Alike [its] greatness the eternal bliss of *ātman* is manifest in the state of final release."

"Some people" referred to in the above passage are evidently those of the *Vedānta* school. They consider *brahman* as the absolute principle and final release as manifestation of the eternal bliss (*nityaṃ sukham*)[9] of *ātman* which is one's own nature. Such a concept of final release is one of the characteristics of the *Vedānta* philosophy.

Furthermore, the same work of Vātsyāyana (*Nyāyabhāṣya* IV, 1, 41)[10] introduces different theories which classify all things in various ways. One of them is the opinion that:

"All is one and existent because of the absence of distinction." —*sarvam ekaṃ sad, aviśeṣāt.*

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8. *Nyāyabhāṣya,* I, I, 22, pp. 37-38.

9. *Ibid.,* p. 306.

10. But it is not possible to conclude absolutely that it points to the *Vedānta* school, since it might point to the *Sāṁkhya* school. In a work, ascribed to āryadeva such a theory is attributed to the *Sāṁkhya* school: There are some heretics who say that everything is. ... It is the doctrine of the *Sāṁkhya* school that everything is one." (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* Vol. XXXII, p. 155a.). However, it might be more reasonable to look upon it as pointing to the *Vedānta* school. Furthermore, the theory that everything is the same also appears in the (Upāyakauśalyahidaya) (Hakuju Ui, *Indo Tetsugaku Kenykū,* Vol. II, pp. 486 ff.). The same is also said in the (Mahāyānāvatāra): "The doctrine of the *Sāṁkhya* school has a fault in thinking that [everything] is one." (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* Vol. XXXII, p. 40b.).

In his sub-commentary *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā* Vācaspatimiśra interprets it as a theory of non-dualism of *brahman* (*brahmādvaita*), quoting the passage which explains *brahman* as one without a second (*ekam evādvitīyam*, *Chāndogya Up*. VI, 2, 1) and that which denies the distinction of all beings (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up*. IV, 4, 19). To deny or disregard the distinction of all beings, interpreting them as transformations of the one ultimate principle, is one of the characteristics of the *Vedānta* philosophy. Therefore, the theory quoted above may point to a doctrine of the *Vedānta* school.[11]

In his days Vātsyāyana, who was active in 350—400 A.D., could not longer disregard the *Vedānta* scholars who advocated such a doctrine. Moreover, in his *Nyāyavārttika* Uddyotkara (550—600 A.D.) refers to views suggestive of the *Vedānta* philosophy in places other than the above mentioned. For example, he criticizes a theory according to which *ātman*, the controller of the individual, is the ruler of merit and demerit.[12] It is in accordance with Jaimini's theory which is referred to in *Brahmasūtra* III, 2, 40, and it has been inherited by the *Mīmāṁsakas*. It may, however, be possible to regard it as one of the different views presented by the early *Vedānta* philosophers since it is referred to in the *Brahmasūtra*.

Thus in the works of the early *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* school the primitive *Vedānta* philosophy of the early period is transmitted and no reference is made to any theory like that of false manifestation (*vivartavāda*) of the Śāṅkara school. Even in later centuries Udayana (10th century), an important scholar of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school, gives the name of Bhāskara as one who taught that all things evolved from *brahman*[13] without referring to Śaṅkara. The Śāṅkara school does not seem to have been yet regarded as important in the intellectual world of that time.

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11. Hakuju Ui, *Indo Tetsugaku Shi*, p. 478.

12. *ātmaivādhiṣṭhātā dharmādharmayor bhaviṣyatīti* (*Nyāyavārttika* IV, 1, 21, Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series, p. 459). Yamada and Itō (tr.), *Indo Kodai Shinkan Shi* (Die Entwicklung der Gottes; dee be: den Indern von H. G. Jacobi), p. 147. Cf. *Gauḍapādīyakārikā* II, 25 and my translation and note on it in the present work, Vol. III, p. 350.

13. In his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (2) Udayana says: *"sargo brahmaparinter iti Bhāskaragotre yujyate,"* and Govardhana comments on it as: *"Bhāskaras Tridaṇḍimatabhāṣyakāraḥ."* (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogrum*. Vol. I, p. 793).

Together with the *Vedānta* school the Sāṁkhya school is one which exerted the greatest influence upon the history of Indian thought, and the blending and synthesis of the thought of both schools can often be found in important works of thought in India. The thought of both schools possesses inherently the possibility of being easily synthesize, but the purely classical *Sāṁkhya* school rejects the *Vedānta* philosophy. Especially the ancient *Sāṁkhya* school which is grounded on the theory of plurality of *ātman* was not able to admit the monistic tendency of the *Vedānta* philosophy. The former takes up this point of the latter for thorough investigation.

The *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (18), which is the classical text book of the Sāṁkhya school, rejects the theory of oneness of *ātman* and advocates that of its plurality. This argument could be summarized as follows: the existence of many *ātmans* which are mutually different should be admitted, for the activity, function and state of an *ātman* are neither common to those of another nor does a change in an *ātman* take place in another. The same argument is employed when the Buddhists and the Jainas attack the *Vedānta* philosophy.

In relation to this argument commentators introduce the *Vedānta* thought of that time.

> "According to a theory, the one *ātman* pervades all the bodies just as a string pierces gems although gems are many and the string is one, and just as Viṣṇu shares His pleasure with 16,000 maidens at the same time. So is the one *ātman*. It can pervade all the bodies."

(*Suvarṇasaptati*)

> "Then certain masters who are *Vedavādins* think as follows: 'This only one *puruṣa* can be seen in all the bodies just as a string (*sūtra*) pierces [a great number of] gems (*maṇi*). As for the string, no matter how many gems there may be in this world, only one string pierces all gems.' If so, does the highest *ātman* which corresponds to a string exist in many bodies which corresponds to gems or is the one called *puruṣa* perceived in many [bodies] just like the moon reflecting on the surface of water, that is to say, just as one moon is perceived on the surface of water of rivers, wells, tanks, and so forth? Therefore, doubt arises in this point." (*Māṭharavṛtti*)

"The only one *ātman* is the ruler (*adhiṣṭhātṛ*) in all the bodies just like a string which by nature pierces [many] gems." (Gauḍapāda)

The simile of a string piercing gems is introduced in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* as well.[14] That of the moon reflecting on the surface of water is frequently employed by the later *Vedānta* school (Cf. *Brahmasūtra* II, 3, 50), and a such method of explanation is called the reflection theory (*pratibimbavāda*). Therefore, those facts reveal that the doctrine of the *Vedānta* school was known to the *Sāṁkhya* school at that time and that the relationship between the highest *ātman* and the individual *ātman* was variously explained by the same school. However, Māṭhara attributes the theory to a *Vedavādin* and not to a *Vedāntavādin*. Therefore, it is likely that the independence of the *Vedānta* school had not yet been generally accepted. The *Suvarṇasaptati* was composed before 546 A.D. and the other two commentaries were probably written in about 600–700, A.D.[15] It is, therefore, to be noted here that, although it was the period when *Vedānta* philosophers appeared one after another, their view was ascribed to the *Vedavādins*.

The origin of the *Sāṁkhya* school is exceedingly ancient, but the extant texts of the school which were composed before Śaṅkara are only the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* and its commentaries. They refer briefly to the *Vedānta* philosophy as I have mentioned above and there is not any reference to the *māyā* doctrine yet. In the works of the *Sāṁkhya* school, the *māyā* doctrine was called into question only after the time of Śaṅkara. In commenting *Sāṁkhyakārikā* 9 Vācaspatimiśra attacks the *māyā* doctrine, saying, "It is not possible to say that the notion of the phenomenal world being real is false because of the absence of evidence which contradicts it."[16]

Next, as works of the *Yoga* school prior to *Śaṅkara* there are the *Yogasūtra* and Vyāsa's commentary (*Bhāṣya*) on it. But the *Yogasūtra* is not concerned with logical debates, and even in the commentary of Vyāsa there is no place where he refutes the *Vedānta* school. The practice of *Yoga* is common to nearly all of the schools

14. Cf. the present work, Vol. I, pp. 189 ff.

15. Hakuju Ui, *Indo Tetsukagu Shi,* p. 473.

16. *prapañcapratyayaś cāsati bādhake na śakyo mithyeti vaditum iti.*

in India, and the *Vedānta* school also adopts it. Therefore, they did not probably think it necessary to refute the doctrine of the *Vedānta* school.

The *Mīmāṁsā* school has been in a sister relationship with the *Vedānta* school since the time of its establishment, and they profess themselves to be the two great systems of the orthodox Brahmanical tradition. Most scholars of the early *Mīmāṁsā* school belong to the *Vedānta* school at the same time. One and the same person studies both doctrines. Therefore, the *Mīmāṁsakas* did not refuse the *Vedānta* philosophy (in this connection, see the present work, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff. and Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.). However, in the later centuries, there arose in the *Vedānta* school a tendency to reject as the learning low in value the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy which has rites as its principal things. Consequently the *Mīmāṁsā* school came to reject positively the *Vedānta* philosophy. The eternal existence of the individual *ātman* from the standpoint of the highest truth is the absolutely necessary and indispensable presupposition on which the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy can establish their rites. Nevertheless there appeared a number of philosophers in the later *Vedānta* school who asserted that "the individual *ātman* is real only in the worldly life and unreal from the standpoint of the highest truth." Therefore, the *Mīmāṁsakas* tried hard to attack such an idea that was a menace to the basis of their ritual philosophy. As the result the *Mīmāṁsā* school came closer to the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* philosophy with regard to the problem of the individual *ātman*.

As far as the extent texts show, it is Kumārila who first attacked the *Vedānta* philosophy among the *Mīmāṁsakas*. In his *Śloka-vārttika* (*Pratyakṣasūtra*, 114–116, p. 169) he introduces and attacks a view. According to its commentator Pārthasārathimiśra it is the theory of the *Vedāntins*. It runs as follows:

"But other people (=*Vedāntins*) say that [the object of non-determinative knowledge][17] is the highest universality (*mahā-sāmānya*), the substance (*dravya*) and the being (*sat*). Thus the theory that sense-perception (*pratyakṣa*) has universality (*sāmānya*) as its object has been accepted." [114]

"[If you ask, 'If sense-perception is non-determinative, how can particularities (*viśeṣa*) be cognized?,' we reply that] various

17. *nirvikalpakasya viṣayam*. Comm.

particularities are cognized by the determinative faculty of cognition (*savikalpakabuddhi*). Therefore, particularities (i.e. individuality) exist only in their respective objects and again, particularities [such as cowness (*gotva*)] exist in many objects." [115]

"When one does not think of these particularities which are established by [mutual] exclusion and agreement, the sense-perception which arises with reference to a cow is not distinguished from that which arises with reference to a horse."[18] [116]

According to the commentary, this argument is refuted in the following stanzas and later again the next argument is mentioned as theory of opponents and it may also be that of the *Vedānta* school.[19]

"[The determinative] subject of cognition (*dhī*) superimposes a genus (*jāti*) and so forth [which are different from a thing] upon a thing (*vastu*) which is not a genus itself. Therefore, the subject of cognition is [false] like a mirage (*mṛgatṛṣṇikā*)."[20] [140]

The *Vedānta* doctrine mentioned here resembles that of Śaṅkara but it is not the same in every respect. For example, it is in accordance with Śaṅkara's philosophy in regarding the Absolute as being but he does neither call it substance (*dravya*) nor the highest uni-

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18. *mahāsāmānyam anayais tu dravyaṃ sad iti cocyate /*
sāmānyaviṣayatvaṃ ca pratyakṣasyaivam āśritam // 144 //

viśeṣās tu pratīyante savikalpakabuddhibhiḥ /
te ca kecit pratidravyaṃ kecid bahuṣu saṃśritāḥ // 115 //

tān akalpayad utpannaṃ vyāvṛttānugatātmanā /
gavy aśve copajātaṃ tu pratyakṣaṃ na viśiṣyate // 116 //

In translating the last stanza I read *vyāvṛttyanugamatmanā* (for *vyāvṛttanugatātmanā*), following the reading of the commentary.

19. The commentary reads: *codayati.* The English translator G. Jhā interprets it as *Vedāntic* objection.

20. *jātyādyarthāntaraṃ yasmād atadrūpe 'pi vastuni /*
bhavaty adhyasya dhīs tasmān mṛgatṛṣṇādibhiḥ samā // (pp. 177-178). *jātyādi=jātiguṇakriyānāmadheyāni* ("genus and so on" denotes a genus, a quality, action and name), Comm.

versality (*mahāsāmānya*).[21] In these respects the *Vedānta* doctrine in question is the closest to Bhartṛhari's view. At least, that which is taught in stanzas 114–116 is all advocated by Bhartṛhari.[22] It also resembles greatly what is mentioned as a *Vedānta* theory by a Jaina scholar Mallavādin.[23] These facts show evidently that a doctrine different from Śaṁkara's was prevalent in the world of thought prior to him.

It is to be noted here that the concept of the highest universality (*mahāsāmānya*), which had been generally thought as that in the very limit and at the highest rank but had had its *raison d'être* as a mere abstract conception, was made the essential character of the Absolute by philosophers like Bhartṛhari. Their unique significance in the history of philosophy can be recognized in this respect. However, the idea was not original with these *Vedānta* scholars but was what had already been taught in the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy of Buddhism. In his *Bodhisattvabhūmi* Maitreya regards the highest universality as a characteristic of the ultimate state and understands that it can be reached by means of non-determinative wisdom.[24] Therefore, the influence of the *Vijñānavāda* can be seen upon the *Vedānta* philosophy here.

In the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila there is another place where he attacks the *Vedānta* philosophy.[25] There he only attacks the *Vedānta* philosophy without introducing it. But from his sentences one may guess whom he attacks.

"Then the impure transformation would not belong to the pure puruṣa." [82cd]

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21. But this statement is concerned with the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* only.

22. Cf. the present work, IV, pp. 208 ff.; H. Nakamura, '*Kotoba no Keijijogaku*' (=Metaphysics of Language), *Tetsugaku Zasshi*, Jan.-Feb., 1945.

23. Cf. the present word, Vol. I, pp. 425 ff. ....

24. *yā bodhisattvānām anabhilāpyaṃ dharmanairātmyam ārabhya satyāvabodhāya vā satyāvabodhakāle vā satyābhisambodhād vā ūrdhvaṃ prajñā paramapraśamavyupasthānā nirvikalpā sarvaprapañcapagatā sarvadharmeṣu samatānugatā mahāsāmānyalakṣaṇapraviṣṭā jñeyaparayaṁtagatā samāropāpavādāntadvayavivarjitā madhyamapratipadanusāriṇī, iyaṃ bodhisattvānāṃ tattvānubodhaprativedhāya prajñā veditavyā* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 212, lines 12–20).

25. *Ślokavārttika, Saṁbandhākṣepaparihāraḥ*, vv. 82cd–86 (pp. 662-663).

"And, [if one says that living beings are afflicted with psychic affection because of merit and demerit made by each individual *ātman*, we reply,] the existence of psychic affection is not reasonable because merit and the like are based upon [*puruṣa*, i.e. *brahman*] itself. Or, if [merit and the like] start functioning by their own power [in the beginning of the world, they] would exist apart [from brahman]. [If so, the monism of *brahman* would be discarded since the creation would not be caused by the desire of the Lord]." [83]

"Further, since [*brahman*] itself is of the pure nature and there exists nothing else [but *brahman*], how could nescience (*avidyā*) like a dream and so forth work on that [*brahman*]?" [84]

"If one says that [*brahman*] is invaded by something else, [his position] would become dualism. [In other words, since the two principles, *Brahman* and something else, have to be accepted, non-dualism will be discarded]. On the other hand, if [one says that] nescience belongs to [*brahman*] by nature, [which does not need another principle because of the function of nescience, we reply,] nobody would not be able to cut it off. [If so, no final release would be possible]." [85]

"Indeed, if something different [from nescience, e.g. *yoga*, etc.] could arise, the nescience which exists by nature should come to be destroyed somewhere. But for those who regard the only one *ātman* as the means [to destroy nescience] there is no cause [, the means to destroy nescience,] different [from *ātman*]."[26] [86]

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26. *puruṣasya ca śuddhasya nāśuddhā vikṛtir bhavet* // 82cd //
svādhīnatvāc ca dharmādes tena kleśo na yujyate /
tadvaśena pravṛttau vā vyatirekaḥ prasajyate // 83 //
svayaṃ ca śuddharūpatvād asattvāc cānyavastunaḥ /
svapnādivad avidyāyāḥ pravṛttis tasya kiṃkṛtā // 84//
anyenopaplave 'bhīṣṭe dvaitavādaḥ prasajyate /
svābhāvikīm avidyāṃ tu nocchettuṃ kaścid arhati // 85 //
vilakṣaṇopapāte hi naśyet svābhāvikī kvacit //
na tu ekātmābhyupāyānām hetur asti vilakṣaṇaḥ // 86 //

Stanzas 82 and 83 attack the most ancient *Vedānta* philosophy, especially the theory of transformation (*pariṇāmavāda*), which agrees with the theory of an opponent school in the *Brahmasūtra* (II, 1, 4, II, 1, 34 and 35). Therefore, Kumārila repeats here the refutation *Vedānta* philosophy which has been made since the time prior to him. In the next stanzas 84—86 he attacks a new form of *Vedānta* philosophy, i.e. the theory of false manifestation (*vivartavāda*). According to the commentator Pārthasārathimiśra the author refutes the *Ātmādvaitavādins* here. From the above stanzas it is known that these people were of opinion that the absolute *brahman* evolves itself by the power of nescience (*avidyā*), the phenomenal world as its effect being illusory like a dream and illusion. Their view is in accordance with the thought of non-dualism. This fact indicates that such a non-dualistic thought has already come into existence before Śaṅkara, since Kumārila lived before him.[27] It is very significant from the standpoint of the history of thought. Kumārila's argument against it hits a critical point of non-dualism. Such an argument is often made in attacking non-dualism in India. The argument in stanzas 85 and 86 resembles that in the *Āptamīmāṁsā* (v. 25) of Samantabhadra, a Jaina scholar, as well and is similar in its idea to what is discussed by Hemacandra when he attacks non-dualism.[28] The principle of nescience which was posited in order to place a firm foundation on non-dualism is in fact the weakest point in this doctrine and the attack of other schools has been focused upon it.

As is known from Kumārila's arguments he no longer regards the *Vedānta* school as a sister system of the *Mīmāṁsā* school. Since he attacks it as sharply as he criticizes other schools it can be thought that from his time the two schools came to be separated from, and antagonistic to, each other. *Mīmāṁsā* scholars after Kumārila likewise reject the *Vedānta* philosophy. *Śālikanāth*, a pupil of the *Mīmāṁsā* scholar Prabhākara who was in opposition to Kumārila, also attacked non-dualism.[29] In every later centuries the *Mīmāṁsā*

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27. Cf. the present work, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff.

28. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 424 ff.

29. In his *Prakaraṇapañcikā* (pp. 154-155) Śālikanāth attacks the *Advaitasiddhānta* by quoting the second verse of the *Tarkakāṇḍa* in the *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamiśra. It is a very interesting fact in the history of thought that Śālikanāth attacks Maṇḍanamiśra's non-dualism without criticizing Śaṅkara's (S. Kuppuswami Shastri, 'Further Light on the Prābhākara-problem,' *Proceedings and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924, p. 480).

school was inclined to adopt the *Vedānta* philosophy.[30] Until that time the two schools seem to have been mutually antagonistic.

We have so far examined the references to the *Vedānta* philosophy which are made in early philosophical works. In addition to them we must deal with the *Vedānta* philosophy as is seen in the works of Hinduism, which is a popular religion of India. Since Hindu sects have been greatly influenced by the *Vedānta* philosophy, it is no doubt certain that Hindu masters have been in a close contact with the *Vedānta* school. However, I would like to clarify the relationship between the two on some other occasion and now examine how Hindu works describe the *Vedānta* school and its doctrine.

The theological works of Hinduism are innumerable, but nearly all of them came into existence in later centuries, and only a few belong to the same period as the early *Vedānta* philosophy prior to Śaṅkara. The *Purāṇa* literature is one of them. For example, the *Garuḍapurāṇa*[31] admits that the *Vedānta* is related to philosophical discussion. Again in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* the supporter and ruler of all beings is regarded as the god Viṣṇu, and it is said that Viṣṇu is praised in the *Vedānta*.[32] However, in so far as the ancient *Upaniṣads* are concerned, one cannot say that they regard Viṣṇu as the highest Lord. In that case, was the author of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* acquainted with the new *Upaniṣads* which emphasize the worship of Viṣṇu? Or, does he venture to assert that there is such a concept in the *Upaniṣads*? At any rate it is certain that authors of the *Purāṇas* knew that the *Vedānta* (=the *Upaniṣads*) is a special section of the *Veda* which teaches the highest principle. They knew not only that but also the germ of the new *Vedānta* philosophy. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V, 1) refers to the twofold *brahman* and the twofold knowledge corresponding to it (*dve vidye*), i.e. higher and lower knowledge and also mentions a branch of learning which acquires into the distinction between the individual self and the great self. It is possible that the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* exercised some influence upon formation of Śaṇkara's thought since he quotes it in his works.[33] Moreover, the *Vāyupurāṇa* reads as follows:

30. For example, see Laugākṣi-Bhāskara's *Arthasaṁgraha* VII, *Arthavāda*.

31. Cf. the present work, Vol. I, p. 136.

32. Works by H. H. Wilson, Vol. III, p. 95; Vol. IX, p. 252; Vol. X, p. 201.

33. Śaṅkara's *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series p. 280) says: *"tatroktaṃ Paurāṇikaiḥ—'ābhūtasaṃplavaṃ sthānam amṛtatvam hi bhāṣ-*

"He who knows the only one *puruṣa* is called *Brahmavādin*."[34]
ekaṃ yo vetti puruṣaṃ tam āhur brahmavādinam /

As the *Vāyupurāṇa* probably came into existence already by the 7th century, it can be known that some people advocated the only one *puruṣa* as the world principle before that time. The *Purāṇa* literature has made a great contribution to the establishment of the *Vedānta* philosophy, but it seems that there are only a few direct references to the *Vedānta* school. Since the religion of the *Purāṇas* is generally for the general masses, they do not seem to have had any intention to argue with nor defend the *Vedānta* school as a school of philosophy.

Among the Hindu scriptures *Itihāsas, Purāṇas,* many *Saṁhitās* of the Vaiṣṇavas and *Āgamas* of the Śaivas should be taken into consideration, but most of them are unpublished or difficult to obtain though they have been published. Here I would like to take up only the best-known *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā* for discussion. This work seems to have come into existence around the 5th century.[36] The work (12, 3) *enumerates* and explains the *Veda* (*trayī*), the *Sāṁkhya,* the *Pāśupata,* and the *Sātvata* (=*Pāñcarātra*) as the five kinds of doctrinal systems. They are the same as those mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* XII.[37] Therefore, the author of this work like the author of the great epic did not admit the *Vedānta* school as a special independent school of philosophy. Although he refers to the *Vedānta* (*Trayyanta*), it means the *Upaniṣads* and has no relation with the name of a school of philosophy. He asserts that one can directly (*aparokṣam*) cognize *brahman* by means of the *Vedānta*.[38]

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yate iti/" This is a quotation from *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, II, 8, 96 (cf. Jacob: *The Vedāntasāra*, p. 6). Further, there exists a quotation from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in Śāṅkara's *Gītābhāṣya* as well (cf. A list of quotations at the end of the Ānandaśrama Sanskrit Series edition of the *Gītābhāṣya*).

34. Th. Aufrecht: *Catalogue Codicum MSS. Sanskriticorum Bibliothecae* Bodleianae, Oxonii 1859—64, p. 56b.

35. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 553-554.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 589, n. 3.

37. Cf. the present work, Vol. I, p. 443.

38. *antaraṅgaśamādyaṅgabhaktiśraddhāpuraḥsaram* /
Trayyantair brahmavijñānam aparokṣaṃ vibhāvyate // (*Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, XIII, 26)
tasya yo 'vyabhicāreṇa sādhanatvaṃ prapadyate /
hitasādhanam ity uktaḥ so 'rtho Vedāntapāragaiḥ // (*Ibid.*, XIII, 10)

On the whole the thought of the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā* itself is remarkably *Vedāntic* and there are not a few assertions which remind one Śaṅkara's non-dualism. For example, it admits two kinds of knowledge, higher and lower, and teaches that all *karmans* are burnt up by means of the former.[39] And in the same work the power which covers the highest nature (*paraṃ rūpam*) of the individual *ātman* and the supreme *ātman* is called nescience (*avidyā*).[40] In this respect its similarity to Śaṅkara's philosophy could be pointed out, but it cannot be said to be the same with his concept of nescience since, according to him, nescience is not the cause which establishes the pluralistic opposing relationship of the individual selves. Moreover, the text refers to the *Karma-Mīmāṁsā*,[41] but only as an accessory (*upāṅga*) to the Vedic study and not as the *Mīmāṁsā* as an independent school of philosophy.

However, at the time of Śaṅkara the *Vedānta* school is referred to as an independent school in works of Hinduism as well. In the *Yogavāśiṣṭha,* which was perhaps composed before the 8th century,[42] the *Vedāntavādins*' concept of final release is stated along with those of the *Sāṁkhya* school (*Kāpila*), the *Vijñānavādins* and the Jainas (*Ārhata*).

> "Ascertained by the widely known notion that this [all] is *brahman, the Vedāntavādin's* final release has been settled as accompanied by tranquility of the mind and control of the senses."[43]

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39. *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā,* XLV, 18 (but this information is obtained from Schrader: *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 1916, p. 97).

40. *Ibid.,* XLV, 3-4 (but this information is obtained from Schrader, *op. cit.*

41. *Ibid.,* XII, 12.

42. A man called Gauḍābhinanda, who lived in the middle of the 9th century, condensed this work into his *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* (S. Konow, *Karpūramañjarī,* Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. IV, p. 197). The fact that such a summary work was composed concerning the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* means that it must have won considerable authority at that time. This may indicate that it probably came into existence before the 8th century. However, on the other hand, stanzas II, 16, 60 in this work is almost the same as a passage in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava,* but the former may be a quotation from the latter (cf. S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. II, p. 230). Therefore, this work must have been after the 5th century.

43. *Vedāntavādino buddhyā brahmedam iti rūḍhayā /*
muktiḥ śamadamopetā nirṇīya parikalpitā // (*Sthitiprakaraṇa* 21, 26)

From this it might be concluded that in this period the *Vedānta* school had socially been recognized as a school which was in opposition to the other powerful schools of philosophy.

After the time of Śaṅkara the connection between Hinduism and the *Vedānta* philosophy became closer and closer and a great number of theological works have been handed down to to-day. However, since they are outside the scope of the present work, I would like to entirely omit them here.

A DISCOURSE ON *SACCIDĀNANDA*

By R. K. GARG*

The concept of *Saccidānanda* finds its most exalted and perfect expression in *Prasthānatrayī,* the source books of Indian philosophy and culture—viz., the *Upaniṣads,* the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavadgītā.* Since its culmination in *Prasthānatrayī,* it has always been a watch-word of Indian philosophy and culture. The entire history of Indian philosophy, indeed, tells a story of *Saccidānanda.*

Investigated and examined on the psychological criteria, the concept in question fully stands them. Man, the psychologists profess, is gifted with three psychic endowments—cognition, conation and affection. Cognition connotes the process of intellectual apprehension; conation denotes the process of ethical discrimination; and affection signifies the process of aesthetic taste or realisation. Corresponding to this psychological analysis of the human mind, *sat, cit* and *ānanda* respectively relate to cognition, conation and affection. Psychologically speaking, an integrated personality is one in which all these psychological processes unite in a balanced, ordered, synthesised and proportionate degree. On the other hand, a disproportionate, chaotic, imbalanced and unsynthesised unification of them gives birth to a split or disintegrated or abnormal personality. It is not out of place to mention here that though the psychologists of today speak of integrated personality, yet amply doubt its practical realisation. Each is said more or less disintegrated and abnormal, but no one perfectly integrated and normal. But, to the mind of Indian philosophers, let us remember, an integrated personality is not a misnomer or utopian idea but a perfectly realisable, practicable and feasible fact. Truly speaking, the Indians have always lived a life of *Saccidānanda.*

Besides its being grounded in first principles of psychology, the concept of *Saccidānanda* is big with enormous implications and connotations. The exploitation of its meanings, implications and applications needs a thorough inquiry into the nature of its each constituent, viz., *sat, cit* and *ānanda.*

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Let us first take up *'sat.'* In *Saṁskṛta* terminology, the word *'sat'* is found pregnant with numerous meanings and wide implications. In Indian philosophy and culture, it is used in at least three different senses, not to speak of more,—metaphysical, religious and ethical. Lord *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, in the *Gītā*, explains these three senses of *'sat'* to His dedicated disciple, *Arjuna* : "*'Sat'* is used to signify existence and saintliness; so also, O *Pārtha*, the word *'sat'* is used for good acts."[1] Thus it denotes existence, meaning thereby, reality in its metaphysical sense, saintliness in its religious sense, and good act in its ethical sense.

We first take up the metaphysical sense for consideration. The word *'sat'*, in *Śaṁkarite* terminology, is always construed in the sense of the eternal and ultimate reality. Therein *'satya'* and *'sat'* are taken for synonymous terms. *Śaṁkara* defines *'satya'* as free from contradictions.[2] Similarly, *'sat,'* he says, is not contradicted; and *'asat,'* he says, is not experienced.[3] To be very exact, we may say that if a thing, determined in the form, continues forever to retain its very same form, without contradiction, then and then only, it is worth naming as *sat* or *satya*.[4] It must, however, be noted that *Śaṁkara* has not interpreted these words anew; he has rather echoed the self-same idea of the *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads*. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, the Lord, observes, "The non-existent is never affirmed, and the existent is never negatived; the essence of these both, *sat* and *asat*, is seen by those who have had a direct vision of the reality."[5] The authority of no less a man than the Lord Himself establishes unquestionably the identity or non-duality of *sat* or *satya* and *Brahman* or reality. *Sat*, in the *Upaniṣads*, is said primeval and one without a second.[6] It is not an article of faith; it is rather ratiocinative, or better say, supra-rational, meaning thereby, intelligible only by intuition, not by intellect, whose ten-

1. *Gītā*, XVII. 26; so also the word 'sat' is defined in the *Śabdakalpadruma* as—*'Paramārthasattvasādhutvapraśastatvādibhiḥ sacchabdaḥ.'*

2. *'Satyaṁ bādharāhityam'*—*Śārīrakabhāṣya*.

3. *'Saccenna bādhyate, asaccenna pratīyate'*—Ibid.

4. *'Yadrūpeṇa yanniścitaṁ tadrūpaṁ na vyabhicarati tatsatyam'*—*Śaṁkara's* commentary on the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, Memorial Edition of *Śaṁkara's* Works, Vol. 6, p. 62, Vāṇī Vilāsa Press.

5. *Gītā*, II. 16.

6. *Vide Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VI. 2. 1.

dency is to divide, not to unite, nor by speech, nor by hearing, nor to exist for ever.[8] According to the *Mīmāṁsakas,* only the eternal *Brahman, jīva* and *jagat*—are called *sat,* because they alone are said to exist forever.[8] According to the *Mīmāṁsakas,* only the eternal *paramāṇus* and *ātmans* deserve the appellation of *sat.*[9] For the *Yogins, Īśvara, prakṛti* and *puruṣa* alone are *sat;* and for the *Sāṁhayakas* only the latter two.[10] The *Naiyāyikas* and the *Vaiśeṣikas* take sixteen and seven categories respectively for *sat.*"[11] The *Bauddhas* deny the existence of any persistent and eternal *sat,* for they believe in momentarism and pragmatism.[12] The *Jainas* define *sat* as *pariṇāminitya,* meaning thereby, not letting its permanency go even in the midst of transformations, viz., origination and decay. *Sat,* then, consists of three factors—origination, decay and permanence[13]—which characterise all things, living and non-living. The *Jainas* speak of seven *padārthas* which are all *sat.*[1] The *Cārvākas* define *sat* as something cognisable or perceptible. So then, they believe only in four perceptible material elements of which the consciousness is called a quality.[15]

This is, then, all about the metaphysical meaning of the word '*sat,*' in brief, as contained in the different philosophical systems of Indian philosophy.

Now, we propose to consider the religious sense of the word '*sat,*' which denotes saintliness. '*Sat*' used for saintliness signifies austerities, charity and actions done for the sake of the Lord.[16]

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7. *Vide Kenopaniṣad,* I, 3, 4; *Taittirīyopaniṣad,* II, 4 and 9; *Kaṭhopaniṣad,* I, 2, 22 and I, 3, 15.

8. *Vide Śrībhāṣya* (only introductory portion).

9. *Vide Śabara's* introduction to his commentary on the *Mīmāṁsāsūtras.*

10. *Vide Yogasūtra* of *Patañjali* and *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* respectively.

11. *Vide Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras* respectively.

12. *Vide* chapter on *Buddhism* in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* of *Mādhavācārya.*

13. *Vide Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigamasūtra,* V. 29, and *Devanandi's Sarvārthasiddhi* on it.

14. *Ibid.,* I. 4.

15' *Vide Bārhaspatyasūtras* in the chapter on *Cārvākadarśana* in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraḥ* of *Mādhavācārya.*

16. *Vide Gītā,* XVII. 27, and also *Śaṁkara's* commentary on it.

Actions that have for their aim the favour of the Lord, like the collection of offerings for devotion, cleaning of the temple and its court-yard, anointing, painting and making flower garlands, are actions for the sake of the Lord; other actions to accomplish these, like the laying out of gardens and agricultural fields and acquiring wealth, are actions done indirectly for the sake of the Lord. The latter, even though so indirect, are verily called *'sat.'*[17] These important auspicious acts are verily enjoined upon all the four *varṇas,* the so-called castes; and they are directed to perform them out of a religious consciousness for the good of their selves.[18]

In its religious sense, *'sat'* is, thus, used for rituals which are said to satisfy the religious sentiments and cravings of man, provided *'sat'* is uttered at the commencement of each of them.

Let us now discuss the ethical sense of the word *'sat.' 'Sat'* in this sense stands for *satkarman* or *sāttvikakarman* or good acts. The goodness or badness of a certain act is judged with reference to its conformity and correspondence or inconformity and non-correspondence to the ideal involved in human life.[20] In other words, if a certain action is true to the standard, whatsoever it be, it is called 'good', if not, it is labelled as 'bad'. Inasmuch as all the Indian philosophical systems with the lone exception of the *Cārvāka* unanimously hold liberation to be the *summum bonum* of human life, it is the final standard of liberation, or, say, in Indian philosophical and ethical terminology, the *caramapuruṣārtha* (*mokṣa*), the promotion or retardation of which determines the goodness or badness of actions done by a moral agent.[21] It should, however, be noted that even though the Indian philosophical systems are one-minded on liberation as the final end of human life, they do differ on its nature.

The *Cāravākas* regard gratification of the senses, resulting from enjoying the gross pleasure, to be the ultimate standard of judg-

17. *Vide Śrîdhara Swāmin's* commentary on *Ibid.*

18. *Vide Rāmānuja's* commentary on *Ibid.*

19. *Vide* B. G. Tilak's commentary on *Ibid.*

20. Cp., J. S. Mackenzie, *"Manual of Ethics,"* p. 1—4, London (1929).

21. *Vide* S. N. Dāsguptā, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. 1, p. 74-75, London (1922).

ment.[22] They warn us not to let any moment pass away unpacked with the intensest of pleasures.[23] For them, actions are good in proportion as they tend to produce pleasure and bad in proportion as they tend to produce just the reverse of it.[24] Such an ideal or standard as this has been condemned and sometimes even reproached like anything by the Indian moral philosophers, for example, *Yājñvalkya* and *Manu* for the grave reasons that it leads man astray from his goal and that instead of elevating him for the acquisition of higher values, it degenerates him into a life of pig. This is why, to the mind of the Indian moral philosophers, only those acts deserve the name of 'good acts' which help promote the highest goal of human life.

Defining good acts or, to be more technical, *sāttvikakarman*, the Lord says to *Arjuna*, "An action which is ordained, performed without attachment, free from attraction or repulsion, by one not desiring to obtain its reward, is said to be *sāttvika*, i.e., good act."[25] So then, according to the Lord, only those acts are called '*sat*' or 'moral' which are done for the sake of duty in the wake of one's realisation of the self or selves.[26] The Lord enlists two other kinds of actions —rājasakarman and tāmasakarman—which are called 'bad' in sharp opposition to *sāttvikakarman*. "That action which is done with much trouble by a fruit-seeking or egotistic person, is called '*rājasa;*' and that action which is commenced through delusion, with no regard to consequence, loss, injury and capacity, is called '*tāmasa*'."[27] In comparison to the *rājasakarman*, which is relatively bad, the *tāmasakarman* is absolutely bad as it is completely destitute of moral worth. Besides this one, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* speaks of another classification of actions. According to this classification, there are

22. *Vide* the chapter on *Cārvākadarśana* in *Mādhavācārya's Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* and *Haribhadra's Ṣaḍadarśanasamuccaya* alongwith *Guṇaratna's* commentary thereon.

23. *Cp.* James Seth's treatment of Hedonism in his "*A Study of Ethical Principles,*" p. 84, London (Eighteenth ed.).

24. *Cp.* Bentham's conception of pleasure in his "*Theory of Legislation,*" Vol. I, p. 42-43, London (1914).

25. *Gītā,* XVIII. 23, and also *Jñāneśvarī* on it.

26. *Cp.,* U. M. Urban, "*Fundamentals of Ethics,*" pp. 16—20, New York (1936).

27. *Gītā,* XVIII. 24-25, and also *Śaṁkara* and *Śrīdhara's* commentary on them.

three categories of actions which are technically known as *karman, vikarman,* and *akarman.*[28] *Karman,* here, stands for *satkarman* or good actions; *vikarman* means *asatkarman* or bad actions; and *akarman* denotes supra-moral actions which refer to a higher spiritual state than morality. Only his actions deserve to be called *'akarman;'* he who is so deep-rootedly established in his eternal soul that his actions stop to bear fruits, good or bad, in spite of his being engaged in multitudinous activities.[29] Such a person transcends morality which paves the way for spirituality.[30] His actions are not judged as they are beyond the criterial of good and bad. He never does wrong. Strictly speaking, he does not come under the fold of morality.

Thus, we come to notice that the word *'sat,'* in its ethical sense, has been taken for 'good' by all the codifiers of the Indian moral philosophies.

Now, we desire to inquire into the nature of *'cit.'* It literally means knowledge (*cit saṁjñāne*).[31] Consciousness,[32] soul,[33] feeling,[34] *Brahman*[35] and the disposition[36] which accomplishes the awareness of the assemblage of unconscious body etc., are also the possible meanings in which *cit* is at times used. These meanings broadly speaking purport knowledge. Knowledge, in the *Gītā,* is spoken of three types, viz., *sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa.* Of this threefold knowledge, *sāttvika* is being stated: The knowledge by which one sees in all beings, from unmanifest *Brahman* down to inanimate objects, which are divided, distinguished from one another, the one undivided, underlying, imperishable, changeless substance, viz., the supreme self, should be known as *sāttvika.*[37] *Rājasa* knowledge is

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28. *Vide Gītā,* IV. 17.

29. *Vide Gītā,* IV. 18—20, and also *B. G. Tilak's* commentary thereon.

30. Cf., John Caird, *"Introduction to Philosophy of Religion,"* Ch. IX, Cal. (1956).

31. *Vide,* Monier Williams, *"A Saṁskṛt-English Dictionary,"* p. 323, Oxford.

32. *'Cit jñāne cetanāyāṁ ca'—Amarakosa.*

33. *Vide Rāmānuja* and *Nimbārka's* commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra.*

34. *'Cit caitanye'—Vācaspatyam.*

35. *'Nirviśeṣasphuraṇamātre cetane svata eva prakāśamāne brahmaṇi'—Ibid.*

36. *'Cidasi manāsi dhīrasi'—Yajurveda,* 4, 19, and also *'Acetanadehādisaṁghātasya cetanatvaṁ saṁpādayanti vṛttiścitaṁ. tadevātra cidityucyate'—Vedāntadīpikā.*

37. *Vide Gītā,* XVIII, 20 along with *Śāṁkarabhāṣya.*

being described: But the knowledge by which one sees as distinct, in all beings or bodies, really different entities or souls of various kinds, diversely conditioned by pleasure, pain, etc., should be known as *rājasa*.[38] *Tāmasa* knowledge is being explained: Knowledge which is attached to a single product, the body or an image, as if it were the whole, which is irrational, not founded upon truth and trivial is declared to be *tāmasa*.[39] Of this threefold knowledge, *sāttvika* is the only knowledge worth its name. It is the knowledge which burns all actions to ashes.[40] Having realised it, there remains nothing worth realising in this world.[41] It is the knowledge which shines by its own brilliance like the sun, and manifests the highest reality.[42] It is the light of all lights and is said to be beyond all darkness.[43] In *Prasthānatrayī, cit* or *jñāna* is verily employed for, or identified with, *Brahman* or *Ātman*. *Śaṁkara*, in his commentaries, takes knowledge for self-realisation or *ātmadarśana*.[45] The *Upaniṣads* speak of *Brahman*, as: 'Truth, Knowledge, Infinity is *Brahman*;'[46] 'Knowledge, Bliss is *Brahman*;'[47] 'Existence, Knowledge, Bliss is non-dual *Brahman*.'[48] So also, the *Brahmasūtra* does.[49] It will not be out of place to mention here that knowledge is not a sort of quality attributed to *Brahman*. It is the very essence of *Brahman*; it permeates through and through it; it can by no means be abstracted from it. The typical example employed by the *Upaniṣadic* sages and also accepted by *Śaṁkara*, with regard to it, wonderfully echoes this.[50] A lump of salt put in water dissolves into it and then it cannot be grasped separately from the water,

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38. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 21 along with *Śrīdharabhāṣya*.

39. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 22.

40. *Vide Gītā*, IV. 19 and 37.

41. *'Yajjñātvā neha bhūyonyajjñātavyamavaśiṣyate'—Ibid.*, VII. 2.

42. *Ibid.*, V. 16 and also care for *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, V. 15.

43. *Gītā*, XIII. 17; *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, IV. 4. 16; *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, VI. 14.

44. *Cf. 'Śrutau jñānaṁ brahmeti'—Vidvanmanorañjanī* on *Vedāntasāra*, 1.

45. *'Jñānamadvaitāmadarśanam'—Śaṁkara's* commentary on the *Gītā*, XVIII. 20.

46. *Vide Taittirīyopaniṣad*, II. 1.

47. *Vide Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, III. 9. 28.

48. *'Saccidānandādvayaṁ brahma'—Vedāntasāra*, 6.

49. *Vide Brahmasūtra*, III. 3. 11 along with *Śāṁkarabhāṣya*.

50. *Vide Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, II. 4. 12 along with *Śāṁkarabhāṣya*.

because it permeates through every particle of water. So also, knowledge is the inseparable and non-distinct essence, or say, the very nature of *Brahman*.[51] It is called *vijñānaghana*.

Besides the above-discussed essentially metaphysical and epistemological interpretations, the term *'cit'* or *'jñāna'* is also used in one more special sense, wherein, it signifies either the means to knowledge or the moral consciousness, i.e., the power or faculty of differentiation between good and bad, right and wrong, good and evil, virtue and vice. Here we must be on our strictest guards against the confusion worst confounded, that Indian philosophy, like European philosophy, espouses the cause of a dualism or antagonism between spirituality and morality. It has indeed never lent its support, qualified or unqualified, to such a move. Spirituality and morality, in Indian philosophy, are interlinked, intertwined and interwedded to each other. Even if they appear to be numerically two, they are not two, but, in fact, one. He who rightly knows the 'good,' also knows the real, and vice versa. The reason being that morality consummates in spirituality and spirituality presupposes morality. Hence, we need not be surprised to hear the aforementioned peculiar meaning of the term in question. The *Gītā* eloquently expounds it in its thirteenth chapter. The Lord says to *Arjuna*, "Humility, unostentatiousness, harmlessness, forbearance, uprightness, service to the preceptor, purity, steadiness, self-control, dispassion for sense-objects and absence of egoism, seeing misery and evil in birth, death, old age and sickness, non-attachment and non-identification with son, wife, home, etc., ever being even-minded whether good or evil befalls, unswerving devotion to Me through the *yoga* of non-separation, resorting to solitude, and aversion to company, being ever devoted to spiritual knowledge, perception of the aim of the knowledge of reality—all this is called knowledge."[52] Knowledge, thus, implies all these twenty moral virtues and noble emotions, whereby the total purification of the mind is continually achieved in conduct. Man may be said to have acquired real knowledge, only when he is fully alive to the need of, nay, is in possession of, the above-mentioned means to knowledge.[53] It is a

51. *'Śrutau jñānam brahmeti sāmānādhikaraṇyadguṇatve tasya tadanupapatteḥ'—Vidvanmanorañjanī* on *Vedāntasāra*.

52. *Gītā,* XIII. 7—11.

53. *Vide,* B. G. *Tilak, Gītā-Rahasya,* Vol. I, p. 342, Poona (first edition of English translation).

proposition of metaphysics that knowledge must needs produce an effect on the mind by way of equanimity of reason; and that otherwise, that knowledge is incomplete or immature. This is why, *jñāna* is defined in terms of the aforementioned twenty moral qualities which are said to awaken true knowledge.[54] In Kantian terminology, we can say that knowledge includes not only pure reason but also practical reason. It is, in fact, a unique synthesis of morality and spirituality.[55]

Now, we take up the final constituent of *Saccidānada*, viz., *ānanda* or bliss. *Ānanda* may etymologically be construed in many an allied meaning, viz., pleasure, enjoyment, gladness, happiness, delight, joy, bliss, peace, etc.[56] Pleasure and enjoyment smack of sensual gratification and aggrandisement, or, in *Saṁskṛta* terminology, *ādhibhautikasukha;* happiness is an indicative of rational pleasure, or, in *Saṁskṛta* terminology, *ādhidaivikasukha;* and delight, joy, bliss, gladness and peace are expressive of spiritual and aesthetic pleasure, or, in *Saṁskṛta* terminology, *adhyātmikasukha.*

Although the word *'ānanda'* may be taken for all kinds of *ānanda,* yet we have to distinguish between *ānanda* and *ānanda.* It is ordinarily applied to denote 'material pleasure' or 'sensual pleasure' or *ādhibhautikasukha.* We may simply call it pleasure (*sukha*). This view of *ānanda,* amongst the Indian philosophical systems, was, at a very early date, taken by *Cārvāka* system which represented a theory of gross materialism by way of advocating for the pursuit of material gains and sensual enjoyments, even at the cost of other's misery and discomfort.[57] Such a theory looks upon agent's own material pleasure and comfort as the highest good and totally disregards what happens to others. It has been treated by almost all Indian philosophers, and even by ordinary people, as extremely objectionable, immoral and disdainable.[58]

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54. *Ibid.,* Vol. 2, p. 1112.

55. *Cf. Gītā,* XVIII. 78.

56. *Vide Bārhaspatyam; Vacaspatyam; Śabdakalpadruma;* and *Āpte* and *William's Saṁskṛta-English Dictionaries.*

57. *Vide Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha,* Chapter I; *Tattvopaplavasiṁha;* Garbe's *The Philosophy of Ancient India. Prabodhacandrodaya,* Act II; and care for the *Gītā,* XIV where the demoniac treasure is discussed at length.

58. Cf. *Gītā-Rahasya,* Vol. 1, p. 107.

But as 'material pleasure' is not the only kind of pleasure, it is possible to adhere to 'rational pleasure' or *ādhidaivikasukha* which is of necessity a higher kind of pleasure, say, happiness (*preya*). Even the eminent utilitarianist, J. S. Mill, admits that the merit of rational pleasure is higher than that of physical pleasure. To quote him: "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool, or the pig, is of a different opinion, it is because they only know their own side of the question."[59] In Indian philosophy, all the theological, nay, *Brāhmanical* systems with the lone exception of *Advaita-Vedānta,* seem to subscribe to this interpretation of *ānanda,* inasmuch as they do not admit *ānanda* to be either the permanent quality of the soul or the identical essence of the soul or of the highest reality. They enjoin upon us to perform virtuous acts which lead us to *svarga* or heaven, where we are entitled to experience unalloyed pleasure, so long as the merits of ours are not completely exhausted.[60] Happiness derived from virtuous acts, which are performed with certain motives, is definitely of a higher kind. Inasmuch as it is rational, it is not obtained at the cost of others' pleasure.[61] This conception of *ānanda* is also severely criticised in Indian philosophy, especially in *Vedānta*.[62]

Prasthānatrayī substitutes happiness or *ādhidaivikasukha* by bliss or *śānti* or *ādhyātmikasukha,* which is certainly beyond the heavenly happiness both in its essence and nature. No less a philosopher than plato, also, endorses this fact. He maintains that rational happiness is superior to bodily pleasure, and that, that joy which can be realised by means of spiritual endeavour alone, is superior even to rational happiness.[63] It seems to be quite in the fitness of things to mention here that bliss or *śānti* is not taken, in *Prasthānatrayī,* in the negative sense of total absence of sufferings[64] as all Indian philosophical systems except *Jainism* and *Vedāntism* very often interpret it; but it is construed therein in the emphatically positive sense of

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59. J. S. Mill, *Utilitarianism,* p. 14, London (1907).

60. Cf. the treatment of *Brāhmanical* systems in Max Muller's *Six Systems of Indian philosophy* and *Rādhākrishṇan's Indian Philosophy,* Vol. 2.

61. Cf. Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason.*

62. *Vide Gītā,* II. 42–44, IX. 20-21; *Kathopaniṣad,* I. 2. 1–3.

63. *Vide,* Plato, *Republic,* Book IX.

64' *'Na ca brahmaṇyānandaśabdo duḥkhābhāvaparaḥ'–Vidvanmanorañjanī* on *Vedāntasāra,* 1.

identical state of the soul, technically called *ātmānanda* or *brahmānanda*.[65] *Ānanda,* in this positive sense, is, then, the highest accomplishment, where the consciousness of distinction amongst the knower, the known and the knowledge vanishes and they become one. "Here the philosophical quest terminates, the suggestion being that there is nothing higher than *ānanda*. This *ānanda* is active enjoyment of unimpeded exercise of capacity. It is not sinking into nothingness, but the perfection of being."[66] To this effect that *ānanda* is synonymous with the supreme reality, *Brahman,* or, that *ānanda* signifies Brahman, the allusions in *śruti* are not wanting.[67]

Let us, then, cast a bird's eye-view on what the *Upaniṣads* observe regarding *ānanda* : 'Knowledge, *Bliss is Brahman*';[68] '(He) knew that *Brahman* is[69] Bliss;' 'The Blissful Immortal that gleams forth is *Brahman*;'[70] 'Who indeed would breathe, who would live, if there were not this Bliss in ether;'[71] 'That which is great (*bhūmā* i.e., *Brahman*) is bliss;'[72] 'From Bliss, indeed, all creatures are born, when born they live by Bliss, on return they enter into Bliss;'[73] 'He who knows the Bliss of *Brahman,* never fears at any time at all;'[74] 'The united mass of knowledge, which has become one in the

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65. *Vide* different conceptions of liberation and soul in different systems, in the *sūtra* literature thereof.

66. *Vide* S. *Rādhākrishṇan's* citation from the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* in his *Indian philosophy,* Vol. 1, p. 165, New York (1951).

67. *'Na ca brahmaṇa ānandatmatve pramāṇābhāvaḥ'—Vidvanmanorañjanī* on *Vedāntasāra,* 1.

68. *'Vijñānamānandaṁ brahma'—Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,* III. 9. 28; see also *Pañsadaśī,* XI. 59—62.

69. *'Ānando brahmeti vyajānāt'—Taittirīyopaniṣad,* III. 6; see also *Pañcadaśī,* XI. 12 and 13.

70. *'Ānandarūpamamṛtaṁ yadvibhāti* (*tadbrahma*)*'—Muṇḍakopaniṣad,* II. 2.7 alongwith *Śaṁkara* and *Rāmānuja's* commentaries thereon.

71. *'Ko kyevānyātkaḥ prāṇyādyadeṣa ākāśa ānando na syāt'—Taittirīyopaniṣad,* II. 7 alongwith *Śaṁkara's* commentary thereon.

72. *'Bhūmaiva sukham,—Chāndogyopaniṣad,* VII. 23.1. alongwith *Śaṁkara's* commentary thereon; see also *Pañcadaśī,* XI. 14—17.

73. *'Ānandāddhyeva khalvimāni bhūtāni jāyante. Ānandena jātāni jīvanti. Ānandaṁ prayantyabhisaṁviśantīti.'—Taittirīyopaniṣad,* III. 6. alongwith *Śaṁkara's* commentary thereon.

74. *'Ānandaṁ brahmaṇo vidvān na vibheti kadācana'—Ibid.,* II. 4 and 9.

state of deep-sleep, is possessed of Bliss and enjoys Bliss;'[75] 'During the time of deep-sleep when everything is resolved, (the soul) which is obscured by ignorance attains to the nature of Bliss.'[76] All these passages leave not the slightest doubt as to the identical unity and oneness of *Brahman* and *ānanda.*

Surprisingly enough, even this truism has been a subject of heated discussion and strong controversy amongst the commentators of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahmasūtras.* The exact point of controversy is whether *ānanda* refers to *Brahman* or to the individual soul. All but *Śaṁkara* expressly, emphatically, declare that all the *Upaniṣadic* passages referring to *ānandamaya,* by their suffix 'mayat,' relate to *Brahman.*[77] In *Śaṁkara's* opinion, they refer to the individual soul, consisting of five sheaths, of which *ānandamaya* is its innermost sheath.[78] It should, however, be noted that he could not avoid admitting, though, of course, half-heartedly, reluctantly and hesitatingly, that even this could be construed to refer to *Brahman.* In his view even if it be supposed that the word *'ānandamaya'* of the *Upaniṣads* refers neither to the individual soul, nor to the *prakṛti* of *Sāṁkhya* but to the *Upaniṣadic Brahman,* it does not, however, follow that *Braman,* by the characterisation of *ānandamaya,* is transformed into bliss as suggested by the suffix *'mayat;'* but what, in fact, follows from this is that *Brahman* is the infinite source of bliss.[79]

This controversy assumes more poignancy in the commentaries on the *ānandamayādhikaraṇa* of the *Brahmasūtra.*[80] According to *Upavarṣa,*[81] *Rāmānuja*[82] and others, *ānandamaya,* in the *ānanda-*

75. *'Suṣuptisthāna ekibhūtaḥ prajñānaghana evānandamayo hyānandabhuk'—Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad,* 5; and also compare with *Pañcadaśī,* XI. 67 and 68.

76. *'Suṣuptikāle sakale vilīne tamobhibhūtaḥ sukharūpameti'—Kaivalyopaniṣad,* 13; also care for *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,* IV., 3. 21 and 22, and *Pañcadaśī,* XI. 40—58.

77. *Vide* all the commentaries except that of *Śaṁkara* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,* III. 9. 28, and the *Taittirīyopaniṣad,* II and III.

78. *Vide Śaṁkara's* commentary on *Ibid.*

79. *Vide Ibid;* also care for *Vedāntasāra,* Col. Jacob's edition (Sec. 7).

80. *Vide* commentaries of *Upavarṣa, Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Mādhva, Vallabha* and *Caitanya* on the *Brahmasūtra,* I. 1. 12—19.

81. *Vide Upavarṣa's* view cited by *Śaṁkara* in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra,* I. 1. 12.

82. *Vide Rāmānuja's Śrībhāṣya* on *Ibid.,* I. 1. 12—19.

mayādhikaraṇa, refers to *Brahman* on account of repetition of the word *'ānandamaya* in the *Taittirīya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Muṇḍaka* and other *Upaniṣadic* texts. Repetition, in *Vedānta,* has been admitted to be a means to ascertaining the purport of the *Upaniṣadic* texts. Therefore, *ānandamaya* refers to *Brahman.* The suffix *'mayaṭ'* is also not out of place in *Brahman,* because it is used to indicate abundance or *prācurya* of bliss. Hence, *ānandamaya* should be taken for the highest *Brahman. Śaṁkara* objects to this interpretation of the *sūtras* and declares that *ānandamaya* cannot be the highest *Brahman.*[83] First, there is not the least justification, for suddenly changing the interpretation of the suffix *'mayaṭ'* from transformation in the case of *vijñānamaya, prāṇamaya,* etc., in the preceding passages to abundance in the case of *ānandamaya,* so as to construe this word to refer to *Brahman.* Secondly, the very idea of abundance of bliss denotes that there is also misery in it, howsoever slight. Such an idea, in his opinion, is absurd.[84]

It does not seem to be out of place to mention here an interesting incident which is oft-quoted to have taken place in the life of *Śaṁkara.* It is said that, when *Śaṁkara* had completed his commentary on the *ānandamayādhikarṇa* of the *Brahmasūtra* with this conclusion that *ānandamaya* referred to the individual soul and not to the highest *Brahman, Bādarāyaṇa* appeared before him and held a discussion, which is said to have continued for several days, with him, with a view to winning him over to the conclusion that it referred to the essential *Brahman.* Neither could defeat the other and the two parted company with honours shared. It was after this that *Śaṁkara* also accepted this view and gave the forced interpretation that *ānandamaya* might be applied to *Brahman.* Whatever be the basis of this incident, it points out to one fact that *Śaṁkara,* for himself, never favoured such an interpretation that *ānandamaya* could be taken for *Brahman.*[86] He should, however, not be misunderstood that even *ānanda* as such was denied to be an identical essence of *Brahman.* The word *'ānanda,'* not *ānandamaya,* used in the *Upaniṣadic texts,* speaks of Brahman, without any reservation and qualification. He says, "In the scriptures the word *ānanda* is used for *Brahman*; from this, we cannot conclude that *ānandamaya,* the

83. *'Nānadamayasya brahmatvam'—Śāṁkarabhāṣya,* I. 1. 19.

84. Cf., *Swāmīvīreśvarānanda, Brahmasūtra,* I. 1. 17, p. 47, Almora (1936).

85. *Vide* any book on the life of *Śaṁkara* or any *Śāṁkaradigvijaya.*

86. Cf., N. *Śāstrī, A Study of Śaṁkara,* p. 119, Calcutta (1942).

self-consisting of bliss, is also *Brahman*, for the suffix *'mayat'* shows that it is a transformation."[87] This unequivocal utterance of his leaves not the least doubt as to the identity of *ānanda* and *Brahman*.[88]

With regard to *ānanda*, the *Gītā* abides by the conclusions reached by the hoary savants of the *Upaniṣads*. *Ānanda* or bliss, in the *Gītā*, is called by the name of *śānti*, *brāhmī-sthiti*, *brahmanirvāṇa*, *ātyantikasukha*, *atyantasukha*, *uttamasukha* and *sāttvikasukha*. What the *Gītā* understands by *śānti* is that it is the climax of bliss which is realised only by he who is non-covetous, non-egotistic and free from the idea of ownership.[89] *Śānti*, then, results from renunciation of the fruits of action.[90] This is verily the state of *brahmanhood* (*brāhmī-sthiti*), attaining to which one realises *Brahman* (*brahmanirvāṇa*) in its pristine purity.[91] Herein one realises unsurpassed, everlasting, transcendental and absolute bliss (*ātyantikasukha*).[92] Established in this bliss, the *Gītā* says, one does not waver from the reality, thinks of no other acquisition as greater than that, and is not purturbed even by great sufferings.[93] Bliss is also known as beatitude (*uttamasukha*) which is realised only by the *yogins* who are steady in mind, sinless and identified with *Brahman*.[94] The *yogins*, entirely free from taint, constantly controlling the mind, thus attain easily to the infinite bliss (*atyantasukha*) of union with *Brahman*.[95] In the eighteenth chapter of the *Gītā*, we find a threefold division of pleasure, viz., *sāttvikasukha*, *rājasasukha* and *tāmasasukha*. "That spiritual bliss which is like poison at first, but like nectar at the end, is declared to be *sāttvika*, i.e., born of the serenity of the self-engrossed reason." The *Gītā* goes on to say that "that material pleasure which results from the contact between the objects and the senses, and is like nectar at the beginning, but like poison at the end is known as *rājasa*, i.e., of a lower grade; and that pleasure which is self-delusive both at the beginning and at the end, and which results from sleep, lassitude and inadvertance, is said

87. *Vide Śāṁkarabhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra*, I. 1. 18.
88. Cf., S. *Rādhākrishṇan*, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, p. 167—69.
89. *Vide Gītā*, II. 71.
90. *Ibid.*, XII. 12, and also care for XVIII. 62.
91. *Ibid.*, II. 72.
92. *Ibid.*, VI. 21; see also *Śrīdhara's* commentary thereon.
93. *Ibid.*, VI. 21 and 22.
94. *Ibid.*, VI. 27.
95. *Ibid.*, VI. 28.

to be *tāmasa*, i.e., of the most inferior grade."[96] It is, then, a matter requiring no proof or discussion that it is the *sāttvikasukha* which alone deserves to be called bliss as it is no other than the bliss of *Brahman* or *Ātman* (*brahmānanda* or *ātmānanda*).

In this way, we have proved that the *Gītā* also, like the *Upaniṣads*, identifies bliss with *Brahman* or *Ātman*, and rates it uniquely higher than all other kinds of pleasure and happiness. It is well worth mentioning here that though the *Gītā* rates spiritual happiness (*ānanda* or bliss) higher than material pleasure, it does not, however, undermine the value and significance of the latter.[97] The *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads* are fully alive and awakened to give material pleasure its due. They recognise its value for the survival of the body. They do not, however, forget to add that since material pleasure or satisfaction of the bodily self has got extrinsic worth, it is desirable in so far as it conduces to the bliss of the soul.[98]

Before we close, we intend to take stock of our inquiry into *Saccidānanda*. *Saccidānanda*, as we have already said and proved, is the kernel of Indian philosophy, inasmuch as the quest of all Indian philosophers is the search for *Saccidānanda*. Moreover, it is many a hoary savant of the *Prasthānatrayī* who has fully succeeded, in his mission to live a life of *Saccidānanda* and give us a heart-felt first hand knowledge of what they realised in their states of *turīya* and *samādhi*. In *Prasthānatrayī*, *Brahman* is defined as *Sat* (Existence), *Cit* (Knowledge) and *Ānanda* (Bliss). The threefold nature of *Brahman* defined by the *Vedāntic* texts is essential to it, inasmuch as it forms its essence and serves to discriminate it from the *nāmarūpātamakaṁ jagat* (i.e., the world of name and form) which is unreal (*anṛta*), non-intelligent (*jaḍa*) and of the nature of suffering (*duḥkha*). "Being (*sat*), intelligence (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*) are neither parts of *Brahman* nor its properties. The real is devoid of internal differentiation and external relations. Being, intelligence and bliss constitute the very nature of *Brahman*, and not its attri-

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96. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 37–39.

97. *Vide Gītā-Rahasya*, Vol. 1, p. 62, and compare with W. M. Urban's treatment of '*Value as standard*' in his book entitled "*The Fundamentals of Ethics.*"

98. *Vide Kaṭhopaniṣad*, VI. 18, and *Gītā*, XVIII. 78.

butes."[99] Though they are inseparable from *Brahman*, they seem as if separable. To exemplify: As bliss, experience of objects, eternity, etc.—the inseparable essential qualities of the soul—seem to be separable by means of *antaḥkaraṇa* (the psychosis of the internal organ), so also is the case with *Saccidānanda*.[100] Saccidānanda, is verily *advaita* (unique).[101]

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99. *Vide*, T. M. P. Mahādevan, "*The Philosophy of Advaita*," p. 111, Madras (1957).

100. *Vide*, *Bhāratītīrtha Vidyāraṇya*, *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṁgraha*, p. 12, edited by *Rāmaśāstrī Tailangna*, Benaras.

101. *Vide* the interpretation of the word '*advaita*' in *Śaṁkara's Nirvāṇa-daśaka*, 10.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF A KĀRIKĀ OF ĪŚVARA KṚṢṆA

By DR. V. VARADACHARI*

In his paper 'Pramāṇas and their Objects in Sāṁkhya,' the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Umesh Mishra offered a correct and convincing interpretation for the sixth Kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. Besides helping us in understanding the purport of this Kārikā in the right spirit of the Sāṁkhya thought, his interpretation provides us with ample scope for a deeper study of the Kārikā.

The sixth Kārikā runs as follows :—

सामान्यतस्तु दृष्टादतीन्द्रियाणां प्रसिद्धिरनुमानात् ।
तस्मादपि चासिद्धं परोक्षमाप्तागमात्सिद्धम् ॥

This Kārikā enumerates the scope for the operation of each of the three pramāṇas which were enumerated in the fourth Kārikā and defined in the fifth Kārikā.

According to most of the commentators,[2] this Kārikā declares that the objects which lie beyond the reach of the sense organs are proved to exist through the sāmānyatodṛṣṭa kind of inference and that those objects which are still beyond the scope of this kind of inference are proved through Āgama. The two kinds of inference namely Pūrvavat and Śeṣavat are confined, for their application, to matters that belong to the future, that is, those which have not come into being and to matters that belong to the past, having had existence already showing that they do not exist at the present time. Hence, the Sāmānyatodṛṣṭa kind is mentioned here as operative with reference to the objects Pradhāna and Puruṣa. Heaven, mokṣa, Indra and others, which are beyond the scope of this inference, are proved to exist through Āgama.

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1. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, parts 1—4, 1961, pp. 406—413.

2. Gauḍapāda on *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* 6; Jayamangalā, Sāṁkhyatattva-Kaumudī Māṭhara, Svaraṇasaptati on *ibid;* Vanśīdhara on *Sāṁkhyatattva Kaumudī.*

This interpretation requires some elucidation. The fifth Kārikā offers a definition of each of the three pramāṇas. While doing so, the inference is stated to be of three kinds but their names are not enumerated.[3] If the sixth Kārikā is to be taken to refer to the specific scope for the operation of the pramāṇas, the absence of the mention of perception and the two other kinds of inferences, together with the objects which they would apprehend will have to be accounted for. That they are too well-known not requiring any illustration would only help in attributing carelessness to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa who, with scrupulous care, dealt with the pramāṇas, their definitions and their scope in a particularly ordered manner. Therefore, this Kārikā must be shown to treat of all the pramāṇas with their scope.

At the outset, Īśvara Kṛṣṇa is found using the words siddhi,[4] prasiddhi,[5] and siddha[6] in the sense of proving or establishing. Final release is stated to be obtained through the correct cognition (vijñāna) of the manifest (vyakta), unmanifest (avyakta) and knower (jña), standing respectively for the evolutes of matter, matter and self. These are enumerated in Kārikā 3. Vijñāna is the correct knowing and it is held to be the same as proving that the object to be known correctly is existing (siddhi). The instruments of valid cognition are therefore essential and they are enumerated in the fourth Kārikā. The fifth Kārikā defines them. Logically speaking, the sixth Kārikā should treat of the objects of all the three pramāṇas. The words anumānāt and āptāgamāt are in the ablative case and are taken to stand for the two pramāṇas. The word sāmānyataḥ is taken together with the word dṛṣṭāt and treated as an adjective for the word anumānāt and the one justification that could be offered to this could be based on the absence of the word 'siddha' or 'prasiddha' disapproving the taking of the word dṛṣṭāt as meaning through perception.

As against this interpretation, it is found that the dropping of pratyakṣa and of the pūrvavat and Śeṣavat kinds of inference will have to be explained. Being part of the scheme of the prāmāṇas, they must have their scope explained. Strong reasons are available

3. *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, 5.
4. *Ibid.*, 4.
5. Ibid., 6.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.

to take this Kārikā as explaining the scope of all the pramāṇas. The Sāṁkhya Kārikā uses the word dṛṣṭa[7] in the sense of perception. This word with the ablative case ending as dṛṣṭāt must be taken to mean through perception, as the words anumāna and āptavacana are. The word sāmānyataḥ an indeclinable formed with the suffix-tasil must not be considered as an adjective to the word dṛṣṭāt. The suffix-tasil is used to convey the sense of all cases and not merely that of the ablative.[8] Here it is proper to take the word sāmāyantaḥ in the sense of those which are of a general nature. The word dṛṣṭāt must mean through perception, which shall make known those which are of a general nature, that is, which are within the reach of the sense organs.[9] The five elements and their products alone must be taken to have been meant here. The particle 'tu' has several senses to convey of which the sense of restriction or emphasis is applicable here.[10] Hence the meaning of the first quarter of the Kārikā is that the establishment of those which are within the range of the senses alone is made out through perception.

Some of the objects which are perceivable to the senses may not be cognized at times through the senses.[11] There are also some objects like matter, intellect, ego, subtle elements and sense organs which lie beyond the range of senses. All these are cognized by inference. They may remain imperceptible for ever but could be inferred through the marks which are possessed by them. The marks may also take the shape of the effect of which those which have such marks might be the causes.[12] Hence all the three kinds of inferences will have to be admitted as applicable to infer these according to their nature.

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7. *Ibid.*, 4, 5, 6.

8. Vide itarābhyo 'pi dṛśyante. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5. 3. 14 and *Siddhānta Kaumudī* on it.

9. Vide—Nārāyaṇás Candrikā on *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* 6.

10. Vide—tu syādbhede 'vadhāraṇe. Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana 3. 3. 242.

11. Vide—*Sāṁkhya Kārikā* 7.

12. Vide—

सौक्ष्म्यात्तदनुपलब्धिर्नाभावात् कार्यतस्तदनुपलब्धिः ।
महदादि तच्च कार्यं प्रकृतिविरूपं सरूपं च ॥

Sāṅkhya Kārikā 8.

The self is admitted to be beyond the range of the senses. Naturally perception cannot be of any use in apprehending it. Since the self is not in any way related to matter, there cannot be any mark which could help the use of inferential method for cognising the self. Inference cannot be therefore applied to apprehend the self. In the systems of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and others, the soul gets into the physical body and makes itself felt internally through some marks in the body or bodily changes.[13] The same may of course apply to the self also in the Sāṁkhya school, but the Sāṁkhya school does not admit of any real connectedness between the body and soul. It is possible to show that inference could be employed to know or prove this soul which is empirically in bondage.[14] However, to consider that the self is thus made out amounts to obtaining not the real knowledge (vijñāna) of the self. It is therefore just to consider that the soul is an entity in the Sāṁkhya system which is unrelated to matter and as such could not be known through perception or inference. Āgama then is the only pramāṇa to prove the self.

The 17th Kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa declares that the soul exists since the aggregate objects exist only for another, there is in the self the reverse of the three attributes, they are controlled (by a sentient being), there must be some one (as a sentient) to enjoy them and there is activity towards getting release. This Kārikā is cited as illustrative of the inferential method getting employed to prove the self.[15] This however does not stand to reason on two grounds. Since the self is not in any way related to the matter, it is futile to argue that a sentient being must exist as not having the three guṇas, and as controller and enjoyer. Inference cannot therefore prove this. As regards the activity towards release, it must be made clear for whom this release is meant. The soul is ever released and never in bondage.[16] Secondly, the use of the words sanghātaparārthatvāt, adhiṣṭthanāt and others in this Kārikā with the ablative case ending must not be taken to mean that inference is the pramāṇa here. Any argument to prove a conclusion must take the form of inferential proposition but it does not prove that this conclusion is arrived at through inference.

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13. *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* III. 2. 4. Nyāya Sūtra I. 1. 10.

14. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, Parts 1—4. 1961 p. 412.

15. Gauḍapāda on *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* 17.

16. Vide—*Sāṁkhya Kārikā* 62.

The interpretation that is offered here to this Kārikā shows that both pramāṇavyavasthā and pramāṇasaṁplava should apply here.[17] The restricted employment of the three pramāṇas cannot apply to the vyakta, avyakta and jña of the Sāṁkhya reality and so pramāṇavyavasthā cannot fully apply. While vyakta is cognised by perception and inference, avyakta could be apprehended only by inference and the self is to be known only through Āgama. There is therefore pramāṇavyavasthā in the case of avyakta and self and pramāṇasamplava is applicable to vyakta alone.

17. Vide—Nyāya *Bhāṣya* on *Nyāya Sūtra* I. 1. 3.

NĪLAKAṆṬHA AS A MĪMĀṀSAKA

By DR. S. G. MOGHE*

In the domain of the application of Mīmaṁsā maxims and technical terms to the Dharm-Śāstra, Nīlakaṇṭha, who flourished between 1610 and 1645 A.D., occupies an honourable position.

Nīlakaṇṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled Bhagvanta-Bhāskara, in the honour of his patron, Bhagvantadeva, a Bundella chieftain of Sengara clan, that ruled at Bhareha near the confluence of Jumna and Chambal. In all, Nīlakaṇṭha composed 12 Mayūkhas. (1) Samaya Mayūkhas. (2) Saṁskāra mayūkhas. (3) Ācāra Mayūkha. (4) Śrāddha Mayūkha. (5) Nīti Mayūkha. (6) Vyavahāra Mayūkha. (7) Dāna Mayūkha. (8) Utsarga Mayūkha. (9) Pratiṣṭhā Mayūkha. (10) Śuddhi Mayūkha. (11) Prāyaścitta Mayūkha and (12) Śānti Mayūkha.

In all these 12 Mayūkhas, Nīlakaṇṭha has used 29 Mīmāṁsā and laukika maxims and about 52 Mīmāṁsā technical terms from the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, in order to remove contradiction in the mutually apparent contradictory texts and arrived at a pointed definite conclusion thereon.

In this article, an attempt is being made to estimate Nīlakaṇṭha as a Mīmāṁsaka, from the following different points of view.

I. Nīlakaṇṭha expressly criticizes the view-points of his predecessors like Vijñāneśvara, Divodāsa, Raghunandana, Hemādri, Haradatta, the author of Dāyabhāga, Khaṇḍadeva, Bhavadeva and his own revered father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa.

Our author Nīlakaṇṭha expressly criticizes Vijñāneśvara who holds that the prohibition as regards the giving of the son in adoption when the adopting person is not in distress, is a fit case of Puruṣārtha and not of Kratvartha. As opposed to this, Nīlakaṇṭha thinks that the giving of the son in adoption when the adopting person is

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not in distress, is a fit case of Kratvartha and if the rule of Manu is violated, then the adoption will become defective.[1]

Nīlakaṇṭha further expressly criticizes the opinion of the above mentioned Vijñāneśvara, when he says while commenting on the Manu-Smṛti IX.106, that the gift of the eldest son in adoption is prohibited by the text of Manu. Nīlakaṇṭha, however, disagrees with Vijñāneśvara and points out that this view is not supported by any written text.[2] Thirdly Nīlakaṇṭha expressly criticizes the view-point of Vijñāneśvara, when he says, while commenting on Yājña valkya-Smṛti I.53 that the marriage with a sickly girl is a fit case of Puruṣārtha. Nīlakaṇṭha disagrees with this view and states that this is a case of Kratvartha and if violating the rule of Yāj. I.53, the marriage takes place, then a man will suffer not only from the seen fruits but also from the unseen fruits.[3] Fourthly, while interpreting the text of Bṛhaspati, Vijñāneśvara lays down two injunctions i.e. Vidhis. (1) Reunion takes place when separated coparceners again begin to stay together and (2) that reunion can take place only between the cases of persons specified. Here Vijñāneśvara's opinion is not acceptable to our author Nīlakaṇṭha who holds that if the above mode of interpretation is adopted, then it would involve a serious fault of Vākyabheda. Nilkaṇṭha, very carefully avoids the fault of Vākyabheda stating that reunion takes place only among those members who were parties to the original partition and the reference to the father, son etc. is only illustrative.[4]

Nīlakaṇṭha expressly disagrees with the view point of Divodāsa and others, who, while interpreting the text of Prajāpati imagine the appearance and disappearance of impurity every day, when the Brahmacārī offers rice-balls in the honour of his dead father. Here

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1. अयं निषेधो दातुरेव पुरुषार्थो न क्रत्वर्थं इति विज्ञानेश्वरः । तन्न । व्यवहार-मयूख. p. 107.
2. ज्येष्ठेन जातमात्रेण पुत्री भवति मानवः इति ज्येष्ठस्यैव पुत्रकार्यकरणे मुख्यत्वात् स न देय इत्ययमपि निषेधो दातुरेव न प्रतिग्रहीतुरित्यपि सः । —व्यवहार-मयूख. p. 108.
3. यदपि विवाहप्रकरणे तेनैवोक्तं रोगिण्यपि निषेधातिक्रमे दृष्टविरोध एव भार्यात्वतूत्पद्यते एवेति तदप्यनेनैवापास्तम् । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 108.
4. विभागकर्तृसामानाधिकरण्येनैव सेतियुक्तम् । पित्रादिपदानि तु विभागकर्तृमात्रोपलक्षकानि । अन्यथा वाक्यभेदात् । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 146.

this involves the fault of Kalpanā-gaurava. Nīlakaṇṭha disagrees with Divodāsa and others and points out that the text of Prajāpati is to be interpreted in a way so as to be in agreement with the text of Brahmapurāṇa and in that case the impurity will last only for the first day and the fault of Kalpanā-gaurava can be avoided.[5]

Nīlakaṇṭha expressly criticizes the view point of Raghunandana who holds that clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks are to be offered together to the deities like the offering of the mixture of curds and milk to the deities Indra or Mahendra. Nīlakaṇṭha clearly points out that this is not a case of Tantratā because the three different modes are adopted for offering clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks. Sṛca is the proper means of offering caru, Ājya is offered with sṛva and sacrificial sticks are offered with the hand.[6]

Our author disagrees with Hemādri while interpreting the text of Gobhila in connection with Sapiṇḍadānam. Here Hemādri makes the anuṣaṅga (syntactical connection) of the word pūrṇa which precedes the word saṁvat with ṣaṇmāse and tripakṣe. But Nīlakaṇṭha holds that this type of syntactical connection is not warranted by any evidence or by any authoritative text.[7]

Nīlakaṇṭha refutes the opinion of Haradatta who holds that ordinarily though the performance of the five great sacrifices is prohibited as a result of the dead person, yet they are to be performed because of the sūtra of Āśvalāyana that "tān etān yajñān aharahaḥ kurvīta." Haradatta treats this as a fit case of Pratiprasava. But our author does not agree with Haradatta and holds that none of the five great sacrifices are to be performed during impurity, relying on the text of Devala. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, the text

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5. दिवोदासादयस्तु आद्यदिने पूर्णमाशौचं सन्ध्यादि कर्मलोपश्च, द्वितीयादि दिनेषु पिण्डदानादिकाल एवाशौचम्, न तु ततः पूर्वोत्तरकालयोरित्याहुः । तन्न······प्रत्यह-मनेकाशौचोत्पत्तिनाशकल्पना गौरवाच्च। शुद्धिमयूख. p. 45.

6. आज्यहविः समिधां संप्रतिपन्नदेवताकत्वान्मिलितानामेव होमः सान्नाय्ययोरिवेति दिव्यतत्त्वे गौडमीमांसकाः । तन्न । व्यवहारमयूख. P. p. 54.

7. अत्र हेमाद्रिणा पूर्णे संवत्सरे षण्मासे त्रिपक्षे वा गोभिलवाक्ये पूर्णपदं षण्मासादिष्व-न्वेतीत्युक्तम्, तदनुषङ्गे प्रमाणाभावादुपेक्ष्यम् । श्राद्धमयूख. p. 140.

of Āśvalāyana simply shows that the sacrifices are compulsory and not optional.[8]

Nīlakaṇṭha disagrees with the author of Dāyabhāga in the course of his discussion on the text of Yājñavalkya II. 114. According to the view point of Dāyabhāga the text of Yājñavalkya lays down two injunctions. (1) The father should divide his self-acquired wealth. (2) The father should divide his wealth as per his wish. Nīlakaṇṭha thinks that this involves a serious fault of Vākyabheda. He simply suggests that the first line simply indicates or conveys optional Vikalpa based on the sweet will and the second line is the elaboration of it.[9]

Our author criticizes the view point of Khaṇḍadeva that Garbhadāsa can be given away in the Viśvajit sacrifice. Our author, however, disagrees with Khaṇḍadeva and holds that as a man has not got any ownership over the dāsī kept by him, consequently it follows that he has not got any ownership over the children born of that dāsī. In conclusion, Nīlakaṇṭha holds that Garbhadāsa cannot be given away in the Viśvajit sacrifice.[10]

Our author also refutes the view point of Bhavadeva and Śūlapāṇi who hold that in the case of Atideśa complete expiation should be prescribed. Bhavadeva further holds that the equal mention is merely glorificatory and it does not indicate any deduction in the expiation. Our author does not agree with this view and points out that in the case of Atideśa some lesser expiation is to be understood. For this purpose, he relies on the view point of Vijñāneśvara and the text of Manu. Our author further points out that just as in the sentence " राज्ञा समो मन्त्री । " though minister is regarded as equal to a king, yet the word, सम shows some deterioration or degradation in level between the two, in the similar manner the

8. यत्तु हरदत्तः—सूतकमध्येऽपि ब्रह्मयज्ञाभिश्चत्वारो न त्याज्याः "तानेतान्यज्ञानहरहः कुर्वीत इति सूत्रात्.........। तन्न । आचारमयूख. p. 70.

9. ऐच्छिकविभाग एव विवृत उत्तरार्धेन । इच्छायाः संभवति उक्तपक्षद्वयालम्बनत्वे स्वातन्त्र्ययोगात् । वाक्यभेदापत्तेः । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 97.

10. यत्तु षष्ठे गर्भदासदानमुक्तम् (पूर्वमीमांसा vi. 7.6) तत् चिन्त्यम् । तन्मातरि मुख्यदानप्रतिग्रहक्रयविक्रयाद्यभावेन स्वत्वाभावे तदुत्पन्ने गर्भदासे सुतरां तदयोगादित्यस्तुऽप्रासङ्गिकम् । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 93.

equal mention indicates the lesser expiation in the case of Atideśa. Thus, our author has refuted the view point of Bhavadeva and Śūlapāṇi.[11]

Nīlakaṇṭha goes to the extent of criticizing the view-point of his revered father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa who holds that the scope of the verse "mṛte ahani etc. of Śloka Gautama is curtailed by the verse "Aputrāstu yadā" etc. which refers to the yearly śrāddha. Nīlakaṇṭha says that the scope of the verse "mṛte ahani" etc. cannot be curtailed by the verse "aputrāstuyadā" etc. because both are written by Śloka-Gautama. Moreover, the scope of both these verses is quite different.[12]

II. Sometimes, after citing the two divergent opinions in the matter under discussion, Nīlakaṇṭha passes over the point in silence. The following may be cited as the instances of this type.

In the course of his discussion on the topic of the expiation to be performed by a man in the case of his eating impure things of his body, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a verse from the Manu-Smṛti V. 134 which states that second thread ceremony is necessary. Now the important question is whether this is an independent expiation or whether it is to be combined with the other expiation. Here Nīla-kaṇṭha cites the two divergent opinions of Śūlapāṇi and others. Śūlapāṇi holds that the second thread ceremony is to be combined with the other expiations. While others hold that this is an inde-pendent expiation. Here Nīlakaṇṭha does not express his judgment on this point.[13]

While discussing the topic of punarupanayanam, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a verse from the Parāśara Smṛti which lays down that in the case of the second thread ceremony, the deer-skin, Mekhalā, staff,

11. यच्च भवदेनः—साम्योक्तिरर्थवादः—अन्यथाब्रह्महत्या सुरापानसमे मिथ्योत्कर्षोक्ति वेदनिन्दादिष्वपि द्वादशाब्दं स्यात्········तदपि न । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. p. 16.

12. मम तु प्रतिभाति—कालादर्शादावनयोर्द्वयोरपि वाक्ययोः श्लोकगौतमीयतया लिखनान्नोपसंहारो युक्तः सामान्यवचनानर्थक्यापत्तेः। श्राद्धमयूख. p. 28.

13. पुनःसंस्कारः पुनरुपनयनम् । इदं च प्रातिस्विकैः शारीरमलभक्षणप्रायश्चित्तैः समुच्चीयत इति शूलपाणिः । स्वतन्त्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तमित्यन्ये । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. p. 114.

collecting alms etc. do not take place again. While commenting on this point, Nīlakaṇṭha cites the opinion of some writers on Dharma-Śāstra who hold that when there is a second thread ceremony, there should be followed the whole details of the first thread ceremony. Again Nīlakaṇṭha passes over this point in silence. Dr. Kane says that in such cases, perhaps he agrees with the last view quoted.[14]

In the course of his discussion about the things to be avoided in the Kali age, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a verse from the text of Devala which states that so long as the division of the castes is maintained, and so long as the study of the Veda is continued, a man should resort to asceticism in the Kali age. Nīlakaṇṭha further cites a verse from the text of Vyāsa which lays down that after the lapse of 4,400 years of the Kali age, one must not resort to asceticism. In this connection, Nīlakaṇṭha cites the two diametrically opposite views. Some hold that the scope of the general text of Devala is curtailed by the particular text of Vyāsa. While others held that this is a case of Vyavasthita Vikalpa. Nīlakaṇṭha does not express his opinion in this matter but simply says that these passages are not to be found in the great works.[15]

III. Though, Nīlakaṇṭha criticizes the peculiar views of his predecessors in one context, yet he is good enough to accept the view points of his predecessors in the other context. In this connection, two instances can be cited.

While discussing the prohibition of some things on the particular days of the fortnight, Nīlakaṇṭha cites a verse from the Vāmana Purāṇa which states that Abhyaṅga snāna is prohibited on the nandā tithī which comes on the 1st, 6th and 11th days of each fortnight. Nīlakaṇṭhas further cites the texts of Vyāsa and Gārgī to show that abhyaṅga snāna is prohibited on the ṣaṣṭhī, aṣṭamī, caturdaśī and amāvāsyā days of both the fortnights. When the abhyaṅga snāna was already prohibited by the text of Vāmana Purāṇa, then what is

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14. पराशर—आडीनं मेखला दण्डो भैक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । निवर्तन्ते द्विजातीनां पुनः संस्कारकर्मणि । अन्ये तु पुनः संस्कारो विधीयते तत्रापि इयमेवेतिकर्तव्यतेति । संस्कारमयूख. p. 39

15. यद्यपि संन्यासस्य चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्········। त्रिदण्डैकदण्डाभिप्रायेण व्यवस्था इत्यपरे । सामान्यतो निषिद्धस्य व्यासवाक्येनोपसंहार इत्यन्ये । समयमयूख. p. 187.

the purpose of repeating the same by citing the texts of Vyāsa and Gārgī. Our author, in this connection, cites the view point of his revered father that the remention (पुनर्वचन) of the prohibition is for the purpose of showing or indicating additional fault or sin.[16]

In the course of his discussion of the topic of temporary or casual non-study of the Veda, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a verse from the Manu-Smṛti that states that when there is lightning, thundering of the clouds, and the possibility of rain and ulkas i.e. a fiery phenomenon in the sky, there should be considered the casual non-study of the Vedas. While commenting on this verse, Nīlakaṇṭha states that there is temporary non-study provided there is a proximity (sāhitya) of all these things mentioned. For this purpose, he relies on the statement of Medhātithi who says that sāhitya is to be understood because of the mention of lightning etc. in the Dvandva compound.[17]

IV. After citing the two divergent opinions or meanings of the word, Nīlakaṇṭha states which meaning or opinion is acceptable to him and gives reasons for his view. In this connection, it will be proper to cite an illustration.

Whle discussing the topic of adoption, Nīlakaṇṭha cites a verse from the Manu-Smṛti IX. 168, in which the word sadṛśam occurs. Here Nīlakaṇṭha quotes the opinions of Kullūka-bhaṭṭa and Medhātithi who held the word—sadṛśam in two different senses. Medhātithi understands the word sadṛśam in the sense of "equal by family qualities and not by caste." But Kullūka-bhaṭṭa understands it in the sense of "equal by caste." Nīlakaṇṭha sides with Kullūkabhaṭṭa, supporting his view on the text of the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti II. 133 which states that this vidhi is laid down by me for the sons belonging to the same caste. Thus, relying on the text of the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti II. 133, Nīlakaṇṭa sides with Kullūkabhaṭṭa.[18]

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16. अत्र नन्दादिनिषेधादेव षष्ठीनिषेधे सिद्धे पुनस्तद्ग्रहणं दोषाधिक्यार्थमिति द्वैतनिर्णये तातचरणाः । समयमयूख. p. 178.

17. द्वंद्वनिर्देशादिति मेधातिथिः । संस्कारमयूख. p. 57.

18. सदृशं कुलगुणादिभिर्न जात्या । अतः क्षत्रियादिरपि विप्रादेः दत्तको भवतीति मेधातिथिः । सदृशं जात्येति कुल्लूकभट्टः । युक्तं चेदम् । याज्ञवल्क्येन…… II. 133 सजातीयेष्वयं प्रोक्तस्तनयेषु मया विधिः । इति उपसंहारात् । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 108.

V. Sometimes, in the course of his discussions, Nīlakaṇṭha refers to the view points of some authors on the Dharma-Śāstra by using the expression "इति एके" or इति अन्ये. The two instances of this point may be cited.

While discussing the topic of the expiation to be performed by the women leading immoral life, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes a verse from the Manu-Smṛti XI. 176 and says that whatever is the expiation laid down for men approaching the women of other castes, the same is to be extended to the case of women leading immoral life. According to some writers on the Dharma-Śāstra, even though this is a fit case of Vācanika—Atideśa, yet the expiation which a woman is required to perform should be less by one quarter of the expiation a man is required to observe. Here Nīlakaṇṭha does not state the name of the person whom he is referring to.[19]

(2) In the course of his discussion of the things to be avoided in the Kali age, Nīlakaṇṭha, in the first place, cites the text of Devala. And later on cites the text of Vyāsa which lays down that a man should not resort to asceticism after the lapse of 4,400 years of the Kali age. In this connection, Nīlakaṇṭha cites the opinion of some writers on Dharma-Śāstra that the general text of Devala is curtailed by the particular text of Vyāsa. Here we fail to understand whose opinion our author is referring to.[20] Possibly Nīlakaṇṭha might not have thought it proper to mention the name of the person whom he is referring to, as he is not very important in the field.

VI. At times, Nīlakaṇṭha resorts to an option either on the ground of the sweet will of the performer or on the ground of the manners and customs prevalent in the particular region, or on account of the availability of the equally authoritative texts. Nīlakaṇṭha very carefully resorts to an option when the two texts are equally powerful or authoritative. In this connection, the instances are many but to avoid prolixity, I may cite here only one instance.

In the course of his discussion on the topic of the piṇḍadāna sthāna kalpanā, Nīlakaṇṭha quotes verses from the text of Devala

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19. एतच्च वाचनिकातितिदेशात्पादोनमिति केचित् । पूर्णमेव तु युक्तम् । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख p. 165.

20. सामान्यतो निषिद्धस्य व्यासवाक्येनोपसंहार इत्यन्ये । समयमयूख. p. 187.

to show that after the spreading of the Kuśa grass is over, the Yajamāna should sprinkle water on the grass at the śrāddha ceremony. In this connection, Nīlakaṇṭha cites the two views. According to Sumantu, the water must be sprinkled after the spreading of the grass is over.. While Kātyāyana says that the sprinkling of the water must be done before the actual spreading of the Kuśa grass. Here on account of the availability of the two equally authoritative texts, Nīlakaṇṭha suggests Vyavasthita Vikalpa as per the family tradition or custom of the Yajamāna.[21]

VII. Like Vijñāneśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha also goes to the root of the Subject of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and makes his own comments on the particular technical terms of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. He throws light on the term Tantratā in the course of his discussion in the Prāyaścitta Mayūkha.[22] At times, our author quotes the sūtras of Jaiminī verbatim in his works.[23] Sometimes, Nīlakaṇṭha does not quote the Mīmāṁsā sūtras exactly in the same words in which they are to be found in the work of Jaiminī.[24] At times, however, he is content with referring to the principles of the maxims or the commentary of other writers on Jaiminī's Sūtras, and offers his own comments.[25]

VIII. Nīlakaṇṭha seems to be very cautious and careful in giving the illustrations of the sub-divisions of the technical terms Atideśa and Artha-Vāda.[26] But there are some cases where instead

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21. कात्यायनेन तु बर्हिस्तरणात्पूर्वमनेजनमुक्तम् । अनयोर्विकल्पो यथाशाखं व्यवस्था वा । श्राद्धमयूख. p. 96.

22. तत्रानेकनिमित्तेषु प्राजापत्यादीनां सजातीयानां प्रायश्चित्तानांदेशकालकर्त्रैक्ये तन्त्रम् । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. p. 13.

23. Cf:—फलवत् संनिधौ अफलं तदङ्गम् । in the Śrāddha Mayūkha Page No. 5 with Jaiminī's sūtra IV. 16—37.

24. Cf.—संख्यामुक्तेषु समुच्चयः स्यात् can be compared with संख्याविहितेष समुच्चयोऽसंनिपातित्वात् । Jaiminī XII. iii. 3.

25. यत्तु षष्ठे गर्भदासदानमुक्तं (पूर्वमीमांसा VI 7. 6) तच्चिन्त्यम् ।………… व्यवहारमयूख. p. 93.

26. (१) इति विशिष्टायां गवि इति ब्रह्महत्याव्रतमतिदिष्टम् । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. P. 82. This is an example of ताद्रूप्य अतिदेश ।

(२) एतच्च वाचनिकातिदेशात्पादोनमिति केचित् । पूर्णमेव तु युक्तम् । प्रायश्चित्त मयूख. p. 165. This is an instance of वाचनिक अतिदेश ।

of stating explicitely whether this is a case of śrautī parisaṁkhyā or Lākṣaṇikī Parisaṁkhyā he leaves the decision to the readers.[27]

IX. Compared with his father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha does not appear to be a very profound Mīmāṁsaka. His revered father has introduced in his Mīmāṁsā-Bāla-Prakāśa, the further sub-divisions of Ūha, pratipattikarma, Bādha etc. But it is interesting to note here that in all the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha we do not get the examples of these sub-divisions of the technical terms, with possibly the exception of the varieties of Atideśa.

X. As compared with Vijñāneśvara, it appears that in the employment of the Mīmāṁsā doctrines to the Dharma-Śāstra, Nīlakaṇṭha has made abundant use of the principles of Mīmāṁsā. Dr. P. S. Sane has already pointed out in his Thesis that Vijñāneśvara has used two laukika or popular maxims such as Takrakauṇḍinya nyāya and Brāhmaṇaparivrājika nyāya and seven Mīmāṁsā maxims such as (1) Jāteṣṭi nyāya. (2) Sarvaśeṣa nyāya. (3) Śākhātantara nyāya. (4) Niṣādasthapati nyāya. (5) Rātrisatra nyāya. (6) Śāstraphalam prayoktari nyāya and (&) Dvayoḥ praṇayanti nyāya. As opposed to this, Nīlakaṇṭha has used about 29 Maxims both Mīmāṁsā and popular. Out of 29, 8 maxims are popular. e.g. (1) Dehalī dīpaka. (2) Daṇḍā Pūpikā nyāya. (3) Kākākṣigolaka nyāya. (4) Āgantunamante niveśaḥ nyāya. (5) Avirodhāt Sāmānyāt itareṣu tathātvam. (6) Gobalīvarda nyāya. (7) Kaimutika nyāya and (8) Nāgṛhīta viśeṣaṇa nyāya. While Nīlakaṇṭha has used 21 Mīmāṁsā maxims such as (1) Phalavat sannidhau aphalam tadaṅgam. (2) Anuṣaṅga nyāya. (3) Pūṣaprapiṣṭatā nyāya. (4) Niṣādasthapati nyāya. (5) Vṛttidvaya-virodha nyāya. (6) Viśaye ca prāyadarśanāt. (7) Sādhūneva prayunjita. (8) Saṁkhyāyukteṣu samuccayaḥ syāt. ((9) Sandigdheṣu ca vākyaśeṣāt. (10) Sarvaśākhāpratyayamekaṁ karma nyāya. (11) Sāmānya vidhiḥ aspaṣṭaḥ saṁhriyeta viśeṣataḥ nyāya. (12) Pratipradhānam guṇāvṛttiḥ. ('3) prathamatyāge kāraṇābhāvāt. (14) Nimittagatam viśeṣaṇam avivakṣitam. (15) Na tau paśau karoti. (16) Tatprakhya nyāya. (17) Jāteṣṭi Nyāya. (18) Ekasya tu ubhayatve saṁyogapṛ-

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27. (१) तदाराणां पुष्पवत्वे निमित्ते ⋮……मृततिथिरूपकालविध्यर्थम् । श्राद्धमयूख. p. 28. This is a case of श्रौती परिसंख्या.

(२) तदपि अनापदि आमहेमपरिसंख्यार्थम् । श्राद्धमयूख. p. 29. This also is a case of श्रौती परिसंख्या ।

thaktvam. (19) Kapiñjala Nyāya. (20) Ange phalaśṛtiḥ athavādaḥ and (21) Uddeśyagatam Viśeṣaṇam avivakṣitam nyāya.

Even though it is true from the above list that some of the maxims are common to both Nīlakaṇṭha and Vijñāneśvara yet there are some maxims which are used only by Nīlakaṇṭha. The reason for this can be seen in the bulk of the works of Nīlakaṇṭha. Vijñāneśvara has used about 80 Mīmāṁsā technical terms in the course of his discussion. But Nīlakaṇṭha has used about 52 Mīmāṁsā technical terms in all his Mayūkhas. Here one is tempted to say that the principle and the application of the maxim of Dvayoḥ praṇayanti used by Vijñāneśvara in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti II. 135-136 is so difficult that the like of this is not to be met with in all the 12 Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha. Moreover, in the application of the Mīmāṁsā technical terms and in making the distinction between the terms Vijñāneśvara is more sharp, acute and deep-rooted as compared with Nīlakaṇṭha.

XI. *Nīlakaṇṭha's contribution to the field of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and his peculiar views*:—

(1) The readers of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā generally come across the use of the Mīmāṁsā maxim "Uddeśyagatam viśeṣaṇam avivakṣitam." But the converse of this maxim i.e. Vidheyatam viśeṣaṇam vivakṣitam" is to be found in the Śuddhi Mayūha.[28]

(2) Nīlakaṇṭha's introduction of the three varieties of Atideśa and his successful attempt to refute the view-point of Śūlapāṇi and Bhavadeva in connection with this topic is really original and deserves praise from the scholars. This is evident from his discussion in the Prāyaścitta Mayūkha.[29]

(3) Even though it is absolutely necessary that for Tantratā, the sameness of agents, place and time is required, yet Nīlakaṇṭha very explicitely mentions in the Vyavahāra Mayūkha that in the absence of the sameness of Agents, Tantratā is possible. It is significant to note that this view of Nīlakaṇṭha is supported by the text of Nārada.[30]

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28. अत्र विशेषणद्वयमपि विवक्षितम्, विधेयकर्तृगतत्वात् शुद्धिमयूख. p. 48.

29. अत्र साम्यातिदेशेऽर्द्धं, ताद्रूप्यवाचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम् । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख: p. 14.

30. अत्र देशकालकर्त्रादीनामैक्ये कर्मणोनेकप्रयोगविषयिणी न्यायेन प्राप्तापि तन्त्रता-विभक्तकर्तृभेदेऽपि वचनेन बोध्यते । व्यवहारमयूख. p. 133.

(4) At time Nīlakaṇṭha throws light on some of the Mīmāṁsā technical terms like Prasaṅga and Tantratā in the course of his discussion. This is also very happy.[31]

(5) Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of the term "Bhāvya" in the sense of " भाव्योपयोगी " i.e. useful in near future in the course of his discussion in the Vyavahāra Mayūkha is also very happy and worth appreciating.

(6) Nīlakaṇṭha's peculiar views on the sūtras of Jaiminī in connection with the Viśvajit sacrifice are clear in his discussion in the Vyavahāra Mayūkha.

Conclusion :

From the above discussion, it is quite evident that Nīlakaṇṭha not only criticizes the peculiar views of his predecessors in one context, but at times in other context, accepts their views also. His criticism is generally impartial and free from any bias as befitting the scholar. He is not a blind follower of the views of anybody. He makes abundant use of the Mīmāṁsā technical terms and maxims in the course of his discussion. His revered father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa appears to be a thorough and profound Mīmāṁsaka as compared with Nīlakaṇṭha, and our author does not stand in comparison with him. Sometimes, however, Nīlakaṇṭha passes over some important points in silence, where the readers are curious to know the considered opinion or judgment of our author. Nīlakaṇṭha seems to lack in precision in writing his works since, at times he does not mention the name of the persons whose views are referred to by him. Perhaps these persons may be negligible according to our author. Or it is quite likely that the views of those persons might be so famous that the readers could have understood references to them without mentioning their names. At times, Nīlakaṇṭha, after citing the two divergent opinions on the matter under consideration, states the opinion acceptab'e to him and also at the same time cares to give reason for his view. Compared with Vijñāneśvara, it can be said with reasonable certainty that Nīlakaṇṭha is also a great scholar of Pūrva-Mīmāṁā. It is true that he has used less number of Mīmāṁsā technical terms as compared with Vijñāneśvara. Both of them are really the masters in the field. Over and above, it is evident that

31. तत्र विशेषग्रहणे सकृदनुष्ठानं प्रसङ्गः । प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. p. 13.

Nīlakaṇṭha's contribution to the field of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and his peculiar views on some of the topics connected with Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā cannot be easily ignored by a careful and cautious reader of his Mayūkhas. In his discussions, he goes to the root of the subject and impresses the readers by his impartial judgment and his ardent desire to find out the truth. Any way, we do not meet with any hair-splitting discussion as we meet with in the scholarly commentary of Vijñāneśvara on the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti. In any case, the appreciable position of Nīlakaṇṭha, in the application of the Mīmāṁsā doctrines to the Dharma-Śāstra, can hardly be gainsaid by any one.

ŚRI VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA (1268 A.D.–1368 A.D.)

By PROF. K. C. VARADACHARI*

I

It is seven hundred years since one of the most illustrious teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaita was born in the year 1268 A.D. In one sense, he was so towering a personality in every sense of that term, that after him hardly any one equalled him in any one of those qualities that make one unique and a vibhūti of God. In his case in his own life-time he was known as the incarnation of the Bell of God (ghaṇṭāvatāra). It appears that his ringing voice was almost like a temple bell calling devotees to prayer and worship. It may be that it also drove away the forces of evil at the approach of the beneficent deity. It is said that his mother dreamt that the temple bell of Veṅkateśwara or Veṅkaṭam came into her womb one night when she was on the Veṅkaṭa Hill and soon after Veṅkaṭanātha was born, and was given the name of Veṅkaṭanātha. In any case it was well-known even in his own lifetime by a section of the people that he was a divine personality, who came to establish firmly the Vedānta (nigamānta) tenets according to Śrī Rāmānuja-Yāmuna School, known as Viśiṣṭādvaita. He was a profound scholar who systematized all the views of his predecessors and fixed the boundaries of the system so that no one could tamper with its basic tenets. For this purpose he had to write, important works like the *Nyāya siddhāñjana, Nyāya pariśuddhi, Tattva-muktākalāpa* with its commentary Sarvārthasiddhi, Adhikaraṇasārāvali, Tātparyacandrikā on the Gītā, Tattvatīkā on the Śrībhāṣya, and his Maṇipravāla works Rahasyatrayasāra and Paramatabhaṅga. His own works in poetry were *Yādavābhyudaya, Haṁsasandeśa, Saṅkalpasūryodaya, Pādukāsahasra* and a score of stotras or praises on the different deities.[1] The first made him known as Tārkikasiṁha, whereas the second group made him known as Kavi-siṁha. Combined with each other Śri Veṅkaṭanātha was known as Kavi-tārkika-siṁha. As he was well-versed in all the different branches of knowledge he was known as Sarva-tantra-svatantra.

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1. Bibliography of Sri Vedānta Deśika's Works: Madras Law Journal Press, 1928.

His mastery of the Sanskṛt and Tamil languages was acknowledged as of a very complete scholarship. In the special language of maṇipravāla he was equally proficient. There is at least one poem which he wrote in prākṛt. His erudition in matters of spiritual concern must be deemed to be remarkable in his time. He was prodigy. His debating skill was also never excelled in his time. His *Śataūṣaṇi* is a well known work of refutation of Advaita doctrine of the Māyāvāda Buddhist affiliation.

A critical estimate of his works has yet to come out, for many of his works have to have competent *editions*.

In this article I shall try to present what I deem to be very important contributions of Veṅkatanātha to spiritual thought. His versatility apart it is rather a question why he did not write commentaries on all Upaniṣads or on the whole range of works on the Tamil hymns of the Āḷvārs. Philosophically, Śrī Rāmānuja's system is based on the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* and the *Vedānta Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa. It is also known that it is based on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The mystical experiences of the Āḷvārs contained in the Divine literature (divya prabandham) helped the religious experience of the Divine Personality and were seen to be reflecting the Vidyās or upāsanas of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta Sūtra (Śārīraka Sūtras).[2] The most important discovery was that the cardinal principle of Viśiṣṭādvaita has to be considered to be Śarīra-śarīrī saṁbandha-body-soul relationship between God and the soul, and God and Nature. This saṁbandha was known to be unbreakable (*aprathak siddha*). It persists under all conditions—prior to creation or manifestation or during manifestation and after dissolution. The soul and Nature are not qualities nor just attributes as usually considered by the logicians, for they are entities which have a peculiar dependence on the Godhead even as the body has on the soul. This makes the saṁbandha aprathak-siddha, which is a descriptive term, and not mere samavāya (inherent relationship) as between a substance and its guṇas. Nor is it just an adjective which is just a quality. It is what it claims to be a serious substantial relationship and its nearest analogy is to that of the body-soul (śarīra-śarīrī-bhāva). Undoubtedly the concept of the śarīra has demanded a critical appreciation and rejection of the mechanistic and materialistic view and the statement

2. Viśiṣṭādvaita is also known as *Ubhaya-Vedānta,* because of this twofoldness.

of the conditions which make for a soul being a body of Brahman, even as Nature is shown to be the body of God. The definition does not suffer from the defects of definitions when one delves into the actual experience of one being a body and one being a soul—a contingency that the human being has. Spiritual experience is the ultimate authority for spiritual truth or reality. Even scripture has to abide by the deliverances of the spiritual experiences. It is the only corrective to misinterpretations and superficial interpretations of the scriptures themselves, which are a matter for words, contexts and intentions and uses. Even if all these had a real contradiction from spiritual experiences it would demand a careful scrutiny of the earlier interpretations. Such having been the case the great Rāmānuja utilised the spiritual experiences of the Āḷvārs and of himself presumably to make Viśiṣṭādvaita not a mere logical debate but a spiritual meditation, Upāsana.

Śri Veṅkaṭanātha wrote only one upaniṣad commentary—and that was on the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*.[3] He wrote only one commentary on the Hymns of the Āḷvārs—and that on the ten verses of Tiruppan Āḷvār.[4] The first he holds which is the shortest Upaniṣad having 18 mantras, consists of all that is necessary to give a full account of the nature of Brahman, (*tattva*), the means to attain Him (*hita*) and the goal to be gained with His help and grace (the *puruṣārtha*). He also holds that this one Upaniṣad when understood properly will also refute all other systems of thought and speculation. No bare Absolute is being taught in this Upaniṣad, but a fully competent Godhead as the common man looks for:

Sarveśānaḥ sahajamahimā sarvabhūtāntarātmā
Sarvān doṣān svayam atipatan sarvavidyaikavedyaḥ /
Karmādhyakṣaḥ kaluṣaśamanaḥ ko'pi muktopabhogyaḥ
siddhopāyaḥ sphurati puruṣo Vājinām saṁhitānte //

Abhedam bhoktṛṇām atha ca bhavinām eva paratām
Tathā bhedābhedam jinasugata nītim ca jagati

3. Īśāvāsyopaniṣad-bhāṣya of Veṅkaṭanātha. ed & trans by Dr. K. C. Varadachari and D. T. Tatachari 1942 and 1956. Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute. Tirupati. Īśāvāsyopaniṣad—Festchrift Kane 1941.

4. Āḷvārs of South India: K. C. Varadachari. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, pp. 105 ff.

cf. Journal of the Sri Venktesvara Oriental Institute. Vol. VII. 1946. pp. 1—8.

asaṁpādyam muktim bhavabhayamalām ca pathata-
masavisetyadirna katham anuvākaṃ pratibhaṭaḥ //
(last verse of the Īśā. Com.)

Trans: "The transcendent Person, Lord of All, of innate greatness, the Inner Self of all beings, Himself eternally transcending all faults, the One object of all sciences (vidyās), the presiding one of all action, the extinguisher of sins, Enjoyable by all the liberated, the Ready means (to mokṣa), shines at the end of the Saṁhitā of the Vājins. (Īśā. com. 2)

"How is this anuvāka beginning with the Īśā not opposed to those who hold in this world that there is identity between all enjoyers, that bond souls are the Supreme, that there is identity and difference, who accept the philosophy of the Jains and Buddhists, that liberation is not something that is to be attained, since all are ever-free and that fear of bondage is illusion."

His commentary on the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* reveals his critical appreciation of the basic emphasis that is made in the work about the critical synthesis of the threefold attitudes of karma, jñāna and bhakti yogas, each one of them depending on the others—real karmayoga is not possible without jñāna and both of them culminate in devotional aproach. It should perhaps be emphasized that they lead to śaraṇāgati or prapatti than bhakti, as Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha shows that the mantras 15 to 18 really are prayer to the supreme Being to remove the lid of rajas (egoism) that covers the face of Truth. Prayer is always a variety of prapatti or śaraṇāgati (self-surrender) undertaken in extremity of one's own impotence and helplessness, whereas praise may be the basic notion of most kinds of bhakti. One has to distinguish between prayer and praise, the former is invaluable in Yoga or upāsana, whereas praise is just an acknowledgement of the saviour's greatness. When it follows fulfilment of one's wishes then it is real, but if it precedes it may turn out to be just flaterry.

The last most famous mantra: *Agne naya supathā rāye asmān viśvāni* deva vayunāni vidvān....' that is found in all the Vedas is the classical mantra of surrender: *bhūiṣṭām te nama uktim vidhema.* Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha reveals that this is the real essence of sāttvika-tyāga of the ego and this is achieved by the *Ahaṁgrahopāsana*—the process by which the Divine is made to assume 'I-ness' of the individual soul—as explained by him under the mantra 16—'So'ham asmi'. This is the supreme attainment for the individual soul—to

regain God as the indwelling self or aham of oneself. Though God is always present in oneself but most people feel God if at all as a superior witness within but not as the living self. This descent or avatār of the Supreme within oneself as the Aham (I) is a spiritual experience as revealed by the Pañcarātra āgama concept of the antaryāmi or hārda-avatāra or avatāra who incarnates in the heart of the Yogi in his spiritual dhyāna (meditation: yogi hṛd dhyāna gaṁyam.

While it is clear that realisation would have no meaning if the soul was always free—a point which Sri Veṅkaṭanātha has mentioned in the verse mentioned above, it is equally true that if God was in absolute possession of the soul always there is no need to seek His presence in oneself to be the Aham or Self of oneself. This reveals that spiritual experience and philosophical logic are in a sense opposed to one another. An *ought to be* cannot be converted simply into an *is*. This would be a valuable distinction between spirituality which is a process of realisation and a philosophy which seeks to affirm implications causal or effectual as actual. Ideal implications are ideal, they have to be realised or made actual or real. In this sense it is that the Mīmāṁsā rule affirms that every vākya of the Veda is either a vidhi or a niṣedha and this means that it is not a mere affirmation but an imperative, positive or negative. The spiritual obligation like a moral or ethical obligation is a dharma, an imperative or command. Because of the sadyaḥ phala or immediate effectivity of the action done according to the Vedic command, as it was made to stand for a future result *as if* it is already attained. Time lag no longer avails between the cause and effect. So the aprathak-saṁbandha is a basic potentiality of the God-soul relationship as of God and nature, which it is the business or imperative of spiritual life to realise in their own lives.

The great rift between philosophy and spirituality is evident in the stalemate that has arisen when the philosophers refuse to recognize the distinction between the *is* and the *ought*.

Therefore Śri Veṅkaṭanātha showed that as in the case of the *Bhagavad Gītā*[5] the three yogas, karma, jñāna and bhakti demand the fourth Śaraṇāgati or God's grace and individual's handing over his 'i-ness' to God and become His body (śarīra), a bhoga vastu and a bhogakaraṇa of God, and incidentally 'enjoy' (tyaktena bhunjīthāḥ).

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5. cf. Meditation on the Īśāvāsyopaniṣad. 15—18. GJRI J. Vol. 1945. All India Oriental Conference Xth Session.' A clue into the relationship between the mystical and religious consciousnesss." Proceedings 1940.

II

If the Upaniṣad revealed the synthetics of spiritual life and also revealed the philosophical subordination to spiritual obligation or command or imperative, the āḷvār prabandham showed how a life lived in such a manner could result in granting the jñāna, the darśana and laya or līna in God Himself. (jñātum draṣṭumca tattvena praveṣṭum ca parantapa of the *Bhagavata Gītā*).

Śri Veṅkaṭanātha as pointed out earlier in the course of this paper commented on the prabandham of Tiruppanāḷvār entitled *Amalanādippirān*. He has of course written a full stotra giving exposition of the several Āḷvārs—Dehalīśa-stuti, Godā-stuti, Dramiḍopaniṣad-sāram and tātparya ratnāvalī, Yatirājasaptati etc. This is the only prabandham where he has given commentaries hymn after hymn showing that it is a concisest exposition of the kernal of the Āḷvār message. Here the fundamental puruṣa or God is seen by his divine eyes or rather divinised eyes as an object of divine sight. The whole Form of the Divine is revealed not in the language of the mere Arcā, (Icon in the temple) but as the Beauty that is the Transcendent into whom all the divinised souls seek entry and refuge to whom the divine has verily opened His divine body (tanūm svām).

The description of the vision of God begins with the feet and goes up hymn by hymn to the crown of His head. This shows that the form of God is not a mere human or anthropomorphic habit of mind to make God in the image of man, reversing the European tradition of making man in the image of God. There is a form of God which is not opposed to that of the human—of which the human may be an inversion, as expressed in the *Kaṭha* (VI. 5) analogy—yathā darśe tathā ātmani, as in the mirror Brahman is seen in the soul (body). The divine seen in the heart (hṛdi) is the reflection of the Ultimate form of the Divine in his transcendence.

The first experience of God is that He is Free from all impurities (*amalan*), that He is the First Lord (ādi-pirān), one who has made the lover of God the attendant of these who have attained the Feet of God (adiyār), the persona who is *vimalan, nirmalan, niti-vān-avan,* who is essentially following the divine law (nītī).

In another context it is said that the Form of the Divine is Śānti (śāntākāra), viśva-ākāra, and so on, emphasizing that when one beholds the Divine, the basic nature or attributes of God stand

revealed to the inner yogic vision granted by the Divine. One ought to distinguish between the ordinary yogic vision that arises from the mere control of the citta, that may give rise to haliucinations, or just clairvoyance and so on, and the divine supersensory or non-sensory vision and non-mental or supramental darśana given as a matter of Grace by God. Peace, auspiciousness, and liberation from all sāṁsāric bonds happen to one who has beheld the vision of God—of his feet alone. How much more when one is led up to see the other glories of the Divine. The exploits of God in his slow movement towards revealing. His other mansions are also given full place, but not as praise but as the fruits of His grace so that one is first given the Idea of God, (jñāna), then is granted the darśana of the levels of God his figure upto His crown. Lastly the Āḷvār utters the oft-uttered words. My eyes that have beheld thee have no place for any other object.—*unnai kaṇḍa kaṇgil mattronnum kāṇāve.*

The hymn as a whole has to be read with deep awareness of the vision of God in order to appreciate the poetic excellence that transcends poetry. The Āḷvār finally according to the promise of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad Gītā* finally enters into the divine body of God. Here is the mergence which philosophy denies as possible, but it is a mergence which has to be interpreted in the mystical way not in the physical way of being dissolved like sugar in water or like the rivers in the sea or like the moths in the flame.

Śri Veṅkaṭanātha calls Tirup-pan-āḷvār *Nam pānanāthan.* Our Lord of breath (prāṇa-nāthan). The importance of the fulfilment of the divine aspiration and devotion must find their culmination here on this earth itself by the entry of the soul into its real abode—Nārāyaṇa. Bhakti that does not culminate in it is not a yoga. And every yoga must find fulfilment in the divine enjoyment of the Figure, personality and union (immergence) in God. As I pointed out the spiritual entry into God should not be confused with the philosophical explanations of this process, which compels one to affirm the annihilation or extermination of the soul or ego or the individual or shows the impossibility of sāyujya. Śri Veṅkaṭanātha shows in his Commentary on the Īśā mantras referring to Asambhūti and saṁbhūti[6] the necessity to be born in God and of God (brahmaja).

III

Śri Veṅkaṭanātha has had to meet with stiff opposition from both those who were not affiliated to Viśiṣṭādvaita and were its rivals

6. Proceedings Xth Session: AIOC. 1940. pp. 276 ff.

in Vedānta and those who belonged to it but held queer doctrines. One of them obviously refers to the very concept of this kind of Vaiṣṇavism which calls itself Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, that Vaiṣṇavism which gives the most important place to Śri, conceived as the Śakti or Spouse of the Ultimate Viṣṇu. In his brilliant commentary on the *Catuśślokī* by Yāmunācārya,[7] Śrī Venkaṭanātha shows that the great Yamuna emphasized the divya-dāmpatya (divine bharta-bhārya relationship between the Lord Viṣṇu and Śrī. Śrī Rāmānuja himself claimed that the Ultimate Lord is always with Śri in His chest. The full meaning of this is further explained by Śri Veṅkaṭanātha in his *Śrī Stutī* where he says that Śri refers to her being the Śreyo-mūrti as contrasted with the preyo mūrtitva of the other powers of Gods. This is the exclusive śakti of God Viṣṇu and it is this distinction that makes Śrī Vaiṣṇavism a spiritual religion seeking the Ultimate Puruṣārtha of Mokṣa and not the other three puruṣārthas which the Preyas can grant. This shows also his Vairāgya that he demonstrated in his famous reply to Swami Vidyāraṇya who offered him a lucrative living at the Court at Vijayanagar.[8]

However he reveals that the Śri is a personality not merely an attribute of Godhead necessary for His being a God at all. Further all the six divine attributes of aiśvarya, vīrya, jñāna, bala, śakti and tejas also inhere in her Śreyas, Śrī, and it is futile to think that Śri is just another soul, śarīra of God.

Philosophical theology cannot at higher levels of mystical experiences be adequate. The controversy between the spiritual experience of the figure and form and attributes of God and the barren utterly unqualified and featureless, formless Ultimate is eternally irreconcilable. But it can be so only till one attains to the Ultimate state or the real transcendent state not a state of abstraction from all concrete personal experiences. If as is customary some consider that it is not called for and that one must be content with scriptural texts their harmonisation becomes imperative and this obviously can meet no success especially when the methods adopted are entirely without direction. Indeed all types of experiences are thrown into the spiritual and religious category and the selection of the adequate and proper spiritual from others has become quite a task.

The scholastic period, fortunately for it, did not meet with scepticisms of our times and could go on with their traditional modes

7. cf. *My Idea of God.* (SVOI. publication 1st ed.).

8. *Vairāgyapañcakam.*

of debate and discourse, alongside the laborious scholarship intended to promote spiritual hankering and devotion for God in their personal lives. Śrī Vedānta Deśika was known as an assiduous practicer of the Nitya (daily worship) according to the Pāñcakālavidhi of the Pāñcarātras which has been known as the Sātvata darśana promulgated by Śri Kṛṣṇa.[9]

His own personal experiences of the several forms of the Ultimate Godhead Viṣṇu and Śrī together, had given a real stamp to his writings and proved of enormous spiritual power to awaken the real yearning in his devotees.

Dr. M. M. Umesh Misra was a towering personality and I fully remember the most enthralling conversation I had with him in Sept. 1966 at the Research Institute, Allahabad for more than an hour and a half. His vivacity, remarkable mastery over intricate philosophical and philological points along with his openness of mind, his austerity in the performance and observance of traditional Brahmanic modes of life, made him a symbol of all that is best in Indian Hindu Tradition of the Orthodox. Śri Vedānta Deśika was known to be the lion among men who carried the banner of Hindu Śri Vaiṣṇavism—the mother of all bhakti schools in India, in the face of the already terrific onslaughts of other religions and sects, and paved the way for the preservation of the essentials of spiritual tradition of personal realisation of God on the one hand and religious practices of worship of God on the other hand. I believe that a link between these two is appropriate and that is the *raison d'etre* of this paper.

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9. (a) My Bibliography of Śri Vedānta Deśika's work (1928) on the occasion of His 660th Birthday.

(b) Sri Vedānta Deśika as Teacher: Gaudiya Math. Souvenir. Madras 1964.

(c) Śri Kṛṣṇa—the founder of the Seventh Darśana. Mother Calcutta.

ON SOME IMPORTANT CITATIONS IN THE *NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ* OF JAYANTABHAṬṬA[1]

By DR. H. G. NARAHARI*

Quite a number of writers, orthodox and heterodox, are mentioned[2] in the *Nyāyamañjarī*, a very authoritative work on Nyāya Philosophy whose object is to establish the supremacy of the Nyāya view in contemporary thought. The object of the present paper is, not to enumerate all these writers, but only to mention some important ancient writers, referred to in this work whose works are unknown but who are known so far only by citations in other works.

1. *Bhartṛmitra*

At least twice[3] this writer is referred to by name in the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathimiśra. From the evidence available in this work it would appear that Bhartṛmitra introduced[4] many wrong theories (*apasiddhānta*) leading the orthodox Mīmāṁsā School dangerously near atheism (*lokāyatīkṛtā*) :

मीमांसा हि भर्तृमित्रादिभिरलोकायतैव सती लोकायतीकृता

Among the wrong theories mentioned above is the view[5] that there is no fruit (*phala*) for the performance of daily (*nitya*) and prohibited (*niṣiddha*) actions. Another wrong theory of Bhartṛmitra is condemned by Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Nyāyamañjarī*;[6] and this is that

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1. In a summarized form this paper was submitted to XXIII All-India Oriental Conference, Aligarh, October 1966. I offer this paper to the present Volume for, if my esteemed friend the late Mm. Dr. Umesha Misra were alive, he would be delighted to read this paper and offer his valuable comments.

2. For details, see H. G. Narahari, *Aryan Path*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 25 ff.

3. On *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila, Verse 10, pp. 3-4.

4. For full details, see V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, Introduction to *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspatimiśra, pp. 24 ff.

5. *Nyāyaratnākara*, loc. cit.

6. Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1936, I. 196, 207.

the auditory sense is nothing more than the impression (*saṁskāra*) produced by the wind (*pavana*):

१. तथा च भर्तृमित्रः पवनजनितसंस्कारपक्षो भवतु तथाऽपि नातिप्रसङ्गः नियतदेशस्यैव तत्र संस्कारात् ।

2. यत्तु भर्तृमित्रस्तमेव संस्कारं श्रोत्रेन्द्रियमभ्युपैति तदिदमपूर्वकं किमपि पाण्डित्यम् ।

Ramasvami Sastri[7] places this writer "between Śabarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa i.e. *c.* A.D. 300–600."

2. *Ravigupta*

Eleven different epithets are used[8] in the *Nāyamañjarī* to designate a Buddhist. Among individual Buddhist writers referred to or mentioned here are *Dharmakīrti* and *Ravigupta;* the former of these, called *Kīrti* and *Bhikṣu* also here, is well-known. But this cannot be said of the latter who seems to be an old Buddhist writer believing in the theory of Momentary Flux (*Kṣaṇikatva*). Jayantabhaṭṭa[9] refers to him thus:

एतेन रविगुप्तोऽपि परिम्लानमुखीकृतः ।
क्षणिकत्वक्षमादित्व समुत्प्रेक्षणपण्डितः ॥

3. *Rājā*

In the course of a refutation of the Sāṁkhya view of Perception (*Pratyakṣa*), Jayantabhaṭṭa refers[10] to this ancient writer of that School thus:

यत्तु राजा व्याख्यातवान् प्रतिराभिमुख्ये वर्तते तेनाभिमुख्येन विषयाध्यवसायः प्रत्यक्षमिति तदप्यनुमानादावस्त्येव ॥

This *Rājā* is very probably the author of the *Rājavārttika* to which reference is made by Vācaspatimiśra towards the end of his commentary[11] on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa:

तथा च राजवार्त्तिकम्—
प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थवत्त्वमथान्यथा ।
पारार्थ्यं च तथाऽनैक्यं वियोगो योग एव च ॥

7. *op. cit.*, p. 26.

8. For full details, see H. G. Narahari, *Sri Venkatesvara University Oriental Journal*, Tirupati, 1962, pp. 34 ff.

9. *Nyāyamañjarī*, II. 34.

10. *Ibid.*, I. 100.

11. *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī* on Kārikā 72 (Ed. by Ganganath Jha), p. 81.

4. *Śaṁkarasvāmin*

Concluding a discussion of the view of the *Pravaras* on the knowledge of the meaning of a sentence (*vākyārthabodha*), Jayantabhaṭṭa refers[12] to Śaṁkarasvāmin, a follower of this School (*pravaramatānuyāyin*):

तादृशस्यागृहीतसंबन्धत्वादर्थप्रतिपत्तिहेतुत्वं न स्यादित्यास्तामपूर्वमिदं शङ्करस्वामिनः पाण्डित्यम् ॥

Could he be the father of the famous Upavarṣa who wrote a commentary (*vṛtti*), long before Śabara, on the Mīmāṁsāsūtras? This is suggested by the following verse in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*[13] of Kṣemendra:

शङ्करस्वामिनामाभूद्ब्राह्मणो वेदपारगः ।
वर्षोपवर्षौ तस्येमौ तनयावतनुत्विषः ।
संप्राप्य विद्यामतुलां विश्रुतौ लोकपूजितः ॥

5. *Govindasvāmin*

Jayantabhaṭṭa, about to conclude his section on Word-Meaning Relation (*padasaṁgatigraha*), refers[14] to this dispassionate knower of Brahman:

वीतरागस्य च ब्रह्मविदो वित्तैषणाव्युत्थितस्य गोविन्दस्वामिन इव निधिरपि हेयतया परिस्फुरति.........।

It is quite possible that Jayantabhaṭṭa refers only to an ascetic of that name famous in the province he lived. But since no such assertion can be made with certainty, guesses should be permissible on this point of the identity of Govindasvāmin. I would like to venture now a guess on this problem though I am quite conscious that it is rather far-fetched. The epithets given by Jayantabhaṭṭa to Govindasvāmin are the characteristics, according to the commentary (*bhāṣya*) of Śaṁkara on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[15] of one who has achieved the state of a *Paramahaṁsaparivrājaka*. Now this is a familiar epithet of *Govindabhagavatpūjyapāda* who was Śaṁkara's preceptor. Could Jayantabhaṭṭa be alluding to him? Since he lived[16] in *c.* 890 A.D., he is later than Śaṁkara and perforce later than his preceptor. I submit this vague guess for the consideration of scholars interested in the problem.

12. *Nyāyamañjarī*, I. 363.
13. I. 2. 24 (*Kāvyamālā*, No. 69, Bombay, p. 9).
14. *Nyāyamañjarī*, I. 269.
15. III. 5.
16. See H. G. Narahari, *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XXII., p. 77.

THE CAUSAL RELATION

By Dr. P. S. Sastri*

One dominant view holds that the effect is the transformation of the cause. The effect is a new manifestation that was previously unmanifest and hidden in the cause. In essence the cause and the effect are identical, but the form of the manifestation is different from that of the cause. The causal relation thus becomes one of identity-in-difference. The effect here has the same order of being, and it is a real transformation of the cause. This law of causation thus postulates the real transformation of an entity belonging to the same order of reality.[1] The effect modifies the nature of its cause. On this basis a variety of examples are often adduced. But we have to know how the effect gets manifested.

If the manifestation of the effect has no cause, then it is not different from the uncaused; and as such it will have neither existence, nor non-existence. If it has a cause, it cannot be a specific entity. There may be an ass present prior to the origination of the pot, and the ass is as much a specific entity as the lump of clay. To avoid this difficulty one may take recourse to the entity that is capable of manifesting the effect. This entity has a form which excludes others. If this exclusive entity has the causal nature, then it can give rise only to one effect. The causal nature of one entity cannot be identical with the causal nature of others. This causal nature cannot be immanent in all entities in an identical fashion.[2]

If the effect in its entirety is latent in the cause, then the effect is never produced. If the existent alone is producd, there should be incessant production. An existent effect does not need an agent for its production because it is already existent. If the agent's activity is necessary, the effect must be non-existent. If the manifestation of the effect is non-existent, its prior existence has to be established. The production of a non-existent manifestation is not possible. That

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1. *Siddhānta Leśa Saṅgraha*, 54.

2. *Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa Khādya*, 1224,

which was non-existent before its production can become existent if it can be true of all other effects. If the manifestation is existent, and if it abides in a subtle form, we have to assume the manifestation of that manifestation. This leads to a regress. If manifestasion exist like the effect, it contradicts the manifestation of the effect. If the manifestation is existent prior to the activity of the agent, the agent is unnecessary.

Is the manifestation identical with the effect manifested? If so, it can be either non-existent or existent. We have seen that either alternative is illogical. If the manifestation is different from the effect manifested, it can either be related to the effect or not related. If there is no relation, there can be no manifestation because the manifestation has nothing to do with the effect. If there is a relation, is the manifestation existent or non-existent prior to the production of the effect? If the relation is present prior to the production of the effect between the manifestation and the effect, it would mean that the effect is manifested even before it is produced. Since manifestation is already present in the effect, there can be no manifestation. If non-manifestation is present even at the time of the manifestation, there will always be the non-manifestation of the effect.

The cause and the effect have their own respective natures. This does not allow them to be non-different. The cause is an accomplished entity, while the effect is yet to be. There must be a specific feature in each to distinguish one from the other. If the two are non-different, then an entity will be its own cause, and the presence of the cause would mean itself and also the presence of the effect. Then there is also no production or destruction of effect, and the activity of an agent would serve no purpose. The effect would always be manifested in the cause. No time would intervene between the cause and the effect, and no causal relation would be possible.

To avoid this absurdity it may be held that the difference of the cause and the effect is their essence, and that non-difference is their relation. Is this non-difference different from the cause and the effect, or non-different or both? If it is different, we need some other relation to relate this non-difference to the cause and the effect; and that relation will be other than non-difference, thereby requiring another relation in its turn. This is an endless regress. If non-difference is itself a relation, the relation needs another relation

to relate it to its own ground. If nondifference is absolutely different from the cause and the effect, it cannot be related to them because no relation can be totally distinct from its terms.

If nondifference is nondifferent from the cause and the effect, is it of the nature of perfect identity or of essential identity with some difference? The second alternative is not possible because of the difficulties we encounter with the concept of difference. In the case of the first alternative, nondifference will not be an attribute of the cause and the effect.

If the nondifference is both different and nondifferent from the cause and the effect, then we are again in trouble. Nondifference being identity, this identity will have to be both different and nondifferent. This nondifference of the second factor will again be different and non-different; and this leads to a regress.

If the essence of the cause and the effect is to be sought in their difference from the effect and the cause respectively, difference becomes an entity and it cannot be an attribute of an entity. If difference is an entity, its perception cannot depend on the knowledge of its counter entity. If difference is the very nature of an object, its perception must be the same as the perception of its difference from others. Then a rope should never be misperceived as a snake. If the given has the nature of mere difference, then the perception of the given must depend on the perception of its counter entity; the knowledge of one object would depend on another which is its counter entity; and the knowledge of the counter entity will depend on another. This infinite regress would not allow us to establish any object. Hence the causal relation cannot be explained by taking difference as the essential nature of the cause and the effect, with non-difference as its attribute.

It may be argued that the difference between the cause and the effect does not constitute their essential nature, and that the difference is only their essential quality. The cause and the effect are non-different. This nondifference is the negation of difference.

Now if difference implies mutual exclusion, we cannot admit both difference and nondifference here. If the difference and the nondifference are said to be having different grounds, then the same effect cannot be both different and nondifferent. The two properties can coexist if difference means only partial negation, not denial, but

limitation of difference. But negation cannot and does not imply degrees of denial. If nondifference qualifies difference, it must be a positive quality.

The next way is to argue that difference and nondifference are positive in character and that they are the qualities of the cause and the effect. The two attributes have to be related to their grounds, because as unrelated they will cease to be attributes. The relation may be one of conjunction, inherence, or identity. If qualities and actions are different and also nondifferent from their substance, there cannot be a relation of conjunction. The conjunctive relation holds between substances and not between a substance and a quality. They cannot have a relation of inherence with the cause and the effect because this relation unites two distinct enties; and inherence is a distinct relation which is made to operate here between an attribute and a substance.

That difference and nondifference are positive attributes referring to the nature of the cause and the effect is not a fact of perceptual experience. If direct experience can present the true nature of a relation always, then there cannot be erroneous cognitions.

If difference and nondifference are somehow related to the cause and the effect, we must find out how they can exist together in both the cause and the effect. In order to coexist they cannot be contradictories or contraries, and the affirmation of one should not imply the denial of the other. Each will be a unique entity transcending and yet involving the law of contradiction. And such a unique entity cannot be the cause or effect of another unique one. If the concept of difference and nondifference does not mean the presence of difference and of nondifference, and if it is a new kind of attribute, it can exist along with absolute difference or along with nondifference. Then we should say that the cause and the effect are absolutely different and also absolutely different-cum-nondifferent; or they are both absolutely non-different and also absolutely different-cum-nondifferent. Either position involves selfcontradiction.

The position that is now left is to argue that the cause and the effect are different in one aspect and nondifferent in another aspect. Prior to its manifestation the effect is undifferentiated in the cause, and after its manifestation the causal essence is the essence of its effect. As the essence, the effect is thus nondifferent from the cause. As manifested, the effect reveals certain features that are different

from those of the cause; and this constitutes their difference. But do their features form an integral part of the concept of the effect? If they are, then this important aspect of the effect is nonexistent in the cause prior to its production, and this makes out the effect to be absolutely different from its cause after its production. But if these specific features of the effect are only accidental, then the true effect must be only its essence. Then the effect is absolutely nondifferent from the cause. That is, the cause remains unchanged, unmodified, and as such there is no causation.

But it may be held that the essence as particularized by the specific features is the real nature of the effect. Then we can preserve its difference and also nondifference from the effect. But if this particularized essence is different from the unparticularized essence, we have only a relation of difference; and if it is nondifferent, the particularization has no meaning.

How is the essence of the effect related to its particularizing features? Any kind of relation here is helpless to establish the relation of difference-cum-nondifference between the cause and the effect. If the particularizing features are non-different from the essence, the essence is unparticularized, thereby denying a causal relation. If they are different, they cannot be related in any way. If the particularizing features are just added to the essence without any modification of its essential nature, we do not get a real effect.

We do not find a causal relation between objects disparate in nature. The products having the features of clay come from clay only. Likewise the universe having among its characteristics pleasure, pain and infatuation, can be the effect of a cause which is constituted of these characteristics. The impure world as an event must presuppose an impure cause. This universe has the sentient and the unsentient, the latter functioning as a means or as an auxiliary. Where there is parity in nature, there can be no such relation as that of principal to its auxiliary. Two flowers, for example, cannot subserve each other's purpose. Moreover, the nature of the constituent cause is known to continue in its effect. It might be said that the cause of the universe is sentient and that this character is not perceieved because of a modification in it. For example, we do not perceive the sentient character of an individual when he is in a state of sleep or swoon. Thus a log of wood may be a similar case in-

volving its character of an auxiliary. The body and the organs are auxiliaries to the soul even though both may participate in sentiency.[3]

This approach is untenable. We do notice that from sentient beings there do emerge the non-sentient ones like hair and nails. We cannot say that these come from the nonsentient body alone since the body is charged with life. There is the divergence between a living body and what comes out of it. This contradicts the notion of similiarity between cause and effect. If these are physical products traceable to the physical body, we can as well say that these share with the individual the character of existence which is persistent.[4]

The universe as an event is related to the Absolute. If there is a disparity between these, does it mean that the characteristics of the Absolute do not in their entirety inhere in the world? or does it mean that there is no characteristic of the Absolute which inheres in the world? or does it mean that there is a characteristic like sentiency which does not inhere in the world? The first alternative would identify the cause with the effect, thereby destroying the causal relation. The second alternative is difective because there is atleast the characteristic of existence. The third alternative is so vague that there is no example to prove it.[5]

The denial of the existence of the effect prior to its production is a denial which refers to no real object. This denial is powerless to prevent the recognition of the antecedent existence of the effect. The effect as an effect is dependent upon its ground or cause. If so even prior to its existence in the form of an effect, it did exist.[6] We have instances of the effect merging back into the cause without contaminating it by its own characteristics. The earthen plates as products of the clay can be good or bad, high or low. Once they are destroyed they become one with the clay losing all these distinctions. Golden ornaments of varying shades of beauty retain their distinct features as effect; and once they are reconverted into gold, they lose their different features. This is so because the effect has in it the nature of the cause. The cause does not have in it the nature of the effect.[7]

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3. *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara on 2. 1. 4.

4. *Ibid.* on 2. 1. 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, on 2. 1. 7.

7. *Ibid.*, 2. 1. 9.

The magician is not affected by the illusions he spreads out before the spectators. Likewise the Absolute is not affected by the multiplicity of appearances. A similar experience befalls the soul witnessing a dream.[8]

Foam, wave, riffle and bubble are the modifications of the ocean. They are not distinct from the ocean whose essence is the water. Still there is a distinction between them and there can be a mutual relation like conjunction among them. They are distinct from one another, and yet not distinct in so far as their essence is concerned. Thus the cause and the effect need not involve the transformation of the one into the other.[9]

But ultimately speaking there is no distinction between cause and effect. The effect is nonexistent apart from the cause. When a lump of clay is comprehended in its real nature as clay, all fabrications of clay such as jar, plate, waterpot and the like, being no more than the clay in essence, can be easily comprehended. These modified forms are a fabrication of the mere word clay. They are only names originated by a word, as when it is said that here is a jar, a plate, a water-pot and so on. The modified form as such has no reality; it is only a mere name, an appearance, and the reality belonging to it is only as it is clay.[10]

The ether delimited by a jar and by a water-pot is not distinct from the great mass of ether in its entirety. The water in the mirage is not distinct from the sandy plane. Here is a form that appears and disappears and as such it cannot be described in its real essence.[11] When the sand appears as water, the effect can appear to be totally different in essence from its ground. The constituent cause alone is real. The effect, has in such cases no relation to the cause. It does not have also an independent existence. The effect turns out to be an appearance while the cause is real.

It is only upon the existence of the cause that the effect is perceived, and not upon its nonexistence. When clay is there, a jar is seen to emerge. The cloth is observed because of the threads. But

8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, on 2. 1. 13.
10. *Ibid., on* 2. 1. 14.
11. *Ibid.*

a horse, for instance, is not invariably found only where a cow exists; and a jar is not found only where the potter exists. The effect thus is invariably related to the cause. The effect is invariably coloured and interpenetrated by the cause.[12]

There is also a direct perception of the non- distinctness between the effect and the cause. In the aggregate of threads we do not observe a new and distinct effect called a piece of cloth. We observe threads spread out length-wise and breadth-wise. Likewise there are only fibres in the threads and there are still smaller segments in the fibres. This cognition can take us back to the three forms or aspects of red, white, and black out of which everything is made. This movement towards the ground leads us gradually to the Absolute.[13]

Prior to its origination the effect is nondistinct from the cause. The effect belongs to the subsequent time. If a thing does not exist within another as of one essence with it, it cannot arise out of that. Thus oil does not come from the grains of sand. Because of the nondistinctness in the causal stage, the effect has to be treated as non-distinct from the cause even after it is produced.[14] Any thing with a fully evolved name and form is treated as an existent; and it is only in this sense that the effect prior to its origination is non-existent.[15]

In normal life, when we desire to produce curd, jars and golden ornaments, we resort to milk, clay and gold respectively. Desiring curd one does not take up clay. This cannot be explained if the effect did not exist prior to its origination. It may be said that in milk alone there is a certain subtle predisposing form of the curd. But this in itself rejects the prior nonexistence of the effect in the cause. But one may posit in the cause a certain potency for invariably producing a certain specific effect. This potency cannot be a determining principle of the effect if it were to be distinct from the effect, or if it were altogether of the nature of nonexistence. Its nonexistence or distinctness would not be specifically restricted to particular effects alone. Hence the potency has to

12. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 15.
13. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 16.
14. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 17.
15. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 18.

form one essence with the cause, and the effect has to form one essence with the potency. It is also necessary that we should assure an identity of essence between the cause and the effect since there is no distinctness between them.

We cannot assume a relation of inherence between the cause and the effect. If two entities are to be related, the relation must be related separately to each entity. In order to relate the relation we need another relation. This regress is unavoidable. If no such inherence is required, an entity can have only a conjunction or contact with inherence; and this can be put an end to. If inherence being a relation does not need an intervening relation in order to be related to the entities, then conjunctive relation too, being itself a relation, ought to be related with the objects in contact without requiring an intervening relation of inherence. This assumption of a relation of inherence is useless because the pairs like substance and its qualities are actually perceived as being identical in essence.[15]

When a piece of cloth is rolled up, it is not clearly perceived as a cloth. But when the same is spread out, it is clearly perceived; and one can then say that the object that was rolled up was a piece of cloth. It is not taken to be distinct from the one with the rolled-up form. Likewise an effect is non-manifest while it subsists in the form of its causes like the threads; and it is rendered manifest for perception by the operation of the causal factors like the shuttle, the loom and the weaver.[16]

When we speak of causal facts, we do not mean that causal relation is a many–one relation. Milk or water gets itself transformed into curd or ice. They appear to require heat and the like in the process. But these accessories only accelerate the process. If milk does not of its own accord possess an inner proclivity for becoming curd, even heat and the like would not succeed in transforming it. These accessories do not force the water to become curd. They contribute merely to the perfection of the effect.[17]

But milk being nonsentient may not need an accessory. The potter is a sentient being and he needs clay, wheel and other things. He needs a material and the means to fashion a pot. One may answer

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16. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 19.
17. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 24.

by pointing to the magician who can present a number of things without needing a specific material or instruments. The spider spins out the web out of itself.[18]

The cause is transformed into the form of the effect. If the cause is one and if it does not admit of parts, the whole cause must be thus transformed. This would imply the complete destruction of the cause as the cause. This would have disastrous consequences if the Absolute were to be the cause of the universe. And if a part of the universe were to be so transformed, the Absolute would be no better than any other whole.[19]

The cause and its manifestations are not mutually identical. The essence of the effect is identical with the cause, and the effect has no independent existence while the cause has. The modifications are necessary objects of perceptions, while the cause need not be an object of sense perception.[20] As an example we have the single individual creating manifold objects in his dreams. The individual's own nature remains as it was.[21]

Primal matter is devoid of sound and other qualities. It is the cause of the effect which is divisible into parts, which has a limited size, and which has qualities. There can not be a complete modification of this matter which is impartite. It may be argued that this primal matter is only a state of equipoise of the three qualities or elements of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas; and that therefore with these parts the primal stuff is capable of division into parts. But the three elements are each equally impartite. If one of these assisted by the other two is the constituent cause of a similar world of phenomena, then for other phenomena this quality or element will not be available as the cause or as the causal auxiliary. And if the primal matter is divisible, it becomes impermanent.[22]

The identity of cause and effect advocated by the Sānkhya system will have to explain how qualities like sound which are not in primal matter emerge in the products. The effect like sound

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18. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 25.
19. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 26.
20. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 27.
21. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 28.
22. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 29.

must be non-existent prior to its appearance or origination.[23] This is contrary to the facts of experience. Such instances only go to show how difficult it is to establish a positive relation between cause and effect.

The identity of cause with itself is the only valid idea. The alleged effects making up the world of appearances are not intrinsically real because they do not have an independent existence. This cause is the Absolute or Reality. Prior to the realisation of the Absolute as the only true Reality, all ordinary views and practices can well be true, like the phenomena of the dream-exprience prior to one's waking up. Till the identity of the Absolute is realised, the manifold appeerences fall into the distinctions of means, objects, and fruits of knowledge. Because of these distinctions we get at the notions of the 'I' and the 'Mine'.[24] But from an ultimate standpoint such distinctions are unreal and nonexistent. Then we can only argue in favour of *Sat-Kāraṇa,* not of *Sat-Kārya*. The ground or foundation of all appearances is the Absolute. This Ground is immutable and it is beyond change or activity.[25]

The true causal law can accept only the reality of the cause; for the effect is an inexplicable appearance of the cause and there is no real modification of the cause.[26] The phenomenal universe is an inexplicable appearance of the Absolute, not its actual modification or transformation.[27] The effect is not different from its cause, though it does not have the same order of being as its cause. The effect is only an appearance, something that appears to be a transformation though it is not one such. Its appearance does not affect the nature of the cause.[28] And the cause is that which can not be contradicted or negated at any time or place.[29]

It is not possible to maintain that being alone or non-being alone can be the cause. If it be said that nonbeing cannot be the cause because then the effect ought to be produced from anything, the

23. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 10.

24. *V.S.B.* 2. 1. 14.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Tattvabodhinī,* 576.

27. *Bhāmatī,* 225.

28. *Tattvabodhinī,* on 2, 65.

29. *Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa Khādya,* 20.

argument runs into trouble. The moment of the origination of the effect is the moment when the causal accessories cease to operate. If the origination of the effect is accompanied by the nonbeing of these accessories, this nonbeing which is identical with the moment cannot be different from another prior moment. It may be said that the cause is not the simultaneous nonbeing of the causal factors but their prior being. Then the causal factors have a prior being and a present nonbeing. If these have a power to originate an effect, a prior nonbeing too can originate a present being. But the being of the causal factors is the immediate antecedent of the originating moment. Then the moment when the effect originates is the moment when the cause ceases to be. The being of one and the nonbeing of another are related as the determined and the determinant. But these are simultaneous and nondifferent, whence no such relationship is possible.[30] As such the relation of determining must refer to two different moments. Then we can as well argue that the nonbeing of the cause in one moment can be the cause of the being of the effect in another moment.[31]

The moment when the effect originates is qualified by the origination itself. The presence or absence of the being in one moment does not appear to affect the presence or absence of another moment since the moments are not causally related.

The latent being of the effect is not the cause of the explicit being of the effect. and so is the implicit nonbeing of the effect. If the implicit being of the effect were to cause the explicit being of the effect, the effect will have its ground in itself.[32] This impossibility cannot disappear even if we argue that the cause is qualified or determined by the implicit being of the effect for the effect continues to be both the ground and the consequent. This difficulty can be got rid of only by accepting the non-being of the effect prior to its origination. It may be argued that the being of the implicit effect is other than the being of the explicit effect. But in such a case the prior being cannot be the same as the subequent being; and if the latter is being, the former will be nonbeing.[33] As nonbeing, the causal nature cannot endure into the effect.

30. *Ibid.*, 24—27.
31. *Ibid.*, 28.
32. *Ibid.*, 30.
33. *Ibid.*, 31.

If the being of the cause refers to the form, the being of the pot is determined by the form of the pot. Then the form of the pot will be the cause of the pot. Hence neither being, nor non-being can be the cause of the effect. But it may be said that being is no other than the nature of the cause, and that the cause is only the invariable antecedent being. Then the cause would be being as such, a being that is not modified or transformed. Then causal nature being mere existence, the cause must be an existent, not an existence which is an implicit being of the effect.

Neither being nor nonbeing can be the cause. The cause is only the invariable antecedent. This antecedent must exist. Otherwise there is no meaning in speaking about this antecedent. This presumption regarding an antecedent is not a case of erroneous apprehension, because experience contradicts the absence of such an antecedent. It is not a mere conceptual being, since the concept of the antecedent is evoked by its being. This antecedent is foundational to all existence and experience. It is *Svayam-Siddha* and as such it is presupposed in every experience. This is the ultimate cause of every thing. Since the effect is not related to it, it is a case of *Vivarta*, an appearance which is an inexplicable fact. As nonbeing the inveriable antecedent cannot determine the being of the effect. As being, it cannot become anything. Then this is an inexplicable being.[34]

34. cf. *Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa Khādya*, 42.

SOME MISSING PORTIONS OF THE GOTRA-BHŪMI

By KARUNESHA SHUKLA*

1. *Śrāvakabhūmi,* the xiii section (bhūmi) of the *Yogācāra-bhūmiśāstra* of Ācārya Asaṅga[1] comprises the three stages of gotra, avatāra and naiṣkramya. In the solitary single manuscript of this bhūmi discovered by the late Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana[2] a considerable portion of the gotrabhūmi and the avatārabhūmi along with some portions of the naiṣkramyabhūmi and the prefatory remarks are missing. No other manuscript of the bhūmi is available and only a translation of the entire work is preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (*Tanjour,* edited by D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 110, p. 35 sq., Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957). Its Chinese and Japanese versions are also available.[3]

2. It would not be out of place to mention here briefly the main contents of the gotrabhūmi.

In the gotra-bhūmi, discussions on the following points are found:

(1) *Prefatory remarks*: Statement that the Śrāvakabhūmi contains the three bhūmis of gotra, avatāra and naiṣkramya.[4]

(2) *a brief definition of the gotra-bhūmi.*

(3) *definition of gotra,* its nature; gotra-vyavasthāna—i.e.,

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1. Vide, YBŚ, I. 3.

2. For a description of this Ms. vide, Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana, JBORS, XXIV. 138; Wayman, Alex, Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi MS., p. 2 sq.; Wayman has presented a study and analysis of this MS. in his monograph; we have edited the MS. for the K. P. Jayaswal, Research Institute, Patna.

3. For information, vide, Alex Wayman, Ibid., p. 58 sq.

4. Vide the Uddāna Kārikā:

गोत्रमेवावतारश्च तथा नैष्क्रम्यमेव च ।
भूमयस्तिस्र एता हि भूमिः श्रावकसंज्ञिता ॥

(4) *the four causes leading to the non-acquisition of the Supreme Deliverance (Nirvāṇa) by the pudgalas containing the nature of Nirvāṇa (parinirvāṇadharmaka)* — (i) being produced in unfavourable circumstances (*akṣaṇopapannatvam,* (ii) being possessed with the evil of inattention (*pramattadoṣatvam*); (iii) being produced in elusive circumstances (*mithyopapannatvam*) ; and (iv) the evil being unmanifested (*āvṛta-doṣatvaṁ*) ;

(*b*) *four causes of the non-aquisition of Nirvāṇa by the parinirvāṇa-dharmaka pudgalas*—i.e. being deprived of (Vikala) (i) the origination of the Buddhas (*buddhānām utpādaḥ*); (ii) listening to the right moral instructions (*saddharma*) ; (iii) the instructions favourable for the acquisition of Nirvāṇa (*ānulomika upadeśaḥ*) ; and (iv) (proper) acquisition of instructions (anuśāsanaprāptiḥ) ; (c) *two conditions (pratyayas) for the acquisition of Nirvāṇa of the pudgalas*—main (pradhāna) and the subsidiary (hīna). The *pradhāna pratyaya* contains (i) sound (word) from outside in accordance with the right moral instructions. (*Saddharmādhipateyaḥ parato ghoṣaḥ*) and (ii) right mental orientation (*Yoniśo manaskāraḥ*) .

The *hīna pratyaya* comprises many aspects such as :

(i) the self (acquired) excellence (ātma-saṁpat) ;

(ii) the excellence of others (para-saṁpat);

(iii) the desire to acquire Kuśala dharmas (*kuśalo dharmacchandaḥ*) ;

(iv) renunciation (pravrajyā) ;

(v) restraint in moral conduct (*śīla-saṁvaraḥ*) ;

(vi) sense-restraint (indriya-saṁvaraḥ);

(vii) knowledge of the quantity of food (*bhojane mātrajñata*) ;

(viii) being awake in the pūrvarātra and the apararātra (*pūrvarātrāpararātram jāgarikānuyogaḥ*) ;

(ix) Walking while knowing it well (*saṁprajānadvihāritā*) ;

(x) loneliness (*prāvivekyam*) ;

(xi) purification (extinction) of the (five) hindrances (*nivaraṇa-viśuddhiḥ*) ; and

(xii) taking resort to concentration and meditation (*samādhi-saṁśrayaḥ*).

(4) *a description of the marks (liṅgam) of the pudgalas stationed in the gotra-stage.*

(5) *a brief description of the following pudgalas stationed in this bhūmi—*

(i) a pudgala stationed in the gotra only (*gotra eva sthitaḥ*);

(ii) descended and not departed (*avatīrṇo, na niṣkrāntaḥ*);

(iii) descended as well as departed (*avatīrṇo niṣkrāntaḥ*);

(iv) a pudgala being equipped with mild senses (*mṛdvindriyaḥ*);

(v) a pudgala having an indifferent sense (*madhyendriyaḥ*);

(vi) a pudgala equipped with a sharp sense (*tīkṣṇendriyaḥ*);

(vii) a pudgala having the conduct of attachment (*rāgacaritaḥ*);

(viii) a pudgala having the conduct of envy (*dveṣacaritaḥ*);

(ix) a pudgala having the conduct of sloth (*mohacaritaḥ*);

(x) a pudgala produced in unfavourable circumstances (*akṣanopapannaḥ*);

(xi) a pudgala having undertaken elusive way (*mithyāpratipannaḥ*);

(xii) a pudgala having not undertaken elusive way (*a-mithyāpratipannaḥ*);

(xiii) a pudgala encompassed (in the circumstances not leading to Nirvāṇa) (*āvṛtaḥ*);

(xiv) a pudgala not encompassed (in the circumstances not leading to Nirvāṇa) (*an-āvṛtaḥ*);

(xv) a pudgala stationed far (from Nirvāṇa) (*dūre pudgalaḥ*);

(xvi) a pudgala stationed near (Nirvāṇa) (*āsanne pudgalaḥ*);

(xvii) a pudgala matture (for parinirvāṇa) (*paripakvaḥ pudgalaḥ*);

(xviii) a pudgala immature (for attainment of parinirvāṇa) (*a-paripakvaḥ pudgalaḥ*);

(xix) a purified pudgala (viśuddhaḥ pudgalaḥ) ; and

(xx) an unpurified pudgala (a-viśuddhaḥ pudgalaḥ).

3. Out of these, *the portions* (*a*) *beginning from the prefatory remarks upto the enumeration of the different aspects of ātmasaṁpat*, and (*b*) *the description of the āsanne pudgalaḥ, and the aparipakvaḥ, viśuddhaḥ and aviśuddhaḥ pudgalaḥ in addition to the concluding remarks of gotrabhūmi are missing in the MS.*

4. A restoration of these portions has been attempted in the following pages on the basis of the Tibetan[5] translation.

Gotrabhūmi (a) योगाचारभूमौ श्रावकभूमिः[6] ।।

रत्नत्रयाय नमः[7] ।।

श्रावकस्य सर्वभूमिसङ्ग्रहस्य पिण्डोद्दानम्[8] ।।
गोत्रं पुद्गलास्तथा[9] लौकिको लोकोत्तरश्च प्रयोगः[10] ।।
श्रावकभूमिस्त्वेषा सर्व्वं प्रोक्ताऽत्र समासतः[11] ।।

।। उद्दानम् ।।

गोत्रमेवावतारश्च तथा नैष्क्रम्यमेव च ।
भूमयस्तिस्र एता हि भूमिः श्रावकसंज्ञिता ।।
सङ्क्षेपेण इमा एव श्रावकभूमिः कथ्यते ।

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5. Our basis for this restoration has been the Tibean translation of the text as preserved in the Tanjour Tibetan Tripiṭaka, referred to above (ff 1); the English rendering of the portions of the text under consideration supplied by Prof. Alex Wayman has also been quite useful to us; in the Sanskrit restoration of the text, we have been assisted by Prof. L. Jamaspal of the Vārāṇaseya Saṁskṛta Viśhwavidyalaya Vārāṇasî and our thanks are due to him.

6. Tib. ñanthe/sa/

7. It seems to be a later addition by the translator. Such expressions are not found at the beginning of other bhūmis.

8. Tib. sdomb/sa/=Uddānakārikā.

9. Waynwan (W) पुद्गलाश्च.

10. W. adds माग, while Tib. Omits this.

11. Tib. Omits उक्ता and सर्व्वं.

तत्र गोत्रभूमिः कतमा । आह । यद्[12] गोत्रम्, गोत्रस्य यद् व्यवस्थानम्, गोत्र-स्थानां पुद्गलानां यल्लिङ्गम्, गोत्रस्थो[13] यः पुद्गलः तत्सर्व्वमे[14]कत्यमभिसङ्क्षिप्य गोत्रभूमिरित्युच्यते ।

तत्र गोत्रं कतमत् । गोत्रस्थस्य पुद्गलस्य[15] यो बीजधर्मः । यस्मिन् सति भवति, असति न भवति । पुद्गलानां प्रत्ययप्राप्तानां निर्व्वाणं प्राप्तुं स्प्रष्टुं शक्नोति च[16] । तस्य गोत्रस्य कति पर्यायनामानि । बीजं धातुः प्रकृतिरिति पर्यायनामानि[17] भवन्ति ।

तत्र तस्य गोत्रस्य स्वभावः कतमः । तत् कायाद्विशिष्टं, षडायतनेन उपात्तं, धर्मतया[18] प्राप्तम् । अनादिकालात् परम्परया समुदागतम् । एवं भवति । यस्यैतानि[19] गोत्रं, बीज, धातुः स्वभावश्च इतीमानि पर्यायनामानि भवन्ति तद् गोत्रमित्युच्यते ।

[तत्र] कतमद् गोत्रव्यवस्थानम्? तद् गोत्रं स्थूलं[20]सूक्ष्मं[20]वा कथ्यते ।[21] आह । सूक्ष्ममिति कथ्यते । तत् कस्य हेतोः । । यावत् । तस्माद् बीजात् फलं न उत्पादितं[23], फलं न सिद्धं[24], तस्मात् तत् सूक्ष्ममिति कथ्यते[26] । यदा [च] फलमुत्पा-

12. W. Omits यत् in all the four cases.
13. 'च' may be added here: W. सर्वे च ते गोत्रस्थाः पुद्गलाः,
14. May also be सर्व्वमेतदेकस्त्यमभिसङ्क्षिप्य ।
15. W. पुद्गलानाम्।
16. W. यत्किञ्चिच्च तानि सन्ति यावत्कालञ्च वर्त्तन्ते, यदि तानि गोत्रस्थानां पुद्गलानामानुलोमिकान् प्रत्ययान् प्राप्नुवन्ति, शक्तानि तानि भविष्यन्ति, शक्ष्यन्ति च स्प्रष्टुं [परि] निर्व्वाणम् ।
17. W. Omits नाम ;may also be पर्यायाः
18. Tib. Chos/ñid.
19. Tib. यस्मिन्.
20. W. adds वत् (as).
21. W. व्याख्यातम् (–यते)
22. Tib. Sa-bon.
23. Tib. b-ska/yed/pa.
24. Tib. dgrub.
25. May also be उच्यते,
26. W. यावच्च तद् बीजं फलं न जनयति, परिपाचयति (साधयति) वा तत्फलम् इदं सूक्ष्ममित्युच्यते

दितं सिद्धं च बभूव[२७] तदा यद्बीजं यच्च फलं तदेकत्यमभिसङ्क्षिप्यते[२८], तस्मात् तद् गोत्रं स्थूलमित्युच्यते ।[२९]

अत्र तद्गोत्रमेकसन्तत्याप्तं[३०] वाऽनेकसन्तत्याप्तं वा कथ्यते ।[३१] [इति][३१] चेद्[३२] आह । एकसन्तत्याप्तमुच्यते[३३] । तत् कस्य हेतोः । ये धर्मा । लक्षण-भिन्नत्वेन वस्तुभिन्नत्वेन वा प्रवर्त्तन्ते तेषां प्रत्यात्मं सन्ताननानात्वेन नानात्व-मवतारनाना [त्वेन नाना][३४] त्वं च देश्यते । तस्य बीजस्य तेभ्यः षडायतनेभ्यः पृथक्त्वेन नानात्वलक्षणं नास्ति । अनादिकालात् परम्परया समुदागतानां धर्मतया समुपात्तानां षडायतनानामीदृग्भूतायास्तस्या अवस्थाया गोत्रं धातुः स्वभावश्च इति संज्ञा प्रज्ञप्ति [र्व्यवहारः][३४] । तस्मात्तदेव एकसन्तानाप्त[३३]मित्युच्यते[३५] ।

यदि गोत्रस्थाः पुद्गलाः परिनिर्व्वाणधर्म्मका भवन्ति[३६] अगोत्रस्थाश्च अपरि-निर्व्वाणधर्मका दृश्यन्ते[३७], कस्मात् परिनिर्व्वाणधर्म्मकाः पूर्वान्ताच्चिरेण संसरन्तो न परिनिर्वृता । इति[३२] चेद्, आह । चतुर्भ्यो हेतुभ्यो न परिनिर्वृताः । कतमेभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः । अक्षणोपपन्नत्वात् प्रमत्तदोषत्वात्, मिथ्योपपन्नत्वादावृतदोषत्वाच्चेति ।

तत्र कतमदक्षणोपपन्नत्वम् । [आह][३४] यत्र चतुष्कुलेषु सज्जनैः सम्यग्गतैः सत्पुरुषैर्न गन्तव्यम् । कान्तारमनुष्येषु, चौरेषु, म्लेच्छेषु । [तत्रो][३८] पपन्ना [ये][३४] ते अक्षणोपपन्नाः ।

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27. should be भवति ?

28. Tib. Cik-tu-dus-ñe.

29. W. यदा च तत् फलं जनयति परिपाचयति च तत्फलम्, तदा यत्किञ्चित् बीजं यत्किञ्चिच्च फलम्, उभेते सम्बध्येते तस्मात् स्थूलमित्युच्येते । Tib. has प्रतीयते instead of उच्यते =tog pa ra gyu ro).

30. Tib. tok-pa-w : सम्बद्धम्, may also be एक सन्तानाप्तम्, ऐकसन्तानिकम्.

31. Tib. and W. Omit and this.

32. W. Omits this.

33. May also be—ऐकसन्तानिकम्

34. Tib. omits this.

35. Hereafter W. adds: z

यावच्च तद्बीजं षडायतनाद् बहिःस्थितं भवति न तावद् भेदलक्षणानि धार-यति......।

36. Tib. in-la.

37. Tib. ta-na.

38. Tib. omits तत्र,

प्रमत्तः[39] कतमः । आह । यत्र चतुर्षु कुलेषु[40] सज्जनैः सम्यग्गतैः सत्पुरुषैः गन्तव्ये मध्यदेशे[41] अचौरमनुष्येषुम्लेच्छेषु उपपन्नोऽपि[42] सम्भोगसम्पन्नेषु उच्चकुलेषु उपपन्नोऽपि[42] कामेष्वधिसज्जते परिभुङ्क्ते [च कामान्][43] [कामेषु चा][43] ऽऽदीनवं न परिजानाति[44] स प्रमत्त इति कथ्यते ।

मिथ्योपपन्नत्वं कतमत् । आह । ईदृशो मध्येषु मनुष्येषूपपन्नपर्यन्तो विकसितोऽपि[45] तीर्थिकदर्शनयुक्तो भूत्वा दानं न भवतीति प्रवृत्त्या, इतो भवान्तरं न ज्ञायत इति न भवतीति पर्यन्तेन विस्तरेण पश्यति कथयति च ।[46] तत्तीर्थिकदर्शनमपि बुद्धानामनुत्पादे सद्धर्मद्रष्टृकल्याण-मित्राणामभावे प्राप्यते । तन्मिथ्योपपन्नत्वमिति कथ्यते ।

आवृतत्वं[47] कतमत् । आह । इत्थं मध्येषु मनुष्येषूपपन्नपर्यन्तः पूर्ववद् भवति । लोके बुद्धानामुत्पादो भवति । सद्धर्मद्रष्टृकल्याणमित्राणि चोपलभ्यन्ते । स मूर्खः, विद्यातन्मोहितत्वं, हस्तेन सङ्केतयति, सुभाषितदुर्भाषितानाञ्च धर्माणामर्थं न शक्नोति ज्ञातुम् । आनन्तर्यकर्म करोति च चिरक्लिष्टम् । तदावृतत्वमिति[47] कथ्यते ।

[तत्र][43] येभ्यो हेतुभ्यो [विकलत्वात्][49] पुद्गलानां परिनिर्वाण-धर्मकाणां धार्मिणामपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकाणाञ्च पुद्गलानां परिनिर्वाणं न भवति, ते कतमे । आह । परिनिर्वाणधर्मकाणां पुद्गलानां परिनिर्वाणं भवति ।[43] तत्र । येभ्यो हेतुभ्यः । विकलत्वात् । परिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः पुद्गलाः न परिनिर्वृताः ते चत्वारस्तद्यथा[50] यदा बुद्धानामुत्पादः, सद्धर्मश्रवणम् । आनुलोमिक उपदेशः अनुशासन प्राप्तिः । तेषां[51] [विकलानां][49] हेतूनामभावे च कुशलमूलानि परिपक्वानि भवन्ति, क्रमशः परिनिर्वान्ति च । अपरिनिर्वाणधर्मकाः पुद्गलास्तु[52] नियतसमूहे स्थितास्तस्मात् निमित्तप्राप्तिः[53]

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39. W. suggests प्रमत्तदोषत्वम् ।
40. Tib. चत्वारि कुलानि ।
41. May also be गन्तव्यस्य मध्यदेशस्य ।
42. Tib. उपपन्ना अपि ।
43. Tib. omits this.
44. Tib. परिज्ञायते ।
45. Tib. विकसितेऽपि ।
46. Tib. पश्यन्ति कथयन्ति च ।
47. Should be आवृतदोषत्वम् ।
48. Tib. Zchos–chaṅ.
49. Tib. omits this, added by us.
50. Tib. तेपि
51. This refers to the four hetus of aparinirvāṇa mentioned above, pp. 6.
52. Tib. omits तु.
53. Tib. ṭshogs.

स्याद्वा, न वा स्यात् सर्वथा, सर्वथा न [ते] परिनिर्वाणभाजो भवन्ति । तत्र परिनिर्वाण धर्मकाणां पुद्गलानां या विकलता भवति, अभावश्च भवति असन्निधिश्च भवति, तदसद्भावे परिनिर्वान्ति । तस्य कतिप्रत्ययाः । आह । द्वौ[५४] प्रत्ययौ प्रधानो हीनश्च । प्रधानः प्रत्ययः कतमः । आह । तद्यथा सद्धर्माधिपतेयः परतो घोषः, योनिशश्च मनस्कार ।[५५] हीनः प्रत्ययः कतमः । आह । हीनप्रत्यया बहवः । आत्मसम्पत् । परसम्पत् । कुशलो धर्मच्छन्दः । प्रव्रज्या ।[५६] शीलसंवरः । इन्द्रियसम्वरः । भोजने मात्रज्ञता ।[५७] पूर्वरात्रापररात्रं जागरिकानुयोगः । सम्प्रजानद्विहारिता ।[५८] प्राविवेक्यम् । निवरणविशुद्धिः । समाधिसन्निश्रयश्च ।[५९]

तत्र आत्म[६०] सम्पत् कतमा । आह । मनुष्यत्वम् । आर्यायतनेप्रत्या जातिः ।[६१]

(b) गोत्रस्थाः पुद्गला

आसन्ने पुद्गलः[६२] कतमः । आह । अस्ति[६३] पुद्गलः कालस्यासन्नतया निर्वाणस्यान्तिके । प्रयोगस्यासन्नतया चाप्यस्ति निर्वाणस्यान्तिके । तत्र कतमः कालस्यासन्नतया निर्वाणस्यान्तिके[६४] । कायेऽन्तिमस्थानभावे स्थितः तेन कायेन परिनिर्वाति । तस्मिन् क्षणे आनन्तर्यक्लेशप्रहाणं साक्षात्करोति [एवं] [६५] कालस्यासन्नतया परिनिर्वाणमप्यासन्नम् । योगस्यासन्नतया परिनिर्व्वाणस्यान्तिके[६४] कतमः ।[६६] यो गोत्रस्थो गोत्रे च प्रतिपन्नः । एतत् सर्व्वमेकत्यमभिसङ्क्षिप्योच्यते आसन्ने पुद्गल इति ।

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54. W. adds [आनुलोमिकौ]

55. This is according to W; Tib. has अध्यात्मयोनिशकारश्च nan/gi/tshul/bshin/yid/byad/pa/

56. Tib. rab/tu/byuṅ/.

57. Tib. zas/kyi/tshod/rig/pa/.

58. Tib. suggests also सम्प्रजन्येन चर्या, Shes/bśin/dusbyod/pa/nid/.

59. Tib. sgrib/pa.

60. Tib. mistakes पर for आत्म

61. Tib. suggests : मध्यदेशे उत्पत्तिः

62. The portion hereafter is not available in the MS. and lost in the original, but preserved in the Tibetan and Chinese translation (s), onwhich this reconstruction is based.

63. Tib. adds here

64. Tib. अन्तिकत्वम्,

65. Tib. Omits एवम्,

66. [पुद्गलः] may be added before कतमः.

अपरिपक्वः पुद्गलः कतमः । आह । यस्य पुद्गलस्य[६७] स्थित्वा परिनिर्वाणं, सम्यक्त्वेन[६८] निष्क्रान्तश्चरमकायोऽप्राप्तः सोऽपरिपक्वः पुद्गलः ।

परिपक्वः पुद्गलः कतमः । आह । यस्य पुद्गलस्य[६७] स्थित्वा परिनिर्वाणं, सम्यक्त्वेन[६८]निष्क्रान्तश्चरमकायः समुदागतः स परिपक्वः पुद्गलः ।

अविशुद्धः पुद्गलः कतमः । आह । येन पुद्गलेन आर्यमार्ग उत्पादितस्तत्फलञ्च [यत्][७०] तन्न साक्षात्कृतम् । सोऽविशुद्धः पुद्गलः ।

विशुद्ध : पुद्गलः कतमः । आह । स एतद्विपरीतत्वेन वेदितव्यः ।

सर्वे इमे गोत्रस्थाः पुद्गला इति वेदितव्यम् । तद्यथा येऽनिष्क्रान्तास्तेषां प्रविष्टीकरणम् । प्रवेशः, ये परिपक्वांस्तेषां परिपाकः, ये विशुद्धास्तेषां सर्वेषां विशुद्धिः । एषामर्थाय बुद्धा भगवन्तो लोक उत्पद्यन्ते, धर्मचक्राणि च प्रवर्त्तयन्ति, शिक्षावस्तूनि च प्रददति ।

स्वभावस्तद् व्यवस्थानं लिङ्गं पुद्गल एव च ।
गोत्रभूमिर्हिविज्ञेया सर्व्वमेतत् समासतः ॥

श्रावकभूमौ गोत्रभूमिः समाप्ता ॥

67. Tib. यस्मिन् पुद्गले,

68. May also be सम्यक्तया,

69. May also be प्रविष्टः; —Tib. nes pa lajug pa.

70. Tib. omits this.

BRAHMASŪTRAKĀRA : AS INTERPRETER OF THE GĪTĀ

By P. M. Modi*

The Brahmasūtra undoubtedly contains a few aphorisms in which there is little doubt of the Gītā having been referred to. But the number of aphorisms in the Brahmasūtra which *seem* to deal with certain views in the Gītā is still greater.

Regarding the occurrence of the word "Brahmasūtrapada" in Bha. Gī. XIII. 4 it may be briefly said here that this verse of the Gītā seems to me to refer not to the present Brahmasūtra which is a *sarvaśākhīya* aphoristic work or to a number of an ancient works called Brahmasūtra, each of which might have been a pratiśākhīya Brahmasūtra work, but, it is likely to refer to those sentences or *words* (*padas*) of the accepted Upaniṣads, which form the *viṣayavākyas* in the Br. Sū. I—IV, and which also contain the arguments (*hetus*) — also mentioned in the Brahmasūtras—proving that the topic of the particular *Viṣayavākya* is Brahman. Itself, though the word in the *Viṣayavākya* may be *ākāśa, jyotiḥ, prāṇa,* or some other word. To give an example, in the Śruti "*Sadeva somyedamagra āsīt* (Chā. Upa. VI. 2. 1—3), "*sad*" is a word meaning Brahman and *īkṣati* in "*tad aikṣata*" is the reason (*hetu*) proving "*sad*" to mean "Brahman", thus the sentence of the Upaniṣad is itself possessing the *hetu* or the reason, the argument. If we compare the language of these sentences (*viṣayavākyas*) of the Upaniṣads with the Gṛhyasūtras or such other Sūtras, there is no difference in the language of the two. Thus, the compound word "*brahmasūtra padas*" in Bha. Gītā XIII—4 does not definitely prove the existence of a work called "Brahmasūtra".

There is no doubt that a few Sūtras of the Brahmasūtra clearly refer to the Bhagavad-gītā.

Bra. Sū. IV. 2. 19—21 refer to Bha. Gī. VIII. 23—25. The Gītā view regarding the Śukla and Kṛṣṇa *Gatis* or *śrutis* have been here noticed by the Sūtrakāra as being in conflict with the similar *ayanas* mentioned in the Upaniṣads. What is interesting here is that according to the Sūtrakāra, the Bhagavadgītā holds that a Brahma-

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jñānin who leaves the body at night or in the southern *ayana* (movement of the Sun to the south) does not go to Brahman, inspite of his having attained "Brahmajñāna". Bādarāyaṇa clearly says that this view of the Gītā is *smārta,* not *śrauta,* the view in the Upaniṣads, which say that knower of Brahman comes into contact with the rays of the Sun, even if he leaves the body at night or even in the southern movement of the Sun. The Gītā view is, according to the Sūtrakāra, meant only for the yogins (persons following the Disinterested Action of the Gītā) and it is a *smārta* view, rather than *śrauta.*

Śaṅkarācārya has explained the Sūtras (Bra. Sū. IV. 2. 19–21) in the above sense. But after having explained them as such, he gives a second interpretation of the verses of the Gītā (not of the Sūtras, as he sometimes does), and tries to show that the verses of the Gītā are not in disagreement with the śrutis in question. We must never forget that according to Bādarāyaṇ even the *Kṛṣṇā Gati* deals with a Brahma-jñānīn who is a yogin, i.e., a sage who follows the Disinterested Action taught in the Gītā, while the Upaniṣad śrutis in question deal with a knower of Brahman who is a sannyāsin, a follower of Renunciation taught in the Upaniṣads (accepted by the Sūtrakāra in his system).

Tilak has proved beyond all doubt that the above Sūtras (IV. 2. 19–21), particularly Bra. Sū. IV. 2. 21, deals with the Gītā. As the word "Yoginaḥ" occurs in this Śūtra and also in the corresponding verses of the Gītā (Bha. Gī. VIII. 23–*āvṛttim caiva yoginaḥ*). I make bold to suggest that Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3 (*etena yogaḥ prayuktaḥ*) in which the word "Yoga" occurs, also rejects the Disinterested Action, "Yoga" taught in the Gītā which professes to be clearly "Yoga Śāstra", a Scripture of the Disinterested Action.

Śaṅkara takes Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3 as rejecting *one part* of the Yoga (Dhyāna, meditation) taught e.g., by Patañjali, because the other part of that Yoga is acceptable to the Vedanta Philosophy (of the Sūtrakāra and Śaṅkara). But I have taken "yoga" in the Sūtra as denoting Disinterested Action (Yoga, the Central Teaching of the Gītā), as distinguished from the Sannyāsa of the Upaniṣads. The reason for this suggestion of mine is that Bra. Sū. II. 1. 1–2, in my opinion, clearly say that a very important doctrine of the Gītā, viz., the principle called "Prakṛti", is not acceptable to the author of the Brahmasūtra as a principle (Smṛtyanavakāśa in Bra. Sū. II. 1..). In Br. Sū. I. 4. 23–28, the Sūtrakāra says that "Prakṛti" means "Brahman", not a principle in Brahman or an evolute from Brah-

man. According to the Sūtrakāra who follows the Pratijñā and Dṛṣṭānta of Chā. Upa. VI. 1—4, the world is *directly* created from and it again returns directly into Brahman (See e.g. *'sākṣāt'* in Bra. Sū. I. 4. 25). There are other reasons also, why "Prakṛti" in the Gītā must mean Brahman (Vide Bra. Sū. I. 4. 24, *abhidyopadeśa, atmakṛteḥ pariṇāmaḥ*-25). When "Prakṛti" in the Gītā is thus interpreted by the Sūtrakāra, there is no scope for the verses of the *Gītā*, which mention "Prakṛti" as a principle. This is the doṣa called "smṛtyanavakāśadoṣa". The Sūtrakāra welcomes this charge of his opponent, here, of course, a Vedāntin who followed the Gītā smṛti, because he (the Sūtrakāra) says that there are other Smṛtis, which he will be liable to be charged with as rejecting, if he would accept the Gītā Smṛti. To be free from this charge, the Sūtrakāra, rejects both (or all) the Smṛtis (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 1). His another reason for rejecting "Prakṛti" of the Gītā is that other similar principles (*māyā, avyakta, svabhāva, kṣetra,* etc. etc.) of the Gītā are not found in the Upaniṣads (Bra. Śū. II. 1. 2).

The Yoga of the Gītā is based upon the view that all actions are being done by the principle called "Prakṛti" and that therefore realizing that he is no kartṛ, the sage must continue doing all actions dis-interestedly, rather than take to *sannyāsa* taught in the Upaniṣads. But, to the Sūtrakāra "Prakṛti" as a principle separate or separating from Brahman is not acceptable; so, by this rejection of Prakṛti or really by this interpretation of Prakṛt that it is Brahman Itself, the Sūtrakāra rejects automatically the Yoga of the Gītā (Br. Sū. II. 1. 3).

The above discussion (of Sūtras I. 4. 23—27 and II. 1. 1—3) makes it clear that according to the Sūtrakāra the Gītā teaches "Prakṛti", which is not mentioned in the accepted Upaniṣads (particularly in Chā. Upa. the most acceptable Upaniṣad to the Sūtrakāra); but the Sūtrakāra does not reject the Gītā, nor its Prakṛti; he simply asks us to take Prakṛti of the Gītā (and also of the Sve. Upa. IV. 10) as identical with "Brahman" of the Upaniṣads. This is in fact the novel interpretation given to the Prakṛti of the Gītā by the author of the Brahmasūtra who generally accepts the Oldest Upaniṣads, particularly the Chā. Upa. (Pratijñā-Dṛṣṭānta in Bra. Sū. I. 4. 23) and, as is clear, interprets "Prakṛti" of the Gītā in the light of the Oldest Upaniṣads. In Bra. II. 1. 4—11, some more objections are raised by the followers of the Gītā, but ultimately they have been refused by the Sūtrakāra. In Bra. Sū. II. 1. 12, the Śūtrakāra says "By the foregoing ultimate rejection of Prakrti as a principle separate

or separating from Brahman, the remaining unacceptable views (*śiṣṭāḥ aparigrahāḥ*) of the Gītā Smṛti have also been explained (*vyākhyātāḥ*)." The Sūtrakāra holds that not only Prakṛti, but several other principles and views of the Gītā are not found in the Upaniṣads. He does not discuss them. He discusses only one, viz., Prakṛti. He applies his explanation (*vyākhyā*) of "Prakṛti" to these remaining unacceptable principles or views of the Gītā. The remaining unacceptable ones may be the same as are meant by "*itareṣām*" in Bra. Sū. II. 1. 2, which as said above probably means principles like Svabhāva (Bha. Gī. V. 14), Avyakta (Bha. Gī. VIII. 18 and XIII. 5), Māyā (Bha. Gī. VII. 14), Kṣetra (Bha. Gī. XIII. 3–6 and 26), etc., etc. The Sūtrakāra (in Sūtra II. 1. 12) means that these also should be taken as identical with Brahman.

The Upaniṣads take *ākāśa, jyotiḥ, prāṇa,* etc. etc. (Bra. Sū. I. 1—3), as Brahman from which all beings are born, while the Gītā generally takes "*two* principles working together" or two-in-one as the origin of all beings. Thus, Bha. Gī. VII. 5-6 says that all beings are born of para Prakṛti and the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Bha. Gī. XIII. 26 says that all beings are born of Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña. Bha. Gī. XIV. 2-3 holds that Mahad Brahman and Kṛṣṇa are the source of all beings. (Vide also Bha. Gī. IX. 10). In place of these two principles, the Sūtras teach, only *one,* viz., Brahman as the cause of the creation, continuation and dissolution of the world, as is found in the Upaniṣads. The Sūtrakāra has saved the Vedānta Philosophy from being a semi-dualistic doctrine, which it had become in the Gītā.

In another way also the Sūtrakāra has saved the Vedānta of his days from being a dualistic philosophy, but this would have been a dualism of two spiritual principles, viz. Akṣara and Puruṣa, the nirākāra and sākāra aspects of the Reality. In the days of the Earlier Metrical Upaniṣads and the Gītā, the sages mentioned merely Akṣara or Avyakta and Puruṣa. I have elsewhere pointed out (In Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter) a number of passages from these ancient works, which mention these two spiritual principles and which say also that "Puruṣa is higher than Akṣara or Avyakta". One very famous passage in the Gītā is Bha. Gī. VIII. 20—22, and a similarly famous passage from the Earlier Metrical Upaniṣads is Kaṭha Upa. III. 10 (*Avyaktāt Puruṣaḥ paraḥ*). The Avyakta or Akṣara was the impersonal reality and it was either the Dhāman (Abode) or Pada (the place, Kaṭha Upa. III 9) of Puruṣa (Bha. Gī. VIII. 20—22, Kaṭha Upa. III. 9) or Viṣṇu (Kaṭha Upa. III. 9), whom the Gītā speaks of Kṛṣṇa. *Both* these were spirits or spiritual, living, cons-

cious principles, and from very ancient times Puruṣa was said to be higher than Akṣara or Avyakta, without as yet there being any definite arguments given for this relation between these two Realities. In Bha. Gī. XIV. 27, Kṛṣṇa is the support of Brahman the *nirākāra* Reality (*Brahmaṇo hi pratiṣṭ hā ham*).

Now, the Brahmasūtra refutes a view that "there is a principle higher than the Avyakta" (Bra. Sū. III. 2. 23—37, particularly Bra. Sū. III. 2. 31 which gives the pūrvapakṣa). After it is established (Bra. Sū. III. 2. 23-24) that Brahman is Avyakta, an Opponent says, "(The Reality) is higher than this Avyakta because the Avyakta is said to be *setu "Bridge"*, because the measure (*unmāna*) of Avyakta is mentioned, because of the mention of the relation (between the Avyakta and the One who is above it) and the difference (between the two)." I have elsewhere (A Critique of the Brahmasūtra: Part I : Interpretation of the Sūtras), shown that these four "reasons" are given in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad (*Setu* in Kaṭha Upa. III. 2, etc.) and that in this Sūtra a view like the one regarding Avyakta—Akṣara and Purṣa in Bha. Gī. VIII 20—22 is mentioned and it is supported by quoting arguments from the Kaṭha Upaniṣad. I would call this view the pūrvapakṣa of a Śāṅkara Vedānta School, like that of the Gītā. The Sūtrakāra refutes this pūrvapakṣa and establishes that there is no principle higher than the Avyakta.

Though the author of the Brahmasūtra does not accept the Puruṣa as higher than the Avyakta or the Akṣara, he has undoubtedly made a compromise with the Gītā by admitting that Brahman has *two* aspects, sākāra and nirākāra. He says that Brahman has rūpa (See rūpopanyāsāt in Bra. Sū. I. 2. 21—23) and he also says that Brahman is arūpavat "formless", because "that (formless) aspect is the chief aspect of the Reality (*arūpavad eva hi tat-pradhānatvāt*— Bra. Sū. III. 2. 14." I have established that the author of the Sūtras holds the view that the Śrutis describe the sākāra aspect with the attributes of the nirākāra one and nirākāra aspect with those of the sākāra (See *Vyatihāro viśinṣanti hītaravad*—Bra. Sū. III. 3. 37). Thus, by admitting two aspects, sākāra and nirākāra, of Brahman, both of which are of equal status, the Sūtrakāra has given a new interpretation to the passage of the Bhagavad Gītā like VIII. 20—22, XIV. 27, etc. etc. and also to the similar passages of the Earlier Metrical Upaniṣads. This interpretation of these passages is in harmony with the passages of the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads, some of which mention only the sākāra while others only the nirākāra, as the final Reality. In fact the Sūtrakāra interprets

this important doctrine of the Gītā regarding the relation of Akṣara-Avyakta and Puruṣa in the light of the view of the Oldest Prose Upaniṣads on this point.

In the Brahmasūtra (III. 4. 1—17) there is a discussion regarding the comparative value of *jñāna* and *karman* (*niṣkāma karman*) in the achievement of Mokṣa. Bādarāyaṇa holds that mokṣa (the Puruṣārtha) is achieved by means of jñāna or vidyā (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 1 and III. 4. 8) while Jaimini seems to have believed that *jñāna* is subsidiary to *karman* (action done disinterestedly) in the achievement of Mokṣa. Both of them had believed that *all other* means, *brahmacharya, tapas,* etc. were *subsidiary* (śeṣa); both of them were agreed in taking *tapas* etc. (means other than *jñāna* and *karman*) as *subsidiary*. They differed only as regards the comparative value of *Jñāna* and (disinterested) *Karman*. In these Sūtras, it is not clear that Jaimini took the niṣkāma or disinterested actions as the *main* means of Mokṣa, to which the *jñāna* or *vidyā*—that of the Avyakta or the Puruṣa—was held by him to be subsidiary. But it is not unlikely to assume that Jaimini may have got inspiration from the Bhagavadgītā as regards his view that Action is the chief means for Mokṣa and Jñāna is subsidiary to action. Generally in the Gītā all philosophical doctrines are mentioned only as a means to Disinterested Action. To give an example, the second Adhyāya* discusses various views as regards the destructibility (or otherwise) of the soul when "killed" (as Arjuna believed) in a war, but the purpose of the author is to make Arjuna *fight* disinterested by (Gītā II. 38). To give another example, in the third Adhyāya (III. 27) the doctrine of Prakṛti is stated but only the fact of all actions being done by Prakṛti is stated in order to convince Arjuna that he *was not the real agent;* only the *guṇas* of the Prakṛti were doing all deeds. Here also the doctrine of Prakṛti and its knowledge is made subordinate to disinterested action. Similarly various philosophical doctrines are mentioned in the other Adhyāyas of the Gītā to convince Arjuna that with the knowledge of those doctrines he should fight and do all his duties disinterestedly; so, it is not unlikely that Jaimini may have taken from the Bhagavadgītā the inspiration for his view that

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* Three views are mentioned :—

(1) The soul is never killed (Bha. Gī. II. 11—25).

(2) The soul dies, but is always reborn (II. 26-27).

(3) The origin and disappearance of the soul cannot be known (II. 28-29).

action was the chief means to Mokṣa and Jñāna was subordinate to action.

It may here be noticed that the Bhagavadgītā mentions two views: (1) One, that a sage who has achieved Mokṣa in this very life through *jñāna* should, like Janaka and even like Kṛṣṇa, the Yogin and the Yogeśwara, continue performing all his duties disinterestedly, though he can as well take to Renunciation, as did the sages of the Upaniṣads. (2) Another view, that a Mumukṣu should perform actions disinterestedly in order to get Mokṣa and the *jñāna* (or *bhakti* or even *action*) will be a help to such actions, if that *jñāna* accompanies his actions. Jaimini seems to have based his tenet on this second view, while Bādarāyaṇa who did not reject such actions believed that Mokṣa is mainly achieved through Jñāna. He seems to have derived his inspiration from the first view. The details of Brahmasūtra III. 4. 1–17 may be slightly disputable, but as regards the views of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa there seems to be not much scope for doubt, and hence a comparision of the views of the Gītā (Jñānakarmasamuccaya) with their views throws light on the interpretation of the Bhagavadgītā.

(It may also be noted that Bādarāyaṇa looked upon jñāna as "something to be performed" (*anuṣṭheya*—Bra. Sū. III. 4. 19; A critique of the Brahmasūtra: Part I: Interpretation of the Sūtras, by Dr. Modi).

The Sūtrakāra says that *also* the duties of the order of life (*āśrama*) to which the seeker of Brahman belongs are to be done by him as co-operating with jñāna in the achievement of Mokṣa (Br. Sū. III. 4. 32-33). This view will be a little different from the view of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads which advise the renunciation of all actions for residence in forest for the realization of Ātman; but it seems to have been taken by the author of the Sūtras from the Gītā, in some verses of which we are told to do the *varṇa* and āśrama) karmans for Mokṣa (after a particular knowledge has been achieved). The actions of āśrama are to be done as *sahakārin of* (Co-operating with) the jñāna, says the Sūtrakāra; the Gītā says that knowledge and there is a variety of such knowledge—precedes actions and such actions lead to Mokṣa.

In a succeeding Section the Sūtrakāra says (Sūtras III. 4. 31—39) that even without (*antarā cāpi*) the āśrama (and other) actions, the Mumukṣu may attain Brahman (Br. Sū. III. 4. 36), and special

Grace (*viśeṣa anugraha*) of the Lord will be upon those Mumukṣus who abandon āśrama karmans in order to meditate upon Brahman. After this, the Sūtrakāra says that "the other course (on which a seeker continues doing *āśrama* duties) is better (*jyāyas*) than this (of abandoning those duties)" (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 39). This view of Bādarāyaṇa can also be traced to Bha. Gī. III. 8, V. 2, which clearly says that *karmayoga* is superior to *karmasannyāsa*.

There is a very important doctrine of Bādarāyaṇa in which the influence of the Bhagavad Gītā is clearly visible. According to my view Bra. Sū. III. 4. 18—26 discuss the question whether Jñāna (of Brahman) is of the nature of reflection, thoughts, thinking, consideration (*parāmarśa*) or whether it is something to be performed (*anuṣṭheya*). Jaimini who believes that Jñāna is subsidiary (śeṣa) to (Disinterested) Action (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 2) holds that Jñāna (of Brahman) is *parāmarśa* (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 18) while Bādarāyaṇa who believes that Jñāna is the main means of Mokṣa (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 1 and III. 4. 8) says that Jñāna is something *"to be performed"* (*anuṣṭheya*). If my interpretation of these Śūtras is correct, we find here the influence, on Bādarāyaṇa, of the view of Jaimini and the Bhagavadgītā. The Sūtrakāra's view is a compromise with the view of the Gitā. The former says that Jñāna is something to be performed and that it is laid down (*vidhi*—in Bra. Sū. III. 4. 20); the Sūtrakāra has not accepted the Yoga of the Gītā, (Disinterested Action), but he has interpreted his Jñāna of Brahman as a thing to be performed and has thus shown the influence of the Yoga on him. Thus, we get from the Brahmasūtra a clue to what could have been the meaning and interpretation of the Gītā Smṛti in his days. Jaimini differed from Bādarāyaṇa and emphasised the action.

The above Sūtras (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 18—26) reveal an interpretation of the Gītā which is till now no where seen. The Gītā teaches *jñāna* or various *jñānas* as help to Disinterested Action. Bādarāyaṇa seems to be influenced by this view of the Gītā and holds that the *jñānas* and according to him it is the jñāna of Brahman—is itself something "to be performed". The Kaṭha Upaniṣad says: "A man having *performed* this knowledge of Brahman does not become sorry (*anuṣṭhāya na śocati*—Kaṭha Upa. V. I.)." The Sūtrakāra seems to refer to this Śruti (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 19-20). The author of the Gītā teaches that with help of knowledge a Mumukṣu *should perform* all his actions instead of taking to Renunciation, so the Sūtrakāra, instead of telling us that Brahman is to be meditated upon in the forest by the Mumukṣu ascetic, tells us that the knowledge of

Brahman is something "to be performed" by the Mumukṣu in this world whether he is a householder or an ascetic. (Vide Dr. Modi's interpretaion of Bra. Sū. III. 4. 19-20 in his Critique of the Brahmasūtra: Part I: System of the Sūtrakāra).

We have seen above that in Bra. Sū. II. 1. 1—12, the author of the Brahmasūtra refuses to give any scope (*avakāśa*) to principles like Prakṛti, Avyakta, Svabhāva, etc. of the Gītā, if these are to be in any way looked upon *as separate from Brahman.* I may suggest here that the remaining Sūtras (13—37) of Braḥmasūtra II. 1 seem to me to be the Sūtrakāra's *answers* to arguments and objections raised by the Gītā or a *smārta Vedānta School* of the days of the Sūtrakāra, which has philosophical doctrines based upon the Gītā and some of the Earlier Metrical Upaniṣads having the same views as the Gītā. It is not possible to go into the detail by interpreting each Sūtra (from Bra. Sū. II. 1. 13—37). But it may be suggested that if the sūtrakāra does not accept a principle like Prakṛti separate from Brahman, either as Its effect or Its attribute, the Smṛti, e.g., the Gītā, would present the following objections:—

1. The creator, creating the world from itself, will be the bhoktṛ, (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 13).

2. That as Brahman is called *jīva,* it will be liable to the fault of not doing a thing beneficial to Itself (Br. Sū. II. 1. 21).

3. As Brahman is without a principle like Prakṛti either as Its effect or as Its very attribute, It cannot create the creation, because in the world we see "a collection" or "a collective aggregate" as doing or making a thing, as producing something (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 24).

4. That the whole of Brahman will undergo a change into the shape of the world, otherwise, Brahman will cease to be "impartite" (*niravayava*—Śve. Upa. Bra. Sū. 1. 26).

5. That Brahman cannot create the creation because it is devoid of senses (*vi-karaṇa*)— (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 31).

6. Brahman cannot be the creator because the creator must have a purpose (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 32).

In my humble opinion all these objections are raised by the followers of the Gītā; the Sūtrakāra also says that the Pāda (II. 1)

deals with the *Smṛiti* and according to the Sūtrakāra Smṛti means Gītā. Though Śaṅkara and others say that "Smṛti" may mean both the Gītā and the Sāṁkhya, yet I have shown that "smṛti" in the Sūtra must mean only the Gītā. Moreover, the objections of Upasamhāradarśana ("the experience that a cause is always an aggregate"), Vikaraṇatva (the fact that Brahman has no senses) are such as cannot proceed from the Sāṁkhya School, and the other objections, *bhoktrāpatti* (Brahman will be liable to become the enjoyer), *itaravyapadeśa* or *jīva-vyapadeśa* (the fact that Brahman is called *jīva*), are such as the followers of the Gītā can put forth in so far as they believe in the Prakṛti as the cause of the world, (no matter whether Prakṛti be an effect of Brahman or an attribute of Brahman). Thus, the Smṛtipādā seems to throw a flood of light on the Sūtrakāra's interpretation of the Gītā as a Smṛti.

That the Sūtrakāra does not reject the Gītā, but on the contrary welcomes it as a Smṛti pramāṇa is clear from several Sūtras. Thus, in Bra. Sū. I. 2. 25 the verse about the Vaiśwānara of Bha. Gī. XV.[14] is referred to as a pramāṇa for deciding that the Vaiśwānara of the Upaniṣads (Bhā. & Bṛ. Upa.) is the sākāra aspect of the Reality. Also in Br. Sū. I. 3. 23 the verses (6—15) of the fifteenth Adhyāya of the Gītā are mentioned as an authority (as a Smṛti) to decide that Mu. Upa. II. 2. 10 deals with the Puruṣa or the sākāra aspect of the Reality.

There are several occasions in the Brahmasūtra, where the Sūtrakāra says that a particular principle in a particular Śruti is not identical with a similar particular principle in the system of the Gītā—Smṛti or in a particular verse of the Gītā. Thus, the Śukla-kṛṣṇa gatis (Gītā VIII. 23—27) are not the Devayāna-Pitṛyāna Gatis of the Upaniṣads.

When the Sūtrakāra quotes "Pratyakṣa" and "Anumāna" as proofs for his conclusions, he refers to the "Śrūti" and "the Gītā" as authorities, e.g., in Bra. Sū. IV. 4 20 and others respectively.

Thus, the Brahmasūtra accepts the Gītā as an authority but interprets it in the light of the Upaniṣads.

CONCLUSION

We may now summarise the information which we gather from the Brahmasūtra regarding the interpreation of the Bhagavadgītā:

1. Certain Sūtras of the Br. Sū. undoubtedly refer to the Gītā. A good many Sūtras refer to views of the Gītā. There are also some Sūtras which contain views of the Sūtrakāra who was influenced by the views expressed in the Gītā.

N.B. :—Bha. Gī. XIII. 4 does not refer to any kind of "Brahmasūtra" either sarvaśākhīya or pratiśākhīya.

2. Bha. Gi. VIII. 23—28 deals with two *gatis* of the Yogin (performer of Disinterested Action) who was Brahma-jñānin (Bra. Sū. IV. 2. 19—21).

3. Bha. Gī. deals with Yoga (Disinterested Action); this is different from the teaching of the Upaniṣads and the author of the Bra. Sū. rejects it (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 3).

4. The principle called "Prakṛti" must be identified with Brahman itself (Bra. Sū. I. 4. 23—27), says the Sūtrakāra. But thereby we learn that the Gītā's Prakṛti is its own peculiar principle.

5. Other principles, *like* Prakṛti are not found in the Upaniṣads (Bra. Sū. II. 1-2) and they must be explained in the light of the Śūtrakāra's explanation of "Prakṛti" (Bra. Sū. II. 1. 12). Thus, the principles known as Svabhāva (Gī. V. 14), Māyā (Gītā VII.), Avyakta (Gītā VIII. 18, XIII.), Mahad Brahman Gītā XIV. 2-3), etc. are to be taken as the same as the supreme Brahman, according to Bra. Sū. II. 1. 2.

6. According to Bra. Sū. III. 2. 31—36, the Akṣara and Kṛṣṇa or Puruṣa in the Gītā (e.g. Gītā VIII. 20—22) are not to be related as Dhāman and the occupant of the Dhāman, but as two equally important aspects of the one Supreme Principle called the Avyakta or Brahman. Also Kṛṣṇa is not the supporter of Brahman (Bha. Gī. XIV. 26-27); but both would be equally the aspects of the One.

7. Bādarayaṇa notes Jaimini's view that in the achievement of Mokṣa, Jñāna and Karman work together as also held by Bādarāyaṇa, but that Karman plays a greater part. Here both Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini are influenced by the Gītā and we learn that the Gītā taught Jñāna-Karmasamuccaya, in which according to one view the Karman was more important than Jñāna.

8. Also the entire Smṛti Pāda (Bra. Sū. II. 1) explains the Gītā's doctrine or doctrines of Creation and gives details, as known to Bādarāyaṇa.

From all this we learn much about the original meaning of the principles and views of the Gītā, as they were understood by the Brahmasūtrakāra who knew the Gītā correctly and hence tried to explain it away in the light of the Upaniṣads.

DIṄNĀGA'S REMARK ON THE CONCEPT OF *ANUMEYA*

By BIMAL KRISHNA MATILAL*

In one's theory of inference, the question 'What is known through inference?' (in other words, 'What is the nature of *anumeya*?') seems to be a pertinent question. In developing his theory of inference, a logician must at a certain point answer this question. In ancient India, at a particular period, a great deal of discussion centered around this crucial question. Diṅnāga, for instance, discussed several alternative answers to this question, none of which he found satisfactory. At the end of his discussion, Diṅnāga gave his own view about *anumeya*. Uddyotakara[1] under *Nyāyasūtra* 1. 1. 5 referred to several other alternative answers to the above question. He criticized, as usual, Diṅnāga's view and mentioned incidentally a new view which he supported by reasons. But inspite of Uddyotakara's critique, Diṅnāga's view seems to have been more acceptable to later logicians like Kumārila.[2]

Diṅnāga's discussion of *anumeya* is contained in the four verses (verses 8—11) of Chap. II of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Although the original Sanskrit work is lost, these four verses are found in Vācaspati Miśra's[3] *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*. Diṅnāga's own *Vṛtti* (to be called *Svavṛtti* henceforward) on these verses are available only in

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1. *Nyāyavārttika*, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1915, p. 50-51.

2. *Mīmāṁsā-ślokavārttika*, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1898-1899, *Anumāna-pariccheda* verses 23—34.

3. *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1925, p. 180.

The verses are: (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Chap. II):

kecid dharmāntaraṃ meyam liṅgasyāvyabhicārataḥ /
sambandhaṃ kecid icchanti siddhatvād dharmadharmiṇoḥ //8//
liṅgaṃ dharme prasiddhaṃ cet kim anyat tena mīyate /
atha dharmiṇi tasyaiva kim-arthaṃ nānumeyatā//9//
sambandhe 'pi dvayaṃ nāsti ṣaṣṭhī śrūyeta tad-vati /
avācyo 'nugṛhītatvān na cāsau liṅga-saṃgataḥ //10//
liṅgasyāvyabhicāras tu dharmeṇānyatra dṛśyate /
tatra prasiddhaṃ tad-yuktaṃ dharmiṇaṃ gamayiṣyati //11//

Tibetan translations.[4] H. N. Randle[5] translated the Sanskrit verses into English in his *Fragments from Diṅnāga*. Randle did not use the Tibetan *Svavṛtti*, but closely followed Kumārila's rephrasing of Diṅnāga's discussion in his English translation of these four verses. It will be shown in this paper that Randle misinterpreted Diṅnāga at least in one place. It will be shown further that while Diṅnāga's main thesis on the nature of *anumeya* (i.e., *dharma-viśiṣṭa-dharmy anumeya*) was well understood by later logicians certain other points in his critique of alternative views were misunderstood and wrongly interpreted even by his successors in Sanskrit philosophy. This misunderstanding started, perhaps, with Vācaspati Miśra or some time after him. It will a'so appear that the later Naiyāyikas like Vardhamāna Upādhyāya did not consult Diṅnāga's own *Vṛtti* on these verses although it is conceivable that the original Sanskrit *Svavṛtti* of Diṅnāga was available at the time they wrote their own work.

It will be necessary for our purpose to give an explanatory translation of the four verses of Diṅnāga in the light of his own *Vṛtti* on them. The Tibetan version[6] of the *Vṛtti* will be used to settle ambiguity of the verses. *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Chap. II, verse 8 states that, according to some, a different property, *viz.*, fire, is what we infer from the known property (smoke) because the inferential mark, smoke, is in invariable relation with that different property, *viz.*, fire. (Let us call the upholder of this view Opponent A.) According to others (let us call this group of thinkers Opponent B), it is the relation of fire to the place, mountain, is what we know through inference, since both the *dharma* (the property fire) and the *dharmin* (the property-possessor mountain) are known already as established objects. (It is understood that the object of our knowledge acquired through inference cannot be an already known object.)

Criticizing the first view (Opponent A), Diṅnāga says in verse 9 :If the property, smoke, is well-known as being related to fire it

4. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking edition, Mdo-ḥgrel XCV, Ce. No. 5701 : Vasudhararakṣita. No. 5702 : Kanakavarnman.

5. *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1926, p. 18—21.

6. I like to thank here my esteemed friend Professor Masaaki Hattori of Kyoto University, Japan, who helped me in reading the *Svavṛtti* of Diṅnāga upon the aforesaid four verses.

would not be proper to say that we infer fire from smoke. (It is to be understood that when seeing a body of smoke one remembers the relation between fire and smoke the other property, fire, becomes an already known object, and hence there will be no room for inference). If, however, it is asserted that we infer the other property, fire, as characterizing the locus, mountain, why do we not say that the place itself which possesses fire is what is our *anumeya*.

The second view (that of Opponent B) is criticized in verse 10: The relation (*sambandha*) in question does not possess the two characters (*viz.*, fire and smoke) which an object should possess in order to be an *anumeya*. (It should be admitted that the object of inferential knowledge, i.e., the *anumeya*, is connected, in the first place, with the *sādhana, viz.*, smoke, and, for that matter, with the *sādhya*, viz., fire). If the relation between the mountain and fire were our *anumeya*, one would expect in the verbal expression of our inferential thesis (*pratijñā*) a genitive case ending in the word expressing the adjunct of such relation. In other words, the verbal expression would be of the form "There is the relation of fire here (*atra vahneḥ sambandhaḥ*)," and not of the usual form "There is fire here (*atra vahniḥ*)." Inasmuch as the said relation is only implied, not expressed, by the inferential thesis *"atra vahniḥ"* we have no right to call such relation the *anumeya*. Moreover, the said relation is not connected with the *sādhana* (*viz.*, smoke, the inferential mark).

Randle gave a slightly wrong interpretation of this verse.[7] He thought that if the said relation were accepted as *anumeya* we would expect the genitive in the inferential thesis in order to express that relation. He contrasted the usual form of inferential thesis "There is fire in the mountain (*parvate 'gnir asti*)" with the unacceptable form "There is fire of the mountain (*parvatasyāgnir asti*)." He also quoted Pāṇini's rule *"ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe"* II, III, 50 and indicated that the genitive expresses mere relation, and not a *kāraka*-function like the locative. But it is evident from our above interpretation that these remarks of Randle were beside the point. Randle was thus puzzled when he saw that another acceptable form of the inferential thesis "The mountain is fiery (*parvato vahnimān*)" does contain the possessive suffix *matup* (=*mān*) which also expresses *mere* relation.[8]

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7. See *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, p. 20 and footnotes 1 and 2 therein.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 20, footnote 3.

But this confusion stems mainly from his misunderstanding of Diṅnāga's point about the genitive case ending.

Verse 11 gives Diṅnāga's own view about *anumeya*. The invariable connection of the inferential mark, smoke, with the property fire is seen in other places; and the inferential mark, being well established in such other places, leads us to infer the present property-possessor (*dharmin*), *viz.*, the mountain, possessing the property fire.

Uddyotakara inserted the discussion of *anumeya* while he was explaining the meanings of the terms *pūrvavat* etc. in *Nyāyasūtra* 1. 1. 5. The gist of his arguments on the notion of *anumeya* can be stated as follows. What we know by inference through the inferential mark, *viz.*, smoke, is not another property, *viz.*, fire, nor the place itself, nor the existence of fire, nor even the place as possessing fire. The *anumeya*, i.e., the object of inference, must be related to the inferential mark (*sādhana*) as a property to a property-possessor. Moreover, the object of inference should not be known in advance. None of the above things, viz., the property like fire, the place, or the existence of fire, can be said to be related to smoke, the inferential mark, as its property. And all of them become known before we reach the conclusion of the inference. The particular place, viz., the mountain, which possesses fire (*Diṅnāga's* own view) cannot also be regarded as the *anumeya* because smoke, the *sādhana*, is not known to be a property of this complex (*viz.*, the mountain characterized by fire). We do not actually see the place that possesses fire, but we see only smoke coming out of a particular place. If Diṅnāga says that the observed smoke by virtue of its invariable connection with fire leads us to infer the particular place as possessing fire, it might be asked what is meant by this invariable relation (*avinābhāva-sambandha*)? It cannot mean an invariable co-occurrence in the same locus because a body of smoke is sometimes seen hovering in the sky without fire. It is also seen that a body of fire (in a red-hot iron ball) unaccompanied by smoke. Thus, since the invariable relation itself, of smoke with fire, cannot be established beyond doubt, it is not proper to say that we infer the place as possessing fire through the inferential mark, smoke, on the basis of its invariable relation with fire. What we infer is that this body of smoke (perceived on the mountain) possesses fire too (as its qualifying adjective). According to Uddyotakara, in an inferential situation, the particular smoke is perceived and along with it the property of its continuously rising upwards from a particular source and such other characteristics (*cf. sātatya-saṁhatya-ūrdhvagati-svabhāvādayo*

dharmāḥ, Uddyotakara, p. 51) are also perceived. What is not perceived is that this particular smoke is also characterized by, i.e., connected with, fire. Hence, this unperceived factor, *viz.*, this smoke possesses fire, is what is grasped by inference. Uddyotakara repeated the same view about *anumeya under Nyāyasūtra* 2. 1. 46.[9]

This view about the nature of *anumeya* is a bit peculiar. Instead of accepting the propositional complex, the mountaining possessing fire, as the object of our inference, we have to admit, under this view, another complex, *viz.*, this particular smoke, because of its certain peculiar characters, is related to fire also, as the object of inference. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa[10] mentioned this view about the *anumeya* in a couple of places of his *Nyāyamañjarī*. As far as I can see, this view seems to be a more sophisticated rephrasing of an older view. According to earlier logicians, inference is what extends our knowledge by informing us of the unperceived fact from the perceived one. Thus, inference becomes a function of two terms only, the property to be inferred and the inferential mark.[11] In this theory of inference, the minor term (to use Aristotelian terminology) does not play any important role. From the existence, or presence, of certain property (or, properties) we infer the existence, or presence, of certain other property accompanying the former property. Uddyotakara gave simply a refined version of this theory. Even the well-known case of inference "Sound is non-eternal because it is produced" was understood by Uddyotakara as follows. Sound or noise is a known entity, so is its property of being produced. We infer non-eternalness of sound from the property of its being produced.[12]

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9. *Nyāyavārttika*, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1915, p. 258.

10. Compare: *yathā agnimān ayaṃ dhūmaḥ bahulapāṇḍutādidharmayogitvān mahānasāvadhṛtadhūmavad iti, dhūma evāgnimattayā'numīyate*.........." *Nyāyamañjarī*, Kashi Sanskrit Series 106, Varanasi, 1934, p. 117. Compare also Jayanta's remark on p. 118. Curiously enough Jayanta quoted Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in both the places. But Kumārila, as I have already stated, supported Diṅnāga's view about the nature of *anumeya* although he mentioned other alternative views. Jayanta, on the other hand, had something like Uddyotakara's view in mind.

11. The crudest form of inference was to derive the knowledge of *x* from our knowledge of *y*. Thus, in the earliest phase, the Vaiśeṣikas inferred the existence of soul, mind or the physical space (*ākāśa*) through our knowledge of their qualities such as cognition, desire and sound. In Nyāya tradition also, we infer future rain from the cloud and past rain from the fullness of the river.

12. Compare: *śabdasyātmasattā prasiddhā kṛtakatvaṃ ca dharmas tv anityatvalakṣaṇo 'prasiddha iti/tad-viśeṣaṇo 'yam anumīyata iti*, (*Nyāyavārttika*, p. 51).

Uddyotakara's critique of Diṅnāga's view about *anumeya* sounds all right as far as it goes. It was admittedly unclear in Diṅnāga's exposition whether the locus (i.e., the place), which is the subject of the inferential thesis, should be known to us prior to the inference or not. In fact, Uddyotakara bases his objection upon the principle that the property-possessor (*dharmin*) as well as the inferential mark becomes known to us (*prasiddha*) and hence cannot form a part of our *anumeya*. Besides, Diṅnāga's use of the term "property-possessor (*dharmin*)" was ambiguous. To avoid the Lokāyata critique of inference, Uddyotakara pointed out that not in all cases, our perception of smoke will validate our inference of fire, but only of some particular types of smoke, such as one that continuously rises from a spot. If the locus or the minor term is thought to be a part of the inferential mark (the middle term), we can happily explain the earlier examples of inference found in the Nyāya tradition. Thus, we infer the future rain from the cloud and the past rain from the fullness of the river.[13] Later commentators, however, analyzed these examples in such a way that we get the cloud as the minor term (*pakṣa* or the locus of inference) in the first case and the river (or the fullness of the river) in the second.[14] The middle term or the *hetu* crystalized, in the hand of the later commentators, as some specific character or characters (*viśeṣa*) of the minor term (or *pakṣa*), such specific character being experienced to be invariably related to the inferable property (the *sādhya*) or the major term.

Diṅnāga's theory of logic, like other contemporary systems of Indian logic, was based upon the principle that inference is a function of three terms, the property to be inferred (*sādhya*), the inferential mark (*sādhana*) and the locus (*pakṣa*) or the property-possessor. Diṅnāga's own view about *anumeya* (*viz.*, we infer the propositional complex, the mountain possessing fire) was quite consistent with this principle of inference with three terms. Thus, Kumārila closely followed Diṅnāga in his discussion of *anumeya*. The two views (Opponents A and B) rejected by Diṅnāga were also noted by Kumārila; and he correctly understood the position of Opponent B. Vācaspati Miśra, after quoting verses 8—10 from Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Chap. II, inserted the following explanatory remark:

13. See Vātsyāyana's examples under *Nyāyasūtra* 1. 1. 5.

14. Compare Uddyotakara's analysis: *vṛṣṭimanta ete meghāḥ gambhīradhvānavattve sati bahulabalākāvattve sati aciraprabhāvattve sati unnatimattvāt vṛṣṭimanmeghavad iti* (p. 47). Jayanta also gave similar analyses. See Nyāyamañjarī, p. 117-118.

na hi sambandhadharmatayā liṅgaṃ pramīyate, api tu deśa-saṃgatam ity arthaḥ. But this explanation, presumably of verse 10d of Diṅnāga's work, was not consistent with Pārthasārathi Miśra's explanation of a similar verse of Kumārila. Randle was rightly puzzled over this discrepancy.[15] But Randle did not notice that in the Nyāya tradition these verses (8—10) of Diṅnāga were given a slightly different interpretation. We shall see presently how Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, the celebrated Naiyāyika of the 14th century, explained these verses in his *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa.*

Vardhamāna came across these verses of Diṅnāga while he was commenting on Vācaspati's *Tātparya-ṭīkā* and Udayana's *Tātparya-pariśuddhi.*[16] Commenting on verse 8cd, Vardhamāna remarked: *pakṣāntaram āha/ sambandham iti/ agnidhūmayor iti śeṣaḥ kṛtaḥ.* This means that Opponent B of Diṅnāga holds that our *anumeya* is the relation between fire and smoke, and not the relation of fire with the mountain. Since Diṅnāga has mentioned the term *"sambandha* (relation)" in his verses without specifying the relata, it is quite possible for someone (who has not read his *Svavṛtti* on these verses) to interpret this as referring to the relation between fire and smoke. In fact, Vardhamāna construed the view of the opponent quite differently from that of Opponent B. Accordingly, I shall call this view that of Opponent C. In plain words, Opponent C maintains that what we infer is the relation between fire and smoke. In verse 10, Dinnāga criticized Opponent B as I have shown above. But here too, Diṅnāga's arguments are couched in such a language that one might, if one is not acquainted with the *Svavṛtti,* interpret them as rejecting the new view, i.e., that of Opponent C. Vardhamāna actually followed this course of explanation in order to be consistent with his earlier explanation. He commented on verse 10ab as follows: *sambandhaṃ sādhyaṃ dūṣayati/ sambandhe 'pīti/ dvayaṃ vakṣyamāṇam/ tatrādyam āha/ṣaṣṭhīti/yadi sambandho 'numeyaḥ syāt tadāgnidhūmayoḥ sambandho 'stīti ṣaṣṭhiśravaṇaṃ pratijñāvākye syād ity arthaḥ.* Here, it has been stated without ambiguity that if the relation were accepted as the *anumeya* one would expect the statement of the inferential thesis to be of the form "There is the relation of fire and smoke." In other words, the two relations of the said relation would have genitive case ending. Vardhamāna con-

15. *Fragments from Diṅnāga,* p. 20, footnote 4.

16. *Nyāyavārttikatātparyapariśuddhi* by Udayanācārya with a Gloss called *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa* by Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1911 ff., p. 748-9.

tinued his remarks on verse 10c: *apratijñeyaḥ sambandha ity arthaḥ/ kutaḥ dhūmavattvād agnir atrāstīty ata evāsmadabhimatāgniviśiṣṭadeśasādhyād arthato 'gnidhūmayoḥ sambandhasyāvagater ity arthaḥ.* This translates: 'The relation is not expressible in the statement of the inferential thesis. Why? Because we come to know of the *relation between fire and smoke* by implication from what we grasp as the inferential object, *viz.*, the place which is qualified by fire; and this is expressed as "there is fire here because it posseses smoke."' It is evident that Vardhamāna was always referring to Opponent C, and not Opponent B.

If we keep the view of Opponent C in mind, we will, perhaps, be in a better position to understand Vācaspati's remark under Diṅnāga's verse 10d. Apparently explaining verse 10d of Diṅnāga (*viz.*, "*na cāsau liṅgasaṃgataḥ*"), Vācaspati remarked: Furthermore (the relation cannot be our *anumeya* because) the inferential mark is apprehended not as a property of the (said) relation, but as one connected with the place. It seems to me that Vācaspati interpreted "relation (*sambandha*)" in Diṅnāga's verse in the sense of the relation of fire with smoke. Moreover, there is a variant of verse 8cd noted in the footnote of the Kashi edition of *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, p. 180) which reads: "*Sambandhaṃ kecid icchanti siddhatvāl liṅgaliṅginoḥ.*" Such a reading (or, perhaps, a misreading?) suggests that according to some (whom we have called Opponent C), what we infer is the relation between the inferential mark, smoke, and the possessor of such a mark, fire. I suspect that at least some Naiyāyikas understood Diṅnāga's verse 8cd in this way, and that Vardhamāna followed this Nyāya tradition. Commenting on verse 10d of Diṅnāga, Vardhamāna remarked: *na ceti/ asau sambandho na liṅgena dhūmena saṃgataḥ sambandhaḥ liṅgadharmo na pakṣadharma ity arthaḥ.* What Vardhamāna meant is, perhaps, that the relation (which, according to him, is the relation of fire and smoke) is not a property of the inferential mark, and that, although the said relation is connected with smoke, it is not connected with the particular smoke which is our inferential mark, i.e., the body of smoke which is resident in the *pakṣa* (the mountain).

To sum up: the above study makes two distinct points—one is philosophical while the other is philological. Inference, in its crudest form, was regarded as a function of two terms where we are concerned only with the inferential mark and the property to be inferred. But gradual awareness of logical problems led the Indian philosophers to analyze inference as a function of three terms. The

minor term (i.e., the locus of inference) gradually rose to prominence. Diṅnāga's conception of *anumeya* is illustrative of this point. The philological (or, historical) point can be understood as follows. One might ask: Was the variant *"liṅgaliṅginoḥ"* in verse 8cd an original variant of the manuscript of Diṅnāga's text ? The answer is obviously negative because the Tibetan tradition does not show this variant. Thus, I believe that this variant was the result of a misreading by a later Naiyāyika. We cannot be sure when this misreading actually took place. But this incident eventually led to the confusion of the views of Opponents B and C. One might further ask: Was the *Svavṛtti* of Diṅnāga on these verses (*PS*, Chap. II, 8—11) read by Vardhamāna Upādhyāya when he tried to explain these verses in his *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa* ? Or, was he merely depending upon the explanation suggested by his Nyāya teachers ? I believe the second alternative to be correct. This is rather an unfortunate fact. But this is all the same an interesting point because the Sanskrit text of Diṅnāga's *Svavṛtti* might well have been available at the time when Vardhamāna was writing his commentary. According to scholars, the last Tibetan translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* by Kanakavarman (and Dad-pa (ḥi) śes-rab) was done some time after the last quarter of the 15th century A.D.[17] The Sanskrit text of the *Svavṛtti* was definitely available when Vācaspati Miśra (10th century A.D.) wrote his *Nyāyavārttika-tātparyaṭīkā*, but I doubt whether Vācaspati was directly acquainted with Diṅnāga's *Svavṛtti* on these verses. Otherwise, Vācaspati's remark on Diṅnāga's verse 10d would have been pointless. It is, nervetheless, extremely odd that a well-reputed Naiyāyika like Vardhamāna should explain these verses of Diṅnāga without reading his *Svavṛtti* on them. It is, however, conceivable that in the Mithilā Seminary where vardhamāna Upādhyāya received his education, Diṅnāga's text was not available.

17. The name of the Tibetan collaborator (Dad-pa (ḥi) śes-rab) of Kanakavarman is not mentioned in *The Blue Annals* which was composed between 1476 A.D. and 1478 A.D. Thus, it seems that Kanakavarman appeared later than the last quarter of the 15th century. For more on this point see the Introduction of M. Hattori's book *Dignāga, On Perception*, H. O. S., 1968, p. 12—20.

AUTHENTIC WORKS OF ŚAṀKARĀCĀRYA

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There are some four hundred and odd works which are passing in the name of Śaṁkarācārya. These fall into three categories, (a) Commentaries, (b) Hymns and (c) Monographs (Prakaraṇas). Dr. S. K. Belvalkar has shown that following commentaries, hymns and monographs can rightly be attributed to Śaṁkarācārya[1] :

(a) *Commentaries*

1. Brahmasūtrabhāṣya (alias Śārīrakabhāṣya),
2. Īśa–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
3. Kena–Upaniṣadbhāṣya.
4. Kaṭha–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
5. Praśna–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
6. Muṇḍaka–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
7. Taittirīya–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
8. Aitareya–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
9. Chāndogya–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
10. Bṛhadāraṇyaka–Upaniṣadbhāṣya,
11. Bhagavadgītā bhāṣya.

(b) *Hymns*

1. Ānandalaharī,
2. Govindāṣṭaka,
3. Dakṣiṇā mūrti stotra,
4. Daśaślokī,
5. Dvādaśa pañjikā,

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1. The Vedānta Philosophy part I pp. 218, 222, 226.

6. Bhaja Govindam Stotram,
7. Ṣaṭpadī,
8. "Harimīde" Stotra.

(c) *Monographs*

1. Aparokṣānubhūti,
2. Ātmabodha,
3. Upadeśasāhasrī.
4. Pañcīkaraṇa,
5. Śataślokī.

Dr. Belvalkar has further classified 26 works, the ascription of which to Śaṁkara is doubtful. Of these we shall discuss only the authorship of the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad-cum-Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā which has been enumerated as two works by the learned Doctor. But for this opinion we find no positive evidence and hence we shall call them by their common name the Āgamaśāśtrabhāṣya. He has again declared some 358 works[2] which can, without hesitation, be put down as Śaṁkara apocrypha.

Before adducing arguments for the genuine works of Śaṁkara we want to state that there are only thirteen works which can rightly be attributed to Śaṁkara, the founder of *advaita* Philosophy. They include the Upadeśa sāhasrī and the Āgama-Śastrabhāṣya (alias the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad-cum-Māṇḍūkya Kārikā-bhāṣya) and all the commentaries which Dr. Belvalkar attributes rightly to Śaṁkara. It is clear that we agree *in toto* with the Doctor in so far as Śaṁkara apocrypha enumerated by him are concerned. Further we include all hymns, attributed to Śaṁkara, in the list of apocryphal works, simply because there is no effective proof for their authentic authorship and further because left to themselves they countenance a philosophical position which is not supported by the accredited works of Śaṁkara. To formulate any opinion on the sole basis of these works and attribute it to Śaṁkara even though it runs counter to his views expressed in his commentaries upon the Brahmasūtra and the major Upaniṣads will assuredly be an absurd adventure. Moreover, the question why

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 218–230.

a dialectician author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya fame should indulge in the composition of cheap pangyrics and eulogiums of hymns cannot be answered by those who attribute them to Śaṁkara. It is not insignificant that neither the author nor the commentator of the Śaṁkara-digvijaya mentions these hymns where the works of Śaṁkara are enumerated.[3]

The so-called doubtful commentaries are all spurious except the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya, for there is no positive evidence to support that they were written by the author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. Of all the monographs attributed to Śaṁkara only the Upadeśasāhasrī can rightly be taken as a genuine work of his in view of the fact it is referred to by Sureśvara in his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi.[4] Now we shall adduce arguments to show that the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya is a genuine work of our Śaṁkara.

Serious doubts have been raised against Śaṁkara's authorship of this commentary. They are expressed by Professor V. Bhattacarya as follows:

I. There are two benedictory verses in the beginning of the commentary. In the major works of Śaṁkara there are no such benedictory verses. So to write benedictory verses was not a practice with Śaṁkara. "The commentary begins with two verses of such inferior quality that they could never have been composed by Śaṁkara."[5]

II. There is a metrical lapse in the second verse.[6]

III. "This book ends also with three verses of the same kind and quality, *as the benedictory verses in the beginning*, the last of which even contains grammatical inaccuracies."[7]

IV. "In Śaṁkara's Philosophy Ātman is ānandamaya or Ānanda-svarūpa and never Duḥkhātmā."[8] But in the introductory part of

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3. Śaṁkaradigvijaya. 6/60—63.

4. See Naiṣkarmyasiddhiḥ which contains as many as eighteen quotations from the Upadeśasāhasrī.

5. V. Bhattacharya—Śaṁkara's commentaries on the Upanisads, Sir Āśutoṣa Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III Orientalia Part II p. 103.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 103 (italics mine).

8. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

the commentary Ātman is said to be duḥkhātmā (duḥkhātmakasya ātmano dvaita prapañcopaśame svasthatā). Similarly the explanation of the word sarvaduḥkhānām in the Kārikā 1/10, as Prājña-taijasviśva-lakṣaṇānām, could never emanate from Śaṁkara.[9]

V. It is utterly strange for Śaṁkara to define his Paramārtha-tattva as beyond the four categories, existence, non-existence, both existence and non-existence and neither-existence-nor-non-existence as the author of this commentary does.[10]

VI. The commentary betrays such crudeness of thought and expression in its author that he could never be identified with the great Śaṁkarācārya.[11]

To these doubts the following can also be added:

I. Professor Jacobi says:—"I am inclined to think that this Śaṁkara is not the same as the author of the Śārīrakabhāṣya. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and the terms of an anumāna according to Nyāya principles,"[12] as the former does while commenting upon the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā II. 4.[13]

II. The commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā differs from Śaṁkara, the commentator on the Īśa-Upaniṣad. The former takes the word asaṁbhūti in the Īśa-Upaniṣad verse[14] No. 12 for saṁbhūti whereas the latter rightly reads it as asaṁbhūti.[15]

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

12. Prof. H. Jacobi "Māyāvāda", JAOS Vol. XXXIII, 1913 p. 52.

13. अन्तःस्थानात्तु भेदानां तस्माज्जागरिते स्मृतम्।
यथा तत्र तथा स्वप्ने संवृतत्वेन भिद्यते ।।

While commenting upon this verse Śaṁkara says—

जाग्रद्दृश्यानां भावानां वैतथ्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा। दृश्यत्वादिति हेतुः। स्वप्नदृश्यभाववदिति दृष्टान्तः। यथा तत्र स्वप्ने दृश्यानां भावानां वैतथ्यं तथा जागरितेऽपि दृश्यत्वमविशिष्टमिति हेतूपनयः। तस्माज्जागरितेऽपि वैतथ्यं स्मृतमिति निगमनम्। Here it is clear that five members of the syllogism are explicitly mentioned.

14. The verse runs as thus—

अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽसम्भूतिमुपासते।

15. T. R. Chintamani P.O.C., 1924, p. 420.

III. The commentator on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā is ignorant of the real import of a good many Buddhistic terms like Dharma, asparśayoga, bhūta, abhūta, tāyin, agrayāna and others. Śaṁkara, the author of the Śārīrakabhāṣya was more familiar with Buddhism than any other commentator on the Brahmasūtra. So he could not have betrayed his ignorance of Buddhistic terms in case he were the same as the author of the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya.[16]

IV. The commentator of the Māṇḍūkyakārikā holds the theory of Sphoṭa while the author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya criticizes it.[17] So the two authors cannot be one and the same person.

It is not difficult to set these arguments at naught and establish the traditional view that the Āgamasāstrabhāṣya or the Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad-cum-Māṇḍūkya Kārikābhāṣya is in all probability, the first work of Śaṁkarācārya. The fact that it is the first work of his explains well the composition of salutatory verses in the beginning and the end of the commentary. Some grammatical mistakes and metrical lapses are also hence not unaccounted.[18] As regards the composition of the salutatory verses it can further be said that since, Śaṁkara was writing here as a literary novice on the works of the teacher of his own teacher, they were undoubtedly necessitated. More-

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16. See Amaranatha Ray's article "Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies University of London, Vol. VIII, 1935, p. 110.

17. See the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya.

For the criticism of the theory see Śārīrakabhāṣya I. 3. 28.

वर्णेभ्यश्चार्थप्रतीतेः संभवात् स्फोटकल्पनाऽनर्थिका। ....वर्णवादिनो लघीयसी कल्पना; स्फोटवादिनस्तु दृष्टहानिरदृष्टकल्पना च, वर्णाश्चेमे क्रमेण गृह्यमाणाः स्फोटं व्यञ्जयन्ति स स्फोटोऽर्थं व्यनक्तीति गरीयसी कल्पना स्यात्।

18. T. R. Chintamani has offered some explanations for the metrical lapse in the second introductory verse. These are, first, the possibility of a corrupted test; secondly, the literary principle that definitions of metres should be based on existing facts about them and not vice versa and hence Śaṁkara's use of the metre should be recognized as making an original metre and lastly the fact that even great men commit faults unknowingly. P.O.C., 1924, The commentator of the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās, p. 424.

Ānandagiri also has given an explanation for this lapse.

न च द्वितीयश्लोके चतुर्थपादे वृत्तलक्षणाभावादसांगत्यम् आशंकनीयम्। गाथालक्षणस्य तत्र सुसंपादत्वादिति।

Ānandagiri Tikā on Āgama Śāstrabhāṣya I/2.

over the practice with him appears to be this that now he writes a work without introductory benedictory verses as, for instance, the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya and now he does with them as for instance the Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣya and the Taittirīya-Upanisadbhāṣya.So far as the quality of these verses is concerned it can be said that they are not inferior as Professor Vidhuśhekhara Bhaṭṭācārya holds without showing any reason. They are on the contrary full of profound thoughts and are even imitated by Sureśvara in his Bṛhadāraṇyakavartika. The idea of bringing, out of mere sympathy, for the suffering humanity, the nectar in the churning rod of intellect is the point in instance. This idea is embodied in the last but one concluding verse of the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya and is imitated by Sureśvara in the last but two verses of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka vārtika. It is clear from this that these verses were regarded as exemplary by the disciples of Śaṁkara. That is why they *verbatim* attributed to him what he has done to Gauḍapāda.

The objection that Śaṁkara could never have used the expressions Duḥkhātmakasya (of that which is sorrowful) and Sarvaduḥkhānām (full of all sorrows) betrays the ignorance of advaita doctrines. The latter expression is used as an adjective of Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña[19] which are obviously sorrowful according to advaita. The Professor is not sure whether Ātman is Ānandamaya or Ānandasvarūpa. In reality according to advaita Ātman is not ānandamaya but Ānanda[20] and this *ānanda* is the presupposition of even sorrow[21] and for that matter sorrow is superimposed over it under ignorance. So there is nothing unadvaitic in the expression *duḥkhātmakasya*. It refers to *viśva, taijasa* and *prājña* which are all sorrowful. Moreover in the compound word *duḥkhātmaka* the word *ātmaka* does not mean *ātman* but simply "full of".

It is not strange for Śaṁkara to describe his paramārtha tattva (ultimate reality) as transcending the four categories of existence, non-existence, both existence-and-non-existence and neither-existence-nor-non-existence. The Nāsadīya Sūkta does distinguish ultimate reality from existence and non-existence and thereby from both-existence-and-non-existence. The negative dialectic of the Bṛhadāraṇ-

19. Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya I/10.

20. See Ānandamayādhikaraṇa Śārīrakabhāṣya, I/I/12—19.

21. दुःखज्ञानमपि चिदात्मकत्वात् आनन्द एव।
Brahmānanda Saraswatī in the Gauḍabrahmānandī.

yaka Upaniṣad further pushes this distinction to its extremest climax and states that the ultimate reality is other than everything that can be grasped. As has been pointed out by Dr. Belvalkar, the four-cornered dialectic is in reality derived from the Upaniṣadic dialectic.[22] What is remarkable in the present context is that the commentator of the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā takes these four categories as representing four theories of self and obviously his theory of self is different from each and all of them.[23] Now this is also the view of the author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya who has criticized these theories and enumerated them at one place in his comments on the Brahmasūtra I/I/1.

The last argument of Professor Bhattacarya is very vague and is not in consonance with the objective appreciation of the commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā. The commentary is in reality very clear and deep. This is the reason why it has been commented by several earlier authors before Ānandagiri. The testimony of Ānandagiri as regards its depth and profundity[24] is sure to kill the vague and superficial impression that Professor Bhattacarya seems to foster.

Professor Jacobi's objection has already been replied by T. R. Chintamani.[25] He has rightly pointed out that Śaṁkara does use the five-membered form of Nyāya Syllogism in the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya.[26] "Apart from this it is to be noted that he is commenting on a passage wherein the five members are plainly set forth (see Āgamaśāstra II. 4). In explaining them he candidly refers to what the author of the passage could have kept in view."[27] In this res-

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22. The Vedanta Philosophy, Part I p. 196.

23. Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya IV. 83.

24. गौडपादीयभाष्यं हि प्रसन्नमिव लक्ष्यते। तदर्थतोऽतिगम्भीरं व्याकरिष्ये स्वशक्तितः।

पूर्वे यद्यपि विद्वांसो व्याख्यानमिह चक्रिरे-
तथापि मन्दबुद्धीनामुपकाराय यत्यते। Ānandagiri Tīkā, p. 1.

25. Proceedings of Oriental Conference, 1924, Śaṁkara—The commentator of the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā, pp. 419—426.

26. Śārīrakabhāṣya, II. 2. 15.

परमाणूनामनित्यत्वविपर्ययः प्रसज्येत्......तस्मात्तेऽपि कारणवन्तः स्थूला अनित्याश्च प्राप्नुवन्ति।

27. T. R. Chintamani, op. cit., p. 421.

pect we should note that Śaṁkara and most of advaitins after him do not set their faces against the five-membered syllogism.

Mr. Chintamani has also replied to the objection based on the difference of interpretations in the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya and the Īśa-Upaniṣadbhāṣya over the phrase *Ye'sambhūti*. The author of the former takes this phrase as *Ye+Sambhūti* (who, Sambhūti) while that of the latter as *Ye+Asambhūti* (who not-sambhūti). This difference is explained by Mr. Chintamani as follows—

"The difference in interpretations is due to the fact that Śaṁkara was at liberty to comment as he liked, when he was dealing with the verse in the *Īśa Upaniṣad*. But in the Kārikās he had to explain them as understood and set forth by Gauḍapāda. The latter takes the word to be Sambhūti in *"andham tamah praviśanti ye sambhūtim upāsate"* as we find in *Sambhūterapavādācca saṁbhavaḥ pratiṣid-dhyate*."[28]

Thus Mr. Chintamani makes Gauḍapāda responsible for this difference. But we think that there is absolutely no difference between the two readings of the line from the Īśa Upaniṣad. Gauḍapāda, the author of the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya and the author of the Īśā Upaniṣādbhāṣaya—all take one and the same reading of the above line. This line is the first half of the following verse:

> Andham tamaḥ praviśanti yesaṁbhūtimupāsate /
> tato bhūya evate tamo ya u saṁbūtyām ratāḥ //[29]

Now here in the first line there is a word *asaṁbhūti* and in the second line another word, *sambhūti*. Gauḍapāda refers to this second line in his Āgamaśāstra chapter 3 verse No. 25 wherein he uses the word *saṁbhava*. The commentator on this work quotes the first line but uses the word *saṁbhūti* just after the quotation. From this Mr. Chintamani and others infer that the commentator has read *saṁbhūti* in the word *asaṁbhūti*—a fact which is provided by the grammatical rule of saṁdhi. But this is a mistake, for the simple reason that though the commentator has quoted only the first line, he really means to refer to the second line. He has only referred to the passage by quoting the first line. So even the commentator of the Āgamaśāstra does not read saṁbhūti in the first line

28. Āgamaśāstra 3/25 and Mr. Chintamani, op. cit., p. 424.
29. Īśa-Upaniṣad, 12.

of the above verse. This explanation is fully indicated by Ānandagiri also.[30]

The objection that the commentator on the Āgamaśāstra is ignorant of many Buddhistic terms is baseless. The commentator knows the four-cornered dialectic and the reality which is beyond the four corners (Koṭis);[31] he knows Śūnyavāda. Further he is fully acquainted with Vijñānavāda, Bāhyārthavāda and Vijñānavādin's criticism of Bāhyārthavāda.[32] The Buddhistic terms upālaṁbha, ajāti, śūnya vijñāna and bhūta are rightly used by him. Then what is the reason that some people charge him with the misuse of Buddhistic terms? This charge so far as we know, is mainly based on three words agrayāna, asparśayoga and Buddha. These three words are not used by the commentator in the Buddhistic sense. Let us examine them.

There occurs a word agrayāna in the Āgamaśāstra chapter IV verse No. 90. Professor V. Bhattacarya says that "all the editions and MSS examined have °yāṇa instead of °yāna, as expected."[33] Now if all the editions and manuscripts of the Āgamaśāstra have the word agrayāṇa, it is unjust to ignore it and read instead agrayāna. So if the commentator of the Āgamaśāstra has explained the word agrayāṇataḥ as prathamataḥ, (first of all), this is perfectly right. Modern scholars with Buddhistic predilections want to distort the text to suit their own purpose by rendering agrayāṇa into agrayāna and identifying the latter with mahāyāna. There is nothing wrong with the reading agrayāṇa in the text and its commentary.[34] The word agrayāna thus does not occur in the text and its commentary at all.

The word asparśayoga occurs twice in the Āgamaśāstra II. 39 and IV. 2. Professor V. Bhattacarya says that the word does not occur in the Upaniṣad though Śaṁkara says on III. 39, ...that it is well-

30. Ānandagiriṭīkā on Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya, III. 25.

सम्भूत्युपासनाया मन्त्रार्धेनाद्येन निन्दां विधाय ततो भूय एवेत्यादिनोत्तरार्धेन सम्भूतेरुक्ताया देवताया हेयत्वमुपपाद्यते।

31. Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya, IV. 83, IV. 90.

32. *Ibid.*, IV. 28.

33. The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda by V. Bhattacarya, p. 199, footnote 1.

34. See the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad with Gauḍapāda Kārikās and the Bhāṣya of Śaṁkara by M. N. Divedi, p. 90.

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known in the Upaniṣads.[35] He then shows that the word indicates the ninth stage of Buddhist meditation[36] viz., anupūrvavihāra or saṁjñāveditanirodha. What is remarkable in this context is that the learned Professor could not show whether the word asparśayoga has been used in Buddhistic literature before or after Gauḍapāda. The word, it seems, was coined by Gauḍapāda and has since then become the sole property of advaita literature. The Professor has shown the ideological parallelisms, of this term in the Buddhist literature. Śaṁkara, the commentator, in exactly the same manner has shown that the word summarizes the Vedāntic discipline described in the Upaniṣads and the Smṛtis. Mr. T. R. Chintamani, therefore, rightly remarks that "the commentator wishes to indicate that the idea conveyed by the phrase asparśayoga is to be often met with in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā."[37]

The word 'Buddha' both in the singular and the plural is used several times in the Āgamaśāstra. From this Professor Bhattacarya infers that the word refers to the Buddha or his followers. Upanisadbrahmayogin uniformly understands this word in the sense of the enlightened. Śaṁkara takes this word in the last but one verse for the Buddha though in all other places for simply the enlightened. There is no conclusive proof for the view that the word "Buddha" everywhere refers to the Buddha or his followers. So Śaṁkara, the commentator on the Āgamaśāstra cannot be charged with misinterpretation of the word 'Buddha'.

What has been demonstrated with regard to the words asparśayoga, agrayāṇa and buddha can also be done with regard to other words with ignorance of which Śaṁkara is generally charged by those who are interested more in proving the Buddhistic influence upon Gauḍapāda than finding out the real import of the use of his words.

As regards the last objection to Śaṁkara's genuine authorship of the commentary it can be said that a minor change of philosophical views cannot discredit his authorship. It is just possible that Śaṁkara at first might have been tempted to bring the force of sphoṭavāda to support his advaita while later on he gave it up in

35. Op. cit., p. 94.
36. Op. cit., 95-96.
37. Proceedings of Oriental Conference, 1924, op. cit., p. 421.

order to establish it independently of that doctrine which was discredited by such eminent scholars as Upavarṣa of the vṛttikāra fame.

Thus there is no argument to point out that the author of the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya is not the same person as that of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. The following additional arguments positively prove that the two commentaries were written by the same person.

I. Śaṁkara is traditionally credited with the authorship of ten commentaries upon the Upaniṣads which include the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya also but for which the tradition in this respect cannot be substantiated.

II. The commentary has a gloss by Ānandagiri who has commented on almost all the genuine works of Śaṁkara. He refers to many other glosses which were written upon it before him. The presence of early commentaries upon this commentary thus proves that it was regarded as a genuine work of Śaṁkara by very many earlier advaitins.

III. Some of the expressions of the commentary, as we have seen, are followed by Sureśvara.

IV. The commentary evidences all the rigour of logical subtlety that is Śaṁkara's. It must have been written by Śaṁkara the spiritual grandson of Gauḍapāda. The former must have been taught by the latter otherwise he would have commented *in extenso* upon the Kārikās of the second chapter of the Āgamaśāstra from the 21st to the 28th which deal with the numerous theories of cosmology and need much elaboration at the hands of those who fail to understand the main teaching of Gauḍapāda. For Śaṁkara, as for Gauḍapāda, cosmology was not the central doctrine of advaita and hence he summarily passed over these cosmological passages.[38] The emphasis that is found in the Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya I/7 and III/14-15 is on indifference to cosmology and all-concerted attention to self-knowledge—a subject which finds almost parallel expressions in the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya I/4/14. This parallelism undoubtedly proves the identity of the two authors.

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38. प्राणादिश्लोकानां प्रत्येकं पदार्थव्याख्याने फल्गुप्रयोजनत्वात् यत्नो न कृतः।
—Āgamaśāstrabhāṣya II, 28.

Now about the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma has cast a doubt on Śaṁkara's authorship of this commentary.[39] His arguments are two. First, the style of the Gītābhāṣya is common place in comparison to that of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. Secondly there is a mistake of quotation in the commentary which assuredly cannot be expected from Śaṁkara, the author of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. The mistake is this: two verses from the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad of the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Vajurveda are quoted in the commentary as ṛk and not as yajus which, obviously they are.

But these doubts are baseless. The first is insignificant, for a slight difference of style cannot establish a different authorship. The second is also volatilized by consideration of the meaning and usage of the term ṛk which is used for a metrical mantra of the Veda, be it Ṛgveda, Yajurveda or Sāmaveda.[41]

The following arguments can be produced to prove that the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya is a genuine work of Śaṁkara.

I. The commentary is commented, among others, by Ānandagiri and Madhusūdana Saraswatī. They attribute it to Śaṁkara.

II. The author and the commentator of the Śaṁkara-digvijaya attribute the commentary to Śaṁkara.

III. Philosophically speaking there is nothing in the commentary which goes against the views of advaita propounded in other works of Śaṁkara. It is, rather, an elaborate vindication of the advaita discipline of jñānamārga (path of knowledge).

IV. Śaṁkara has been known as the first ācārya—a title which is generally given to the one who writes commentaries on all the three bases of Vedānta (Prasthānatraya), the Upaniṣads, the Brahmasūtra and the Bhagavadgītā. Rāmānuja and others in this respect took lessons from Śaṁkara for writing commentaries upon these sources.

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39. Poona Orientalist II No. I, 1937. Are the Gauḍapāda Kārikās Śruti? p. 21.

40. Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣya 2/19-20.

41. Nyāya Kośa, p. 184

पादेनार्थेन चोपेता वृत्तबद्धा मन्त्रा ऋचः।

Moreover Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma himself has waived, once and for all, the objections that are usually repeated against Śaṁkara's authorship of the commentary. He has produced the following voluminious textual evidences to prove that Śaṁkara wrote the commentary:—

V. "The critics of Śaṁkara, especially, Rāmānuja and Madhva, have credited Śaṁkara with the authorship of his Gītābhāṣya. The evidence of such powerful opponents of Śaṁkara as these is more deserving of attention than all the assurances of his followers put together, the majority of whom are again later than both Rāmānuja and Madhva."[42]

VI. "Abhinavagupta objects in his commentary upon the Bhagavadgītā to the interpretation of all his predecessors including Śaṁkara."[43]

VII. "It appears, on Jaya Tīrtha's showing in his commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, that Bhāskara refuted Śaṁkara's interpretation of the Gītā in a separate commentary of his own,"[44] which is not extant now.

Such early writers as Bhāskara, Abhinavagupta and Rāmānuja have thus attributed the Gītābhāṣya to Śaṁkara. This is indeed a very weighty evidence. It is strange that in view of this evidence Mr. Sarma should have raised doubts against Śaṁkara's authorship of the commentary. Perhaps his doubts reflected the views of others and not his own.

No body has, in so far as we know, doubted Śaṁkara's authorship of the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. It is indeed above suspicion. Padmapāda's Pañcapādikā and Vācaspati Miśra's Bhāmatī, apart from Bhāskara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, are the earliest works which attest to Śaṁkara's authorship of this *magnum opus*. The presence of such early commentaries and references has made his authorship of the commentary unchallengeable.

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42. Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XIV, 1932-33. "Śaṁkara's authorship of the Gītābhāṣya," p. 45.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Coming to the Upanisadic commentaries it can be said at the very outset that Śaṁkara's authorship of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣadbhāṣya and the Taittirīya Upaniṣadbhāṣya is above suspicion in view of the presence of Sureśvara's Vārtikas on them. Sureśvara says that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣadbhāṣya called Vṛtti[45] and the Taittirīya-Upaniṣadbhāṣya[46] were written by Śaṁkara himself. Despite this testimony of Sureśvara, an immediate disciple of Śaṁkara, if some people doubt Śaṁkara's authorship of the Taittīriya Upaniṣadbhāṣya mainly because there are three introductory verses in it, then it means that they are interested more in figments than in truths. MM Gopinatha Kaviraja regards the commentary as a genuine work of Śaṁkara's but states that the introductory verses are certainly interpolations.[47] The third verse is found in the Taittirīya Vārtika also. It seems that Sureśvara has incorporated or quoted it in his Vārtika from the commentary of Śaṁkara. The second verse occurs with a slightly variant reading in the Upadeśa-sāhasrī in the seventeenth prakaraṇa.[48] The first verse is exactly the same in meaning as the first verse of the eighteenth prakaraṇa

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45. यामस्मद्गुरुरेव वेदशिरसामैकात्म्यतात्पर्यतो
वृत्तिं सज्जनशंकरीं सुविमलां नानानयोद्द्योतिताम् ।
चक्रे काण्वसमाश्रितोपनिषदो दुस्तर्कदोषापहाम्
श्रद्धामात्रबलेन वार्तिकमिदं तस्याः समासात्कृतम् ।।

—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārttika, 6/5/25.

—Śaṁkara calls this commentary Vṛtti.

इयमल्पग्रन्था वृत्तिरारभ्यते ।

—Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣadbhāṣya (Introduction).

46. तैत्तिरीयक सारस्य वार्तिकामृतमुत्तमम् ।
मस्करीन्द्रप्रणीतस्य भाष्यस्यैतद् विवेचनम् ।

—Taittirīya-Vārtika, III. 10. 90.

47. Op. cit., p. 30.

48. यैरिमे गुरुभिः पूर्वं पदवाक्यप्रमाणतः ।
व्याख्याताः सर्ववेदान्तास्तान्नित्यं प्रणतोऽस्म्यहम् ।

—Taittirīya Upaniṣadbhāṣya, 2nd verse.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञै र्दीपभूतैः प्रकाशितम् ।
ब्रह्मवेदरहस्यं यैस्तान् नित्यं प्रणतोऽस्म्यहम् ।

—Upadeśa sāhasrī 17/2.

of the Upadeśasāhasrī.[49] In view of these facts it is not correct to say that these verses of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad-bhāṣya are interpolations. The whole commentary including the introductory verses is a genuine work of Śaṁkara.

Professor V. Bhattacarya has rightly pointed out that the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya and the Nṛsiṁhottaratāpinīya Upaniṣadbhāṣya which are passing in the name of Śaṁkara are not his genuine works.[50] The Kena-Upaniṣadbhāṣya is in two forms, the Pada-bhāṣya (word-commentary) and the Vākyabhāṣya (Sentence-commentary). Professor Bhattacarya has, again, very rightly proved that the author of the Padabhāṣya is different from that of the Vākyabhāṣya in view of the fact that there is a divergence of interpretations of the Upaniṣad in them.[51] So Śaṁkara should be credited with the authorship of the former only.

The advaita tradition attributes to Śaṁkara the authorship of ten commentaries upon the Upaniṣads which are Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Taittirīya, Chāndogya, Īśa, Kaṭha, Kena, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya and Aitareya. Ānandagiri's gloss is found on all of them. He attributes them to Śaṁkara. There is nothing in them which goes against advaita or Śaṁkara's authorship. So we can regard them as his genuine works. But recently Mr. M. D. Gadgil has shown that the Īśa-Upaniṣadbhāṣya is spurious.[52] He has concentrated on Śaṁkara's comments on the verses 9, 10 and 11, especially, on the words vidyā, avidyā, ubhayam saha and amṛtatvam and has called them as interpretation "A". Then he has very strenuously tried to gather another interpretation from the Kaṭha-Upaniṣadbhāṣya,

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49. यस्माज्जातं जगत्सर्वं यस्मिन्नेव प्रलीयते ।
येनेदं धार्यते चैव तस्मै ज्ञानात्मने नमः ॥

—Taittirīya Upaniṣād-bhāṣya 1st verse.

येनात्मना विलीयन्ते यद्भवन्ति च वृत्तयः ।
नित्यावगतये तस्मै नमो धीप्रत्यगात्मने ॥

—Upadeśasāhasri 18/1.

50. Śaṁkara's commentaries on the Upaniṣads—Sir Āśutoṣa Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part 2, 1925, pp. 102—109.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

52. Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1943—Is Bhagawān Śaṁkara the author of the Bhāṣyam on the Īśa-upaniṣad? pp. 117—136.

Aitareya Upaniṣadbhāṣya, Taittrīya Upaniṣadbhāṣya and the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Śaṁkara and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika of Sureśvara wherein the above verses are referred to and a different interpretation is given. This interpretation is called by him B. Now his conclusion is that B is the correct interpretation and as it is not found in the Īśa Upaniṣad-bhāṣya, we may regard it as a spurious work of Śaṁkara's. Now A means the Synchrony of karma and upāsanā. Here vidyā, avidyā, ubhayam saha and amṛtatvam respectively mean worshipful meditation (upāsanā) and "Karma" simultaneously" and "relative immortality". Now what is B? B means the succession of karma and jñāna or karma-jñāna-krama-samuccaya. Here vidyā, avidyā, ubhayam saha and amṛtatvam respectively mean "knowledge" and karma" "successively" and "real immortality". Mr. Gadgil says that the explanation B is "the exact bhāṣyam by Śaṁkara."[53] He himself accepts that "neither the interpretation A nor the interpretation B is opposed to the main principles of Advaita Philosophy.[54] But what he has ignored is this that first he has not considered the appendix that is found in the Īśa-Upanisad-bhāṣya and secondly, he has not given thought to the fact that Śaṁkara is in the habit of giving several interpretations to one and the same text, all of which are undoubtedly in consonance with advaita. In the appendix he has criticized the Krama-samuccaya of Karma and jñāna[55]—a fact which undermines the very foundation of B. In fact the locus of knowledge is not the same as that of Karma. Hence Karma and knowledge can be combined neither simultaneously nor successively. If the locus of karma is not the same as that of knowledge, how can there be successive combination? Hence the interpretation B is not as correct as A. Śaṁkara anticipated B in the appendix and rejected it.[56] As regards Sureśvara's denunciation of synchrony of vidyā and avidyā, which has been pointed out by Mr. Gadgil,[57] it can be said that there is nothing in the Īśa-Upaniṣad-

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53. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

55. क्रमेणैकाश्रये स्यातां विद्याविद्ये इति चेत् ? न, विद्योत्पत्तौ अविद्याया ह्यस्तत्वात् तदाश्रयेऽविद्यानुपपत्तेः। न हि अग्निरुष्णः प्रकाशश्चेति विज्ञानोत्पत्तौ यस्मिन्नाश्रये तदुत्पन्नं तस्मिन्नेवाश्रये शीतोऽग्निरप्रकाशो वेति अविद्याया उत्पत्तिर्नापि संशयोऽज्ञानं वा।

56. केचित् संशयं कुर्वन्ति। अतस्तन्निराकरणाय संक्षेपतो विचारणां करिष्यामः।

57. Op. cit., pp. 128-129.

bhāṣya to obstruct it. Sureśvara simply points out that in the present context ubhayam saha should mean only successive combination of avidyā and vidyā. An intelligent reading of Advaita Philosophy will indicate that karma and upāsanā can be combined either simultaneously to a small extent only or successively in their fullest meaning. Hence Sureśvara was pointing out to the successive combination of Avidyā and Vidyā, Karma and Upāsanā for relative immortality. As regards another minor objection of Gadgil[58] that Śaṁkara reads *asambhūti* into the word *sambhūti* in the verse 14, it can be said that the logic of the context shows that Śaṁkara's reading is the only possibility. Hence there is nothing in the commentary which may go against Śaṁkara's authorship. In fact Śaṁkara himself wrote the commentaries on the major Upaniṣads including the Īśa as Ānandagiri says.[59] Now our investigation gives the following list of the genuine works of Śaṁkara—

I. Śārīrakabhāṣya or Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya.

II. Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

III. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

IV. Taittirīya-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

V. Aitareya-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

VI. Īśa Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

VII. Kena-Upaniṣad-pada-bhāṣya.

VIII. Kaṭha-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

IX. Praśna-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

X. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya.

XI. Āgama Śāstra-bhāṣya.

XII. Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣya.

XIII. Upadeśasāhasrī.

Abbreviations: JAOS=Journal of American Oriental Society; POC=Proceedings of Oriental Conference.

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58. Op. cit., p. 131. Śaṁkara does not read "vināśa" for avināśa". But Mr. Gadgil charges Śaṁkara with this mistake also.

59. ईशाप्रभृतिभाष्यस्य शांकरस्य परमात्मनः।
मन्दोपकृतिसिद्धयर्थं प्रणीतं टिप्पणं स्फुटम्।

PRE-ŚAṄKARA UPANIṢADIC PHILOSOPHY AS EXPOUNDED BY KĀLIDĀSA

By T. K. Gopalaswamy Iyengar*

The horizons of the Vedanta philosophy and the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa were very dim till Śaṅkarācārya wrote bhāṣya thereon, and expounded nirviśeṣādvaita doctrine. The Buddhism which originated in the fifth century B.C. was rampant till tenth century A.D. and its influence wrought much havoc on the vedic sacrifices on the one hand and adversely attacked the infallibility and the supremacy of the Vedas, on the other. Consequently the attention of the vedic followers was largely bestowed upon the restoration of the vedic karmas besides criticising the attacks of the anti-Vedic followers. Thus Pūrvamīmāṁsā based on Jaimini sūtras and the bhāṣya of Śabara thereon loomed large in the eyes of scholars to be the texts to be defended from critic's attacks. Kumārila who lived in the sixth century A.D. dedicated his entire life for the uplift of Vedic religion attacking the Buddhists who were the chief opponents. The entire energies of the Vedic scholars were directed towards the Buddhists and there was no time perhaps left to bestow their thoughts upon the Upaniṣadic teachings, much less on the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. About seventh century A.D. Gauḍapāda wrote his kārikās on the Māṇḍukyopaniṣad and even that did not escape the introduction of Buddhistic thoughts forced into it. Lastly Buddhism was fatally attacked by Śaṅkarācārya in his Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, and the Vedantic tenets were established on the lines of Nirviśeṣādvaita.

Though Śāṅkarācārya quotes some ācāryas prior to him in his bhāṣya, precise information regarding the import of Brahmasūtras is not available and even if available it is not conclusive. Even according to Sri Rāmānuja, Bodhāyana's vṛtti or gloss alone was available and not a bhāṣya, analogous with that of Śabarabhāṣya on the Jaiminisūtras. As such, the period from the inception of the sūtra to the period of Śaṅkara is a dark-age when Vedanta philosophy and the philosophy of the Brahmasūtras were not handled so freely as in the later ages after Śaṅkarācārya. As such, what the nature of philosophy that was known during the ages prior to Śaṅkara was, is the question that will confront any dispassionate scholar. The

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only source that can be tapped can possibly be the works of great poets who had woven the upaniṣadic thoughts into their works with the main idea of propagating Vedic religion. One such poet who contributed in great measure towards the exposition of the vedic tenets is the celebrated Kālidāsa and undoubtedly it is the greatest contribution that was made towards the successful solution.

Kālidāsa exercises his keen intellect in tackling the conflicting upaniṣadic passages and lays out a principle of interpretation to reconcile them hormoniously. That Kālidāsa evinces keen interest in portions of the Vedas (Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa) is evidenced in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.[1] He is pre-eminent among poets to incorporate in his works the Upaniṣadic conception of the body-soul relationship (Śarīraśarīribhāva) between the Supreme Brahman on the one hand, and the entire universe comprising both the sentient and insentient beings (cetana and acetana prapañca) on the other. Kālidāsa propounds this age-old theory of organistic conception as the *summum bonum* of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. He has a synthetic vision of the eternal verities as expounded in the Upaniṣads, the Gītā and Brahmasūtras. His aim and theme are directed towards the perpetuation of Vedic Dharma. The three benedictory stanzas or the Nāndīs in his three dramas, 'Mālavikāgnimitra, Śākuntala' and 'Vikramorvaśīya' put together, testify to his deep erudition in the prasthānatraya (the Upaniṣads, the Gītā and Brahmasūtras). The three nāndī-ślokas convey the following import :

"May Śiva, dispel your tendency dominated by Tamas (darkness and ignorance) so as to make you behold the virtuous path. O! He, who though possessing magnificent powers which confer in many ways fruits on those who bow down, who himself clad in the elephant's hide, who though having his body united with that of His beloved is the pre-eminent among the ascetics whose minds are free from all sensual pleasures and who though sustaining the whole universe with his light bodily forms is yet quite bereft of self-conceit."

(*Mālavikāgnimitra*)

"May Śiva endowed with eight visible bodily forms protect you with eight forms that is, 1. that which is the first creation of the creator (water) 2. that which conveys to the gods the oblation

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1 मंगलालंकृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया।
त्रयीविग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया।

offered according to the Vedic rites (fire) 3. that which is the sacrificer and the devotee, 4 and 5 those two entities that regulate time (sun and moon) 6. That which has sound for its quality and which pervades the Universe (ether) 7. that which they call the source of all seeds (earth) and 8. that by which all creatures breathe (air).

(*Śākuntalam*)

"May Siva, whom the seers describe in the Upaniṣads as the only Supreme Being (Puruṣa) pervading the entire universe of whom the epithet (Supreme Lord) not applicable to any one else is quite significant, who is searched within the hearts by those who long for salvation by restraining their vital airs, prāṇa and others, and who is easily attained through steady devotion and contemplation, grant you the highest beatitude."

(*Vikramorvaśīya*)

The third Pāda of the ñandī in Mālavikāgnimitra viz. 'He who is bereft of pride even though He supports the entire universe with His eight bodily forms* is the master-key to unlock the organistic principle or body-soul relationship which Kālidāsa emphasises referring to the Supreme Being and the universe. Kālidāsa treats Śiva or Brahmā or Viṣṇu as the Supreme Being and as different phases of one Godhead (एकैवमूर्तिः बिभिधे त्रिधा सा)

The nāndīs of both the 'Mālavikāgnimitra and Śākuntala disclose that the Lord supports the entire universe with his eight visible (प्रत्यक्षाभिः तनुभिः) bodily forms. The term, 'tanubhiḥ' is highly significant as a pointer to show that the sentient and non-sentient beings which compose the universe constitute his śarīra. In other words the Lord is considered as the Supreme soul to whom the entire universe (kṛtsnam jagat) assumes the role of a body to fulfil His purpose. As such the sentient beings (jīvas) are absolutely dependent upon Him like the non-sentient inert matter. Kālidāsa purposely enumerates the eight visible bodies of God Śiva to appeal even to a layman that the universe stands related to Him as a body. Just as the human body is absolutely passive and has no will of its own except to cater to the needs and purpose of the soul which sustain the body, so also the sentient beings ranging from Devas to the animals and plants are entirely dependent upon Him and Him alone.

To confirm this principle, Kālidāsa mentions the instances of sentient beings like the visible and powerful luminaries, the Sun and the Moon who rise and set without any rest traversing through the firmament under the category of visible forms (प्रत्यक्षाभिः तनुभिः) Kālidāsa describes the plight to which even the powerful luminaries are reduced on the day following the full-moon day, namely, the simultaneous rising of the sun and the setting of moon and draws an appealing inference that the entire universe is being controlled by one supreme Soul.

यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीना-
माविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरस्सर एकतोऽर्कः ।
तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां
लोकोनियम्यत इवात्म दशान्तरेषु ॥

(*Śākuntala* IV. 2)

On one side the moon, the lord of the medicinal herbs is going to the peak of the western mountain. On the other is the sun having Aruna as his precursor. By the simultaneous rising and setting of the two luminaries, this world seems to be governed (niyamyate) in all vicissitudes of life).

Kālidāsa appropriately uses the Upaniṣadic word 'niyamyate' to indicate that there is a controller 'niyantā' by whom the network of destinies of all the living beings is checked in all the vicissitudes of the life. While giving expression to this idea, Kālidāsa is sure to have had in his mind famous upaniṣadic passage."

भीषास्मात् वातः पवते। भीषोदेतिसूर्यः। भीषास्मादग्निश्चेन्द्रश्च।
मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चम इति"

(The wind blows out of fear from Him. The Sun, Fire, Indra and Yama discharge their duties fearing Him). (Taittirīya Upaniṣad). The niyamana (control) which the Supreme Being as Niyantā (controller) exercises is only through the body soul relationship which Kālidāsa maintains as the vital import of the Upaniṣadic thought.

Kālidāsa had in his mind the clear import conveyed by the chapter on the long Antaryāmi Brāhmaṇa of the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad beginning यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन् etc. The free translation is given here under.

"Who dwells in the earth and with the earth, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is and rules it from within. He is the Self, the inner ruler the (Immortal). In continuation of this, the Upaniṣad refers to Āpas (water), Agni (fire) Antarikṣa (firmament), Vāyu (wind), Dyāus (the heaven) Āditya (the Sun) Diśaḥ (directions), Candra and Tārakās (the moon and the stars), tamas (darkness) Tejas (light) Prāṇa (vital air) Vāk (speech), Chakṣus (the eyes) Śrotra (the ears) Manas (the mind) tvak (skin), Vijñāna (the intellect), the retas (energy). Kālidāsa has purposely chosen God Siva to point out that He clearly bears the visible bodily forms in unison with His epithet 'Aṣṭamūrti' and to attract the attention of everyone that the body-soul relationship is the conspicuous factor to understand Him in relation to the cit-acit universe cetana-acetana prapañca).

Kālidāsa mentions a corollary to the main theory that besides the Supreme Being assuming the role of a Śarīri. He is also the Inner Ruler (Antaryāmin). This aspect of the Lord's glory is dilated upon by the poet in the nāndī of the 'Vikramorvaśīya' as " अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिः नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते । " (He who is realised within the hearts by the sages who subjugate the functions of the sense-organs by taking recourse to the disciplined form of yoga). While recording this immanent aspect of the Lord Kālidāsa ought to have purposely echoed in the 'Vekramorvaśīya' that final import conveyed in the Antaryāmin Brāhmaṇ-of the Bṛhadaraṇyakopaniṣad at the end of each passage as "स ते आत्मा अन्तर्याम्यमृतः" "(He is the Self, the inner ruler of the immortal). The emphasis of the concept of Immanence of the Lord (Puruṣottama) is definitely introduced by Kālidāsa with the sole purpose of transfiguring the body into the living temple of the Lord or Brahmapura and infinitise the finite jīva.

Kālidāsa closely follows the four chapters of the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. The summary of the four adhyāyas (namely Samanvaya, avirodha, sādhana and phala) are respectively dealt with very crisply and unequivocally in the four feet of the Nāndī of 'Vikramorvaśīya'. In the first pāda, the substance of all the Upaniṣads (Vedāntas) are construed to signify एकपुरुषं (one single Supreme Soul) who pervades the whole Universe, (व्याप्यस्थितं रोदसी). By the mention of ekapuruṣa, Kālidāsa recalls to memory the famous Upaniṣadic passage (एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म) and makes mention of

His immanent characteristic as पू: प्राणिन: सर्वगुहाशयस्य (He who dwells in the city-like body of all the living beings).

He frequently recalls to memory the Antaryāmin aspect to insist on the mercy of God to be at an easy access to all the finite selves. In the second foot, he brings to light that every system of Philosophy connotes Him and Him alone as Īśvara or the controller of the Universe. In the third pāda, the means of attaining Him is advanced with special reference to the Dahara Vidyā of the Chāndogyopaniṣad. The last pāda gives an account of the fruit that accrues subsequent to the realisation of Brahman as the attainment of Niśreyas or the Highest Beatitude. The nature of the niśreyas is explained by Kālidāsa himself in the Bharatavākya of 'Śākuntala' पुनर्भवं क्षपयतु परिगतशक्तिरात्मभू: (May Siva put an end to my rebirth). The very manner of Kālidāsa's prayer at the end of the drama that there shall be complete cessation of birth, has bearing upon the last sūtra of the fourth adhyāya of the Brahmasūtras as (अनावृत्ति: शब्दात् अनावृत्ति: शब्दात्) (non-recurring of rebirth on the authority of Scriptures).

Thus, Kālidāsa besides acknowledging the infallibility of the Vedas endorses that the Supreme Brahman is the only Śarīri (embodied) to whom the whole universe stands related as a body and that He abides within the lotus-like hearts as the inner Ruler. Hereby it is to be deduced that every entity ranging from a blade of grass to the highest Divine Being (devas) who is swayed by Karma, constitutes His body and consequently assumes the position of an inseparable adjunct to Him who is All-pervasive, Omniscient and Omnipresent. Kālidāsa is seen to unravel many of the mysteries of metaphysics set forth in the Upaniṣads by this 'Organism" conception. Evidently Kālidāsa does not mean the body which is generally taken as the seat of sense-organs and Vehicle of enjoyment as defined by the Naiyāyikas as भोगायतनं शरीरम् (the seat of enjoyment). Kālidāsa obviously establishes that the Supreme Being is different from or one with the Universe in the same sense as the soul is different from or one with the body. It is therefore quite clear that everything in universe however trifling it may appear to ordinary minds, has a specific function and place in the general scheme of the world order. The entire universe by virtue of being the body of the Lord is sacred.

Kālidāsa's organistic conception with the conception of Lord's immanence and *antaryāmitva* has a bearing upon the verbal potency

(śabdaśakti) of every word either Vedic or classical. Be it a word denoting a sentient or a non-sentient being, full signification in respect of its sense will go to the extent of tracing Him and Him alone who abides in the object. Kālidāsa strictly confines himself to the body-soul relationship and means that the verbal potency of a word towers to such an extent as to signify Him (the sole Owner of the object) without stopping with the delimited dimensions and sense conveyed by the word, such as pot, cloth etc. Kālidāsa who lays the riddle-like identity of the pairs namely the sacrificer (Hotā) and the offering (havya) meditator (dhyātā) and the meditated (dhyeya) enjoyer (bhoktā) and the enjoyable (bhogya) in the Kumārasaṁbhava. (II conto) can be solved only by the application of the principle that the verbal import conveyed by a word will not stop with the delimited sense of the mere features of the object but towers so high as to mention Him, who abides in the objects as the antaryāmin. Therefore, the ultimate entity connoted by the afore-said pairs is to be construed on the basis of the grammatical equation of the Vedāntins Śarīra śarīribhāva nibandhanam Samānādhi-karaṇyam. Kālidāsa can thus be conceded to establish the grammar of Vedāntic thought that every word has direct reference to Him alone and that the verbal potency of the words (śabdaśakti) will reach its finalised and perfected stage only by the study of the Vedānta to signify principally the Supreme Being alone. That Kālidāsa specially mentions this view of the verbal import is borne testimony by the second foot of the Nāndi of the Vikramorvaśīyam. The epithetised compound अनन्यविषय: as qualifying the term śabda is a conclusive proof that all the syllables (akṣara) reach their perfection of conveying the real sense when they signify Him, the controller of the universe, namely Īśvara. The Vedāntic scholar's approach to and comprehension of the object in the universe are quite different to those of laymen who take them at their face value based on outward appearance. To Prahlāda who was good-intoxicated, the serpents and scorpions, elephants and weapons, appeared as His body and consequently he found no reaction over him however much he was molested and tormented by his father.

Thus the organistic conception as expounded by Kālidāsa has ethical value in effecting social solidarity. Kālidāsa's exposition of the Vedic truth opens the door of national welfare and peace throughout the Universe by expounding that every being whether animate or inanimate has to serve passively His purpose like the hand and feet of the human body. Any ill-will directed against one

another is to be taken to incur His displeasure to whom the whole Universe stands as His limbs. This Vedic truth of Śarīra-śarīrābhāva if translated into action will bury all petty differences and establish absolute peace and good-will among the people of all countries. The warring tendencies for power or pelf over the seas of air, will be farthest removed if Kālidāsa's theory that everything in the Universe is the body of God and that every individual, be he rich or poor, intelligent or dull-headed, weak or strong, good-looking or uncouth, is deemed *to exist to serve His purpose*. Thus Kālidāsa's exposition or the organistic conception besides directing an effective measure to harmonise the apparent and contradictory Upaniṣadic passage, opens the door of perfect peace in the social life, spiritual service and toleration.

Kālidāsa does not conceive of māyā, avidyā etc. as enveloping the Supreme Being nor does he deny the reality of the world. His clarity of expression of doctrines of Vedānta is so indubitable that he can be taken as one who endorses the principle of interpretation of the Upaniṣadic philosophy of his times, unpolluted by the Buddhistic influence.

Thus it can be safely conceded that Kālidāsa is a perfect realist and an ardent advocate of the Upaniṣadic philosophy on the lines of the Śarīra-śarīribhāva which admits unity in spite of diversity, which was later on expounded in detail by Rāmānuja in the 11th century A.D.

आगमिक ईश्वराद्वयवाद तथा शांकर अद्वैतवाद या ब्रह्मवाद

डॉ० राममूर्ति त्रिपाठी*

उपनिषदों और आगमों में आई हुई परतत्त्व-विषयक उक्तियों की सामान्यतः द्वैत, अद्वैत एवं द्वैताद्वैतपरक दृष्टियों से दार्शनिकों ने व्याख्याएँ प्रस्तुत की हैं। प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में औपनिषद उक्तियों का शंकराचार्य द्वारा अद्वैतपरक तथा आगमिक उक्तियों का काश्मीरी अद्वयवादी दार्शनिकों द्वारा अद्वयपरक जो व्याख्यान प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं—उनसे 'अद्वय' और 'अद्वैत' के स्वरूप निर्वचन में जो पार्थक्य आ गया है—उसी का निरूपण प्रस्तुत निबन्ध का उद्देश्य है।

(क) इस प्रसंग में सर्वप्रथम विंदु है—आगमिक अद्वय और शांकर अद्वैत तत्त्व की स्वरूपविषयक धारणाओं में अन्तर। आगमिक दार्शनिक अद्वैत या अद्वय का अर्थ समझते हैं—"दो का नित्य सामरस्य"—द्वयात्मक अद्वय—"Two in One"। यह तथ्य विज्ञान सिद्ध है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति में स्त्रीत्व और पुंस्त्व का योग है। किसी भी एक लिंग का व्यवहार किसी एक के आपेक्षिक प्राधान्य पर निर्भर है। इस आधार पर यह स्पष्ट कहा जा सकता है कि दृश्यमान समस्त 'विशेषों' या 'व्यष्टियों' की मूल प्रकृति में जब द्वयात्मक अद्वयता सिद्ध है, तब इन समस्त विशेषों या व्यष्टियों के मूल 'सामान्य' या 'समष्टि' जैसे मूल स्रोत की प्रकृति में भी द्वयात्मकता होनी ही चाहिए। फलतः विज्ञानसिद्ध और अनुभवाधारित तथ्यों के बल पर आगमिक मूल समष्टि या सामान्य तत्त्व को अपनी प्रकृति में द्वयात्मक बताते हैं। इस प्रकार आगम-सम्मत अद्वय के दो पक्ष हैं—पहला निष्क्रिय और दूसरा सक्रिय। पहला निःष्पंद और दूसरा सस्पंद, पहला ऋणात्मक और दूसरा धनात्मक—दोनों अपनी समरसदशा में हैं—अद्वयात्मक। आगमिक इन दोनों पक्षों को 'प्रकाश' और 'विमर्श' नाम से पुकारते हैं—दोनों को वे अविच्छेद्य मानते हैं—चाँद और चाँदनी की भाँति। जैसे चाँदनी के बिना चाँद चाँद नहीं और चाँद के बिना चाँदनी का अस्तित्व नहीं—ठीक यही स्थिति 'प्रकाश' और 'विमर्श' या 'बोध' और 'स्वातंत्र्य' की है। इस द्वयात्मकता[1] को उस चित्र की भाँति समझना चाहिए जो एक तरफ से देखने पर गज की भाँति दिखाई पड़ता है और दूसरी

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* अध्यक्ष—स्नातकोत्तर हिन्दी विभाग, विक्रम विश्वविद्यालय, उज्जैन (म० प्र०)

१—आलेख्य विशेष इव गजवृषभयोर्द्वयोः प्रतिभासम्।
एकस्मिन्नेवार्थे शिवशक्तिविभागकल्पनां कुर्मः॥
महार्थमञ्जरी परिमल

तरफ से देखने पर वृषभ की भाँति दिखाई पड़ता है। यहाँ जैसे दृष्टिभेद से चित्रगत द्वयात्मकता के बावजूद वस्तुतः अद्वय स्थिति है—ठीक वही बात प्रकाश एवं विमर्श की अद्वयात्मकता में भी है। यहाँ एकान्ततः द्वैत का निषेध भी नहीं है और द्वैत की स्थिति भी नहीं है। उसमें किसी भी प्रकार का अवच्छेद न होने से और साथ ही उसके सर्वात्मक होने से—वह सब कुछ है और वह हर प्रकार की सीमा से परे है। वह सबको आत्मसात् करता हुआ भी सबसे परे है। वह विश्वात्मक भी है और विश्वोत्तीर्ण भी—इसीलिए वह 'पूर्ण' है। उसमें से न कुछ बाहर जाता है और न उसमें कुछ बाहर से आता है—दूसरी ओर बाहर जाकर भी न वह रिक्त बनता है और न भीतर आने देकर वह सातिशय होता है। इसलिए वह सदा सर्वदा एकरस या समरस है।

शांकर अद्वैत में समस्त द्वैतों या भेदों का अभाव है। वहाँ कोई 'विशेष' नहीं, कोई भेद - सजातीय, विजातीय, विगत नहीं, इसीलिए वह 'निर्विशेष' है। वह सब तरफ से सत् चित् एवं आनन्दमय है। सत्, चित् एवं आनन्द नामतः भिन्न होते हुए भी स्वरूपतः भिन्न नहीं हैं। इसीलिए ये विशेषण नहीं, लक्षण हैं—क्योंकि वह निर्विशेष है। लगता है कि शांकर अद्वैत को द्वैत से भीति है, आगमिक अद्वयवाद को नहीं। इसीलिए जहाँ शांकर अद्वयवाद निवृत्तिमूलक है, वहाँ आगमिक अद्वय सबको कुक्षिसात् करने वाला—एकत्र त्याग है, अपरत्र ग्रहण।

(ख) इस प्रकार आगमिक 'अद्वय' जहाँ स्वाभाविक (पंच) कृत्यकारी है, वहाँ शांकर ब्रह्म या अद्वैत औपाधिक कर्त्ता है-–फलतः जहाँ पहले का 'कर्तृत्व' उसके स्वातंत्र्यमय स्वभाव का विलास होने से स्वरूपलक्षण भी कहा जा सकता है वहाँ शांकर ब्रह्म का 'कर्तृत्व' तटस्थ लक्षण माना जाता है। आगमिक अद्वय 'विमर्श' युक्त है, शांकर ब्रह्म 'विमर्शहीन' है। इसीलिए आगमिक शांकर ब्रह्मवाद को शांत ब्रह्मवाद भी कहते हैं। आगमिक अद्वय में 'ज्ञान' और 'क्रिया' समरस हैं—शांकर ब्रह्म में 'क्रिया' नहीं है और है तो औपाधिक या आगन्तुक। इसलिए शांकरी 'क्रिया' या कर्तृता से आगमिक 'क्रिया' भिन्न भी है। आगमिक 'क्रिया' ज्ञानात्मक ही है—क्योंकि आगमिक अद्वय की स्वातंत्र्यमूलक क्रिया ज्ञानस्वरूप ही है।

(ग) आगमिक अद्वय की भाँति शांकर अद्वैत भी यद्यपि शक्ति के सहारे ही विश्वात्मक परिणति लेता है—तथापि दोनों की 'शक्ति' सम्बन्धी धारणा बिल्कुल भिन्न है। आगमिकों की 'शक्ति' चिन्मयी तथा परतत्त्व से अभिन्न है, जब कि शांकर शक्ति जड़ात्मिका फलतः ब्रह्माश्रित होती हुई भी ब्रह्माभिन्न नहीं है। ब्रह्म से अभिन्न होना तो दूर, ब्रह्मबोध से वह सदा-सदा के लिए निवृत्त भी हो जाती है। उसे न तो एकान्ततः त्रिकालावाधित होने के कारण 'सत्' ही कहा जाता है और न तो प्रतीतिसिद्ध होने से एकान्ततः मिथ्या ही कहा जाता है—इसीलिए उसकी पारिभाषिक संज्ञा है—'अनिर्वचनीया'। समस्त व्यावहारिक एवं प्रातिभासिक सत्ताएँ इसी अनिर्वचनीया 'माया' की परिणति हैं--जो ब्रह्मबोध से निवृत्त हो जाती

हैं और परमार्थतः सर्वाधिष्ठानभूत ब्रह्ममयी सत्ता ही त्रिकालाबाधित सत्य है। वेदांतियों के आवरण एवं विक्षेपमयी माया की भाँति आगमिकों की चितिशक्ति भी स्वरूप तिरोधानपूर्वक विकल्प सृष्टि करती है—तथापि यह सब उनकी भाँति औपाधिक नहीं, स्वाभाविक हैं—'स्वातंत्र्य' का विलास है।

(घ) "स्वतंत्रा-विश्वसिद्धि-हेतुः" चिति शक्ति का 'स्वातंत्र्य' ही ब्रह्मवाद से ईश्वराद्वयवाद का बड़ा स्पष्ट भेदक तत्त्व है। शांकर अद्वैत में सृष्टि या विश्व के प्राकट्य का कोई संतोषकर निमित्त नहीं मिल पाता। इसलिए शांकर अद्वयवाद में माया को अनादि कहकर छोड़ दिया जाता है। माया को ही नहीं—

जीव ईशो विशुद्धाचित् तथा जीवेशयोर्भिदा।
अविद्यातच्चितोर्योगः षडस्माकमनादयः॥

जीव, ईश, विशुद्धचित्, जीव और ईश्वर का भेद, अविद्या और उसका चित् के साथ योग—ये छः बातें शाङ्कर वेदान्तियों के यहाँ अनादि हैं—फलतः ये अपने उद्भव में अचिन्त्य और अतर्क्य हैं। यह ठीक है कि शांकर वेदान्त में यह कहा गया है कि सर्ग के आदि काल में परमेश्वर सृज्यमान प्रपञ्च वैचित्र्य के निमित्तरूप में प्राणियों के कर्म को सहकारी रूप में लेकर अपरिमित एवं अनिरूपित शक्तियों से युक्त माया के साचिव्य से नामरूपात्मक निखिल प्रपंच को पहले बुद्धि में आकलित करते हैं—तत्पश्चात् उनका संकल्प होता है और सृष्टि का आरम्भ हो जाता है—तथापि इस विवेचन से यही सिद्ध हुआ कि परमेश्वर सृष्टि कर्म में अन्य निरपेक्ष नहीं, वरन् अन्य सापेक्ष हैं। अन्य सापेक्षता ईश्वर के ऐश्वर्य का विघातक है—फिर यह ऐश्वर्य और कर्तृत्व आगन्तुक और औपाधिक भी तो है। आगमिक ईश्वराद्वयवाद में ईश्वर का ऐश्वर्य और कर्तृत्व उसकी स्वाभाविक विशेषता है। वह विश्ववैचित्र्य के अवभासन में अन्य-निरपेक्ष है—स्वतंत्र है। वह अपनी ही स्वातंत्र्यात्मा विमर्श शक्ति से केवल लीला के लिए विश्वावभासन करता है—आत्माराम होने के कारण उसमें कोई स्पृहा नहीं है। इसीलिए यहाँ किसी अभावमूलक प्रयोजन की भी बात नहीं की जा सकती। "स्वेच्छया स्वभित्तौ विश्वमुन्मीलयति"—के अनुसार आगमिक अद्वय मायूराण्डरसन्यायेन 'विमर्शगत' अव्यक्त विश्व-वैचित्र्य को अपने में प्रतिबिंबित करता है। यह परमेश्वर का स्वातंत्र्य ही है जिसके कारण वह संकुचित होकर एक तरफ जीवभाव ग्रहण करता है और दूसरी ओर विश्वावभास करता है। वास्तव में विचार किया जाय तो यही तर्कसंगत जान पड़ेगा कि जिस शक्ति से परमेश्वर अपने को आवृत करता है—वह उसकी अपनी ही है, फलतः उससे अभिन्न है। मेघखंड जिस सूर्य को ढँकता है—वह सूर्यरश्मियों से ही प्रसूत है, और वह सूर्य को आवृत करके भी वस्तुतः आवृत नहीं कर पाता है—अन्यथा प्रकाशमय सूर्य के सर्वथा तिरोहित हो जाने से स्वयं आवरक है या नहीं—इसका पता कैसे चलेगा ? शांकर अद्वैत भी अपनी शक्ति-माया से अपने स्वरूप को तिरोहित करता है और आगमिक अद्वय भी—पर जहाँ शांकर अद्वय उस आवरक शक्ति

को 'जड़ात्मिका', 'अनिर्वचनीय' अनादि भावरूप, एवं 'विद्यानिवर्त्य' कहता है वहाँ आगमिक अद्वयवादी उसी शक्ति को संकोच प्रसारात्मिका, चिन्मयी, अनादि, अनन्त तथा विमर्शात्मक कहते हैं। जहाँ शांकर अद्वैतवादी मानते हैं कि सोपाधिक ब्रह्मसृष्टि के लिए महासुप्तिस्वरूपिणी माया में प्रसुप्त प्राणियों के विचित्रकर्म और उपाधिभूत माया को सान्निव्य ग्रहण करता है वहाँ आगमिक अद्वयवादियों का विचार है कि परतत्त्व स्वरूपभूता स्वातंत्र्यमयी विमर्शात्मिका शक्ति से ही अन्य निरपेक्ष रहकर लीलार्थ दृष्टि का भासन या वहिःप्रकाश करता है। जहाँ आगमिक उस शक्ति को परतत्त्वाश्रित एक मत से स्वीकार करते हैं वहाँ शांकरमतानुयायियों में से विवरण प्रस्थानवाले तो उस शक्ति का आश्रय ब्रह्म को मानते हैं, पर भामती प्रस्थानवाले जीव को आश्रय और ब्रह्म को उसका विषय स्वीकार करते हैं।

(ङ) आगमिक परतत्त्व जिस सरणि से अवरोहण करता है—अर्थात् जीवभाव ग्रहण और विश्वावभास करता है शांकर अद्वैत उससे भिन्न सरणि का है। शांकर अद्वैत में महामाया या चिन्मयी शक्ति अव्यक्त है। अतः यहाँ मायावाले स्तर से अवरोहणक्रम अन्यसापेक्ष होकर होता है जबकि आगमिक अद्वयतत्त्व स्वेच्छया लीलार्थ मायोत्तर महामाया स्तर से अवरोहण करता है। सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ में शिव जब शक्ति की ओर अभिमुख होता है तो वहाँ द्विदलभाव आभासित होने लगता है और इसी प्रकार शक्ति गर्भस्थ विश्व भी उससे पृथक् होने लगता है। अथवा यों भी कह सकते हैं कि वही चिन्मयी शक्ति सृष्टि काल में भेद शक्ति के रूप में जब आत्मसंकोच या आत्मगोपन करती है—तब पूर्णाहं का संकोच और इदं भाव का प्रकाश साथ ही होता है—ग्राहक और ग्राह्य का उदय होता है। यहीं से आत्मभाव में अनात्मभाव का उदय है—फिर भी आश्रय अनात्मभाव का आत्मभाव ही रहता है। ज्यों-ज्यों यह अनात्मभाव प्रगाढ़ होता जाता है—आत्मभाव क्षीण पड़ता जाता है और अंततः आत्मभाव अनात्मभाव में डूब जाता है। यहीं से महामाया राज्य की समाप्ति और माया राज्य का उदय होता है—जहाँ से अनात्मा में निमग्न अहंभाव मायिक सर्ग में अपने को व्यक्त करता है—शांकर अद्वैत की सृष्टि प्रक्रिया में मायोत्तर क्रम-हीन अवरोहण की प्रक्रिया अव्यक्त है वहाँ महामाया का शुद्ध अध्वा नहीं है, जहाँ क्रियाशक्ति का विकास होता है। यही कारण है कि जिस प्रकार आगमिक अद्वयवाद में अशुद्धाध्वा का अतिक्रमण कर पूर्णज्ञान शक्ति का उदय करके भी शुद्धाध्वा में क्रिया शक्ति का भी विकास होता है और अंततः ज्ञान एवं क्रिया का सामरस्य हो जाता है, स्वरूप विश्रान्ति हो जाती है, पूर्णाहंभाव की स्थिति आ जाती है। वह बात शांकर अद्वैतवाद में नहीं है। वहाँ स्वरूपोपलब्धि का अर्थ पूर्णज्ञानोदय तो है। विद्यात्मिका वृत्ति अविद्या की निवृत्तिपूर्वक स्वतः कतकरजोन्यायेन शांत होकर स्वरूपभूत चित् या ज्ञान को निरावृत्त कर देती है। पर 'विमर्श' का अनुद्रय होने से 'पूर्णता' की उपलब्धि नहीं हो पाती। ब्रह्म 'विमर्श' हीन ही रह जाता है। यही विमर्शात्मा निजा शक्ति कुण्डलिनी शक्ति है जिसके जागरण का कोई प्रसंग ही शांकर अद्वैतवाद में संभव नहीं है। निष्कर्ष यह है कि

जिस प्रकार अवरोहण में कतिपय स्तरों के बाद की प्रक्रिया शांकर अद्वैतवाद में आरम्भ होती है, उसी प्रकार आरोहण में भी कुछ पहले ही रुक भी जाती है—माया स्तर से अवरोहण की प्रक्रिया बताई जाती है और क्रिया शक्ति के विकास से पूर्व ही आरोहण प्रक्रिया भी रह जाती है। इसीलिए शांकर अद्वैतवाद की सारी साधना जहाँ 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मि' की अखंडाकार विद्यात्मिका वृत्ति से अविद्यात्मिका (माया) वृत्ति की निवृत्ति में ही पर्यवसित हो जाती है और निरावृत विमर्शहीन चित् प्रकाशित हो जाता है, वहाँ आगमिक साधना उसके बाद भी चलती रहती है और विमर्शशक्ति के पूर्ण विकास के साथ समाप्त होती है। यहीं एक अंतर आरोहण और अवरोहण वेला में और है। आगमिक महामाया राज्य की गति से शांकर स्तर के माया-राज्य की गति भी ठीक विपरीत है। अवरोहण प्रक्रिया में महामाया राज्य के अन्तर्गत जागरण से स्वप्न के भीतर सुपुप्ति की ओर है। पर यह जागरण सूक्ष्म से स्थूल की ओर बढ़ता है। प्रत्यावर्तन वेला में इसी प्रकार उलटा क्रम है।

(च) शांकर अद्वैत जड़ जगत की निवृत्तिपूर्वक स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठ होता है—आगमिक अद्वय अचिदंश का भी चिन्मयीकरण करता हुआ सब कुछ के साथ स्वरूप प्रतिष्ठ होता है। यही कारण है कि शांकर अद्वैतवादी के जीवन्मुक्त की अनुभूति से आगमिक अद्वयवादी के जीवन्मुक्त की अनुभूति में भी अंतर होता है। जहाँ पहला संसार को अपनी मायात्मिका प्रकृति में दुःखमय स्वीकार करता है—फलतः उसकी निवृत्ति ही आनन्दमय स्वरूपोपलब्धि के लिए अनिवार्य समझता है वहाँ दूसरा विश्व को अपनी प्रकृति में आनन्दमय मानता है और उसकी दुःखात्मक प्रतीति का निमित्त संकुचित दृष्टिगत मानता है। फलतः संकोच से मुक्त होता है, पर स्वरूपोपलब्धि में विश्व की निवृत्ति नहीं, गृहीति ही अपनी 'पूर्णता' समझता है। इसीलिए जहाँ पहला वासना-निवृत्ति की बात करता है वहाँ दूसरा वासना के शोधन की बात करता है। पहला यह मानता है कि जीवन्मुक्ति के बाद विश्व की पूर्वानुभूति तत्त्व ज्ञान से वाधित हो जाती है और उसी वाधित की अनुवृत्ति चलती रहती है। उदाहरणार्थ, जब विशेष ढंग से हम कभी अपनी आँखें दबा लेते हैं तो आकाश का एक ही चन्द्र दो दिखाई पड़ता है। उस समय हम यह अच्छी तरह जानते हैं कि चन्द्र दो नहीं है, पर दिखाई दो पड़ते हैं। ठीक इसी प्रकार शांकर अद्वैतवादी जीवन्मुक्त को विश्व का बाध होने पर भी उसकी अनुभूति चलती रहती है—इसे वे लोग वाधितानुवृत्ति के नाम से कहते हैं। दूसरा यह मानता है कि जीवन्मुक्त का व्यष्टि देह समष्टि देह हो जाता है। वह समस्त विश्व को स्वांगवत् देखता है और दृष्टि के निर्मल हो जाने से अन्यथा दृष्ट विश्व यथावत् दीखता है—भेद निवृत्त हो जाता है। जहाँ पहला Exclusive है वहाँ दूसरा All-embracing है। जहाँ पहला जीवन्मुक्त समाधि और व्युत्थान में भिन्न अनुभूति करता है, वहाँ दूसरा दोनों में एक सा रहता है। व्युत्थान में जगत् को स्वांगरूप और आत्मक्रीडा या आत्मशक्ति के विलास रूप में देखता है और समाधि में भी

अपने रूप का ही अनुभव करता है। अभिप्राय यह है कि उसकी योगदशा कभी भी भग्न नहीं होती। यह आगमिक ईश्वराद्वयवाद की ही विशेषता है।

(छ) इसी प्रकार दोनों का एक पारस्परिक वैशिष्ट्य या अंतर यह भी है कि आगमिक ईश्वराद्वयवाद न तो शुष्क ज्ञान मार्ग ही है और न ज्ञानहीन भक्तिमार्ग ही— इसमें दोनों का सामञ्जस्य है। शांकर अद्वैतवाद के अनुसार भक्ति भेद की ही भूमिका पर संभव है। अतः अभेदज्ञान या स्वरूप प्रतिष्ठ होने पर केवल ज्ञान की ही सर्वातिशायी स्थिति संभव है, वहाँ की पार्यन्तिक दशा में भक्ति का स्थान नहीं है, पर आगमिक अद्वयवाद में ज्ञान के बाद भी भक्ति की स्थिति कही गई है। वस्तुतः यहाँ चिदंश शिव एवं आनन्दांश शक्ति के समरस रूप की स्थिति के कारण ज्ञान और भक्ति का सामञ्जस्य संभव है, शांकर अद्वैतवाद में नहीं। यद्यपि भक्तिमात्र के लिए द्वैत की अपेक्षा है, पर ज्ञानोत्तराभक्ति के लिए अपेक्षित द्वैत कल्पित है। यह साध्य भक्ति है और इस पराभक्ति के फलस्वरूप अद्वैत में भी कल्पित द्वैत की तरंगें उठती रहती हैं, जिससे भक्ति की स्थिति संभव हो जाती है। फलतः यहाँ ज्ञान और भक्ति का पार्थक्य समाप्त हो जाता है—"ज्ञानहिं भगतिहि नहि कछु अंतर" की स्थिति आ जाती है।

इस प्रकार दोनों ही वादों में सूक्ष्म विचार के फलस्वरूप अनेकविध अंतर स्पष्ट किये जा सकते हैं। हाँ, एक तथ्य इस प्रसंग में अवश्य ध्येय है कि जब हम अंतर दिखाने की दिशा में वैचारिक कदम बढ़ाते हैं तो वह विश्लेषणात्मक दिशा ही कही जायगी। संश्लेष की दृष्टि से इन अंतरों को भूमिका, भेद से समझाया जा सकता है और विश्लेष की दृष्टि से केवल पार्थक्य या अंतर कहा जा सकता है। शंकराचार्य की वैयक्तिक साधना और तत्संबद्ध वाङ्मय को देखा जाय तो आगमिक अद्वयवादी विशेषताएँ भी उनमें उपलब्ध होंगी, पर जहाँ तक उनका दार्शनिक पक्ष है संश्लेषतः भूमिका-भेद की दृष्टि से या विश्लेषतः स्पष्ट रूप से इन भेदक तत्त्वों की ओर संकेत किया जा सकता है।

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ब्रह्मसूत्रों का बादरायणैककर्तृकत्व

डा० रामकृष्ण आचार्य*

१—ब्रह्मसूत्रकर्तृत्व के विषय में प्रचलित विवाद—यह तथ्य सुविदित है कि ब्रह्मसूत्रकर्तृत्व के विषय में पर्याप्त विवाद प्रचलित है। परम्परागत मान्यता के अनुसार वही पराशरपुत्रवेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन ब्रह्मसूत्रकार माने जाते हैं जिनके विषय में यह प्रसिद्धि है कि उन्होंने वेदों का व्यसन अर्थात् ऋगादि मन्त्रों का ऋग्वेद आदि के रूप में पृथक्-पृथक् संकलन तथा महाभारत का प्रणयन किया। ब्रह्मसूत्र-भाष्यकारों एवं उनके व्याख्याकारों में से दो-एक को छोड़कर प्रायः सभी ने वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन को ही ब्रह्मसूत्रों का रचयिता माना है।[१] इसके अतिरिक्त, आचार्य मध्व ने जो अपने ब्रह्मसूत्र-भाष्य में स्कन्द-पुराण के नाम से एक ऐसा वचन उद्धृत किया है जिसमें पराशरपुत्र कृष्ण (कृष्णद्वैपायन) को ब्रह्मसूत्र-प्रणेता कहा गया है,[२] उससे सूचित होता है कि सम्भवतः पुराण भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों को पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन की कृति मानने के पक्ष में हैं। साथ ही, स्वामी दयानन्द ने भी इसी परम्परागत मान्यता का अनुगमन किया है।[३] इस परम्परागत मान्यता के सम्बन्ध में इतना और कह देना आवश्यक है कि इसके अनुसार सभी ब्रह्मसूत्रों को अपने वर्तमान रूप में एक ही कर्त्ता—वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन—की कृति माना जाता है और इन्हीं का एक दूसरा नाम "बादरायण" बताया जाता है।

यद्यपि कुछ आधुनिक विद्वान् भी उक्त परम्परागत मान्यता का ही समर्थन करते हैं,[४] किन्तु आधुनिक विद्वज्जगत् का बहुमत इस मान्यता को अविकल रूप में स्वीकार

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* अध्यक्ष—संस्कृत-विभाग, राजा बलवन्तसिंह कालेज, आगरा।

१. वाचस्पति मिश्र—भामती, उपोद्घात, श्लोक ५; आचार्य रामानुज—श्रीभाष्य, मंगलाचरण, श्लोक २; श्रीनिवासाचार्य—निम्बार्कभाष्य-वेदान्तकौस्तुभव्याख्या सू० १।१।१; आचार्य मध्व—ब्रह्मसूत्रमध्वभाष्य, सू० १।१।१, उपोद्घात, आचार्य वल्लभ—अणुभाष्य, सू० २।३।२९।

२. "अवतीर्णो महायोगी सत्यवत्यां पराशरात्।......कृष्णो द्वादशधा चैव पुनस्तस्यार्थवित्तये। चकार ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तेषां सूत्रत्वमञ्जसा।" (स्कन्दपुराण के नाम से ब्रह्मसूत्र-मध्वभाष्य के उपोद्घात में उद्धृत)।

३. ऋगवेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, पृष्ठ ३८, ४९, २१९, ३१४।

४. श्रीभगवद्दत्त—वैदिक कोष, प्रथम भाग, भूमिका, पृ० २५ तथा उसमें

करने के लिए प्रस्तुत नहीं है। विभिन्न विद्वानों ने इस मान्यता के विपरीत जो विभिन्न मत प्रस्तुत किए हैं, उन्हें संक्षेप में निम्न रूप से प्रदर्शित किया जा सकता है—

१—वर्तमान सभी ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति नहीं है, अपितु विभिन्न आचार्यों ने इनकी रचना में समय-समय पर योग दिया है।[1]

२—आचार्य बादरायण ने ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना की है, किन्तु वे पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास कृष्णाद्वैपायन से भिन्न व्यक्ति हैं।[2]

उक्त प्रकार से परम्परागत मान्यता और अन्य आधुनिक मान्यताओं के बीच में परस्पर विवाद के निम्न विषय हो जाते हैं :—

१—वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं या अनेक कर्त्ताओं की ?

२—यदि ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं तो वह कर्त्ता कौन है—आचार्य बादरायण या अन्य कोई ?

३—यदि ब्रह्मसूत्रप्रणेता आचार्य बादरायण हैं, तो वे वेदव्यास कृष्णाद्वैपायन से अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं या भिन्न ?

प्रस्तुत लेख में इनमें से प्रथम दो के विषय में ही कुछ प्रकाश डालने का प्रयास किया जावेगा।

२—**ब्रह्मसूत्रों का एककर्तृत्व**—ब्रह्मसूत्र विभिन्न कर्त्ताओं की कृति हैं, इस मत के प्रस्ताव करने वाले प्रमुखतः प्रोफेसर डाउसन डा० और बैलवलकर हैं। जहाँ तक ज्ञात है, सर्वप्रथम डाउसन का इस तथ्य की ओर ध्यान गया कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों (सं० १।१।१३-१।३।४४) में भिन्न-भिन्न उपनिषदों के वाक्यों का व्यवधान होने पर भी प्रत्येक उपनिषद् के वाक्यों को उसी क्रम से मीमांसा के लिए लिया गया है, जिस क्रम से वे अपने-अपने आकर उपनिषदों में प्राप्त होते हैं और भिन्न-भिन्न उपनिषदों के वाक्य परस्पर इस प्रकार संग्रथित हैं कि संग्रथन का कारण जहाँ-तहाँ स्पष्ट है।[3]

निर्दिष्ट पं० अभयकुमार गुह का मत; स्वामी वीरेश्वरानन्द—ब्रह्मसूत्र, प्रस्तावना, पृ० ८।

१. प्रो० डाउसन—सिस्टम आफ दी वेदान्त, पृ० १२२; दी फिलासफी आफ उपनिषदस्, पृ० २८-२९। डा० बेलवलकर—मल्टीपिल आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्त सूत्राज् (इंडियन फिलासाफीकल रिव्यू, वाल्यूम २, १९१८-१९, पृ० १४१-१५३)।

२. डा० एन० के० दत्ता—दी वेदान्त, पृ० ७०; श्री सी० वी० वैद्य (दी भगवद्गीता, ए फ्रेश एप्रोच [डा० पी० एम० मोदी], पृ० ५१६-१७ में उद्धृत इनका मत)।

३. यद्यपि इस तथ्य का उल्लेख डा० बेलवलकर ने भी अपने एक लेख "मल्टीपिल् आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्तसूत्रास्" में किया है, किन्तु इससे पूर्व ही प्रो० डाउसन अपने "सिस्टम आफ दी वेदान्त" आदि ग्रन्थों में इसे प्रकाशित कर चुके थे; अतः इसके सर्वप्रथम प्रकाशन का श्रेय प्रो० डाउसन को ही है।

ब्रह्मसूत्रों के समन्वयाध्याय में मीमांस्य वाक्यों के उक्त क्रम और साथ ही उक्त सूत्रों (१।१।१३-१।३।४४) में छान्दोग्योपनिषद् के सर्वाधिक वाक्यों की मीमांसा देखकर उन्होने यह संकेत प्राप्त किया कि उक्त उपनिषद् पर आधारित एक मौलिक सूत्र-ग्रन्थ ब्रह्मसूत्रकार को प्राप्त था, उसमें ही सम्भवत: बाद में अन्य उपनिषदों के वाक्यों को बीच-बीच में मीमांस्य रूप में जोड़ दिया गया है और उनके जोड़ने के समय साथ ही यह ध्यान रक्खा गया है कि मौलिक क्रम सुरक्षित रहे।[1]

प्रो० डाउसन द्वारा प्राप्त उक्त संकेत की तथ्यप्रतिकूलता अन्यत्र विस्तार के साथ प्रदर्शित की जा चुकी है,[2] अत: उस पर यहाँ पुन: विचार करने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत नहीं होती। यहाँ इतना कहना पर्याप्त है कि जहाँ तक उक्त प्रोफेसर महोदय के द्वारा प्रदर्शित ब्रह्मसूत्रों के समन्वयाध्याय में मीमांस्य उपनिषद् वाक्यों के उक्त क्रम का सम्बन्ध है, वह ठीक है; किन्तु मीमांसा के लिए परिगृहीत छान्दोग्योपनिषद् के वाक्यों की सर्वाधिक संख्या देखकर उन्होंने जो यह संकेत प्राप्त किया है कि उक्त उपनिषद् पर आधारित एक मोलिक सूत्र-ग्रन्थ ब्रह्मसूत्रकार को प्राप्त था, उसमें ही उन्होंने संभवत: बाद में अन्य उपनिषदों के वाक्यों की मीमांसा को बीच-बीच में जोड़ दिया है, वह तथ्यानुकूल प्रतीत नहीं होता। जैसा कि समन्वयपरक सूत्रों में गृहीत उपनिषदों को देखने से स्पष्ट है, ब्रह्मसूत्रकार ने उनके प्राय: सभी मीमांसनीय प्रकरणों की मीमांसा निरवशेष रूप से प्रस्तुत कर दी है। उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया कि छान्दोग्य के तो सभी प्रकरण ले लिए हों और अन्य उपनिषदों के मीमांसनीय प्रकरणों को छोड़ दिया हो, किन्तु जब बृहदारण्यक को छोड़कर अन्य कठ, प्रश्न, मुण्डक और तैत्तिरीय आदि लघुकाय उपनिषदों में छान्दोग्य के बराबर ब्रह्मपरक प्रकरण हैं ही नहीं, तो सूत्रों में उनके मीमांस्य वाक्यों की संख्या छान्दोग्य के वाक्यों के समान कैसे हो सकती है? एकमात्र बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् ही ऐसा है, जो परिमाण में छान्दोग्य के समान है, किन्तु उक्त उपनिषद् को देखने से स्पष्ट है कि उसके भी किसी मीमांसनीय ब्रह्मपरक प्रकरण को अमीमांसित नहीं छोड़ा गया है। ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक प्रकरणों की दृष्टि से बृहदारण्यक के केवल तृतीय एवं चतुर्थ अध्याय ही प्रमुख हैं और ब्रह्मसूत्रों में इन दोनों अध्यायों के सभी मीमांसनीय प्रकरणों की मीमांसा प्रत्यक्षत: कर दी गई है[3] जिसमें कि उसका सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक प्रतिपाद्य आ जाता है। उसके अन्य अध्यायों में पहले तो ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक प्रकरण ही कम हैं, और जो हैं भी, वे या तो उसके मीमांसित प्रकरणों में ही आ जाते हैं या अन्य उपनिषदों के अपेक्षाकृत अधिक विस्तृत और साथ ही सदृश प्रकरणों की मीमांसा के साथ ही

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१. प्रो० डाउसन—फिलासाफी आफ दी उपनिषदस्, पृ० २८, २९।

२. ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वैष्णव भाष्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन, पृ० १३७-१४० (डा० रामकृष्ण आचार्य)

३. ब्रह्मसूत्र १।२।१८-२०; १।३।१०-१२; १।४।११-१३; १।४।१९-२२.

मीमांसित हो जाते हैं। जहाँ तक छान्दोग्य के क्रम को अपनाने का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें मीमांस्य वाक्यों की अधिकता होने के कारण उसके क्रम को मुख्य रूप से अपनाया गया है और उसके वाक्यों के प्रतिपाद्यविषय के प्रसंग से अन्य उपनिषदों के वाक्यों की मीमांसा कर दी गई है।

अस्तु ! इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि समन्वय-सूत्रों में प्रस्तुत मीमांसा मौलिक रूप से एक ही सूत्रकार के द्वारा की गई है, उसमें किसी संयोजन या परिवर्धन का संकेत प्राप्त नहीं होता और फलतः प्रो० डाउसन द्वारा प्राप्त यह संकेत कि पूर्वप्राप्त मौलिक सूत्रग्रन्थ में सूत्रकार ने बाद में कुछ संयोजन किया, तथ्यसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता।

डा० बेलवलकर ने प्रो० डाउसन द्वारा प्राप्त उक्त तथ्य के अतिरिक्त अन्य तथ्यों के आधार पर भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों के बहुकर्तृकत्व की संभावना की है, अतः उन पर भी विचार करना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। उन्होंने ब्रह्मसूत्रों के तर्कपाद में प्रस्तुत परमत-निराकरण को देखते हुए यह विचार प्रकट किया है कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों के समान एक मीमांसा-ग्रन्थ से यही संभावना की जा सकती है कि उसमें मौलिक रूप से प्रत्यक्ष-विधानात्मक पद्धति पर श्रुतियों की मीमांसा की गई होगी और इसी पद्धति पर स्वसिद्धान्त-स्थापन किया गया होगा और परमत-निराकरण संभवतः ब्रह्मसूत्रों की प्रवृत्ति या उनके मौलिक उद्देश्य के अनूकूल नहीं। इस प्रकार उन्होंने अपना झुकाव यह मानने की ओर प्रदर्शित किया है कि तर्कपादीय परमत-निराकरण ब्रह्मसूत्रों का मौलिक भाग नहीं, अपितु बाद में जोड़ा हुआ भाग है।[१]

उक्त तथ्य के आधार पर डा० बेलवलकर द्वारा व्यक्त उक्त सम्भावना का भी अनौचित्य अन्यत्र प्रदर्शित किया जा चुका है।[२] यहाँ इतना कहना पर्याप्त होगा कि यह संभावना वस्तुस्थिति के अनुकूल नहीं, क्योंकि, जैसा कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों को देखने से स्पष्ट है, उनकी मौलिक प्रवृत्ति ही मुख्यतया निराकरणात्मक है। चाहे उनके द्वारा प्रस्तुत श्रुतिमीमांसा पर ध्यान दिया जावे और चाहे उनके द्वारा किए हुए स्वसिद्धान्त-स्थापन पर, सर्वत्र सूत्रों में निराकरणात्मक प्रवृत्ति का ही दर्शन होता है और फलतः तर्कपादीय परमतनिराकरण भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों की प्रवृत्ति या मौलिक उद्देश्य के प्रतिकूल नहीं, अपितु सर्वथा अनुकूल है।

डा० बेलवलकर ने ब्रह्मसूत्रों के बहुकर्तृकत्व की संभावना की पुष्टि में दो अन्य आधार प्रस्तुत किए हैं। उनमें एक तो यह है कि इन सूत्रों के द्वितीय अध्याय के तृतीय पाद के प्रारम्भ में सू० २।३।१४ तक भूतों की सृष्टि एवं प्रलय पर विचार

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१. डा० बेलवलकर—ब्रह्मसूत्रास् आफ बादरायण (सू० २।२।१) तथा उनका लेख—'आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्त-सूत्रास् (इंडियन फिलासाफीकल रिव्यू, वाल्यूम २, १९१८-१९, पृ० १४१-१५३)।

२. ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वैष्णव भाष्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन, पृष्ठ ७-८ (डा० रामकृष्ण आचार्य)।

कर परवर्ती सूत्र 'अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी०' (२।३।१५) में बुद्धि और मन की सृष्टि का विषय उठाया गया है जिससे यह संभावना होने लगती है कि अब आगे सूत्रकार इन्द्रियों की सृष्टि आदि के विषय पर विचार करेंगे, किन्तु ऐसा न होकर पाद की समाप्ति तक जीवस्वरूपनिरूपण का विषय चलता है और फिर चतुर्थ पाद का प्रारम्भ 'तथा प्राणाः' (सू० २।४।१) के रूप में इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति के विषय के प्रस्तावन के साथ होता है, जो कि उक्त सूत्र के 'तथा' शब्द को देखते हुए कुछ उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता, क्योंकि इस शब्द के द्वारा अव्यवहित रूप से पूर्व में प्रतिपादित जीवनित्यत्व का स्वभावतः अतिदेश मानने के कारण उक्त सूत्र के द्वारा इन्द्रियनित्यत्व का प्रतिपादन होगा जो कि सूत्रकार के सिद्धान्त के अनुकूल प्रतीत नहीं होता और इसीलिये प्रायः सभी प्रमुख भाष्यकारों को 'तथा' शब्द के द्वारा अव्यवहित रूप से पूर्व में प्रतिपादित जीव-नित्यत्व के साथ अतिदेश न मान कर उससे भी पूर्व में व्यवहित रूप से प्रतिपादित महाभूतों की उत्पत्ति के साथ अतिदेश मानना पड़ा है, जो कि अस्वाभाविक है। इस तथ्य के आधार पर डा० वेलवलकर ने यह संभावना प्रकट की है कि 'अन्तरा-विज्ञानमनसी०' (सू० २।३।१५) और 'तथा प्राणाः' (सू० २।४।१) के बीच के सूत्रों (२।३।१६-५३) में जो जीवस्वरूप-निरूपण प्राप्त होता है वह ब्रह्मसूत्रों का मौलिक भाग न होकर बाद में मिलाया हुआ भाग है।[१]

डॉ० बेलवलकर की उक्त संभावना के प्रसंग में सर्वप्रथम विचारणीय बात यह है कि जब सूत्रकार ने आकाश आदि भूतों और इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति पर विचार किया है, तो क्या वे जीव के सम्बन्ध में भी यह विचार नहीं कर सकते कि उसकी भी उत्पत्ति होती है या नहीं और उसका स्वरूप एवं परिमाण आदि क्या है ? कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि जीव की उत्पत्ति और उसके स्वरूप पर विचार करना एक ऐसा प्रमुख विषय है कि जिसकी उपेक्षा सूत्रकार कथमपि कर ही नहीं सकते थे। फलतः यह अनिवार्यतः मानना होगा कि भूतों और इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति पर विचार करनेवाले सूत्रकार ने जीव की उत्पत्ति पर भी विचार किया है। जहाँ तक इस बात का सम्बन्ध है कि 'अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी०' (सू० २।३।१५) के द्वारा बुद्धि और मन की सृष्टि का विषय उठाने के बाद प्रसंगप्राप्त इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति की चर्चा न कर जीवोत्पत्ति का विषय प्रस्तुत कर दिया गया है और उसके निरूपण के बाद 'तथा प्राणाः' (सू० २।४।१) के द्वारा जो इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति का विषय प्रस्तुत किया गया है, उसका सम्बन्ध पूर्वातिदेशक 'तथा' शब्द के आधार पर पूर्वप्रतिपादित जीव-नित्यत्व-प्रतिपादन के साथ होना चाहिए जो कि नहीं हो पाता और अस्वाभाविक रूप से उसका सम्बन्ध व्यवहित भूतोत्पत्ति-प्रतिपादन के साथ मानना पड़ता है, तो इस विषय में इतना कहना पर्याप्त है कि यतः पूर्वोक्त प्रकार से सूत्रकार जीवस्वरूपनिरूपण को तो छोड़ ही नहीं सकते, अतः यदि उक्त सूत्रों (२।३।१४ एवं २।४।१) का उक्तरूप

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१. मल्टीपिल् आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्त-सूत्रास्।

प्रतिपाद्य ही माना जाता है तो उससे अधिक से अधिक इतना ही सिद्ध हो सकता है कि सूत्रकार ने जीव-स्वरूप-निरूपण-परक सूत्रों की रचना तो की है, किन्तु बाद में संभवतः किसी ने उनका मौलिक क्रम या स्थान बदल दिया है। किन्तु जब इस तथ्य पर ध्यान जाता है कि चाहे तो यह माना जावे कि किसी ने सूत्रकार द्वारा मौलिक रूप से प्रणीत जीवस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्रों का मौलिक स्थान बदल दिया और चाहे यह भी मान लिया जावे कि सूत्रकार के बाद किसी ने इन सूत्रों को स्वयं बनाकर मौलिक सूत्रपाठ में मिला दिया, दोनों ही स्थितियों में यह प्रश्न खड़ा ही रहता है कि सूत्रों के मौलिक क्रम को बदलने वाला या अपने बनाए सूत्रों को सूत्रपाठ में मिलाने वाला क्या यह नहीं समझ सकता था कि जब इन सूत्रों को स्वतन्त्र स्थान दिया जा सकता है तो फिर इन्हें किसी अन्य विषय के प्रस्तावन और समापन के बीच में ही क्यों रक्खा जावे ? केवल सूत्रों के मौलिक स्थान को बदलने से तो किसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति ही नहीं होती थी, जहाँ वे थे, वहीं रह सकते थे, परिशेषतः यदि नवीन रूप से प्रणीत सूत्रों को मिलाना ही था तो यदि 'अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी०' (सू० २।३।१५) में बुद्धि और मन की सृष्टि का विषय प्रस्तुत माना जाता है, तो इसके साथ इन्द्रियों की भी उत्पत्ति के विषय की समाप्ति होने के बाद भी वे मिलाए जा सकते थे, वहाँ मिलाने में क्या बाधा हो सकती थी ? वस्तुतः 'अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी०' (सू० २।३।१५) और 'तथा प्राणाः' (सू० २।४।१) के प्रतिपाद्य को उक्त रूप में पहले से मानकर, उसके आधार पर जीवस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्रों को प्रक्षिप्त संभावित करने की अपेक्षा इनको मौलिक मानकर उक्त दो सूत्रों के ही प्रतिपाद्य को समझने का प्रयत्न करना अधिक उचित होगा। वस्तुतः 'अन्तरा विज्ञानमनसी०' (सू० २।३।१५) के द्वारा बुद्धि और मन की सृष्टि के रूप में किसी नवीन विषय का प्रस्तावन नहीं किया गया है, अपितु, जैसा कि इस सूत्र के 'क्रमेण' और 'इति चेन्नाविशेषात्' अंशों से ही स्पष्ट है, इसके द्वारा अपने पूर्ववर्ती सूत्र 'विपर्ययेण तु क्रमोऽत उपपद्यते च' (२।३।१४) में प्रतिपादित विषय के ही प्रसंग से सृष्टि या प्रलय के क्रम के विषय में शंका उठाकर उसका समाधान मात्र किया गया है और परवर्ती सूत्र (२।३।१६) के द्वारा भी पूर्वप्रस्तुत विषय का ही उपसंहार किया गया है, न कि जीवोत्पत्ति के विषय का प्रस्तावन, जैसा कि कुछ भाष्यकार मानते हैं।[1] इस प्रकार सूत्र २।३।१५ में बुद्धि और मन की सृष्टि के प्रतिपादन का कोई स्वतन्त्र विषय प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया जो कि यह माना जावे कि इसी प्रतिपादन का अंग 'तथा प्राणाः' (सू० २।४।१) है, अपितु इसके विपरीत सू० २।३।१५), जैसा कि इसके स्वरूप से स्पष्ट है, सू० २।४।१ से सम्बद्ध न होकर अपने पूर्ववर्ती सूत्रों के ही प्रतिपादन से सम्बद्ध है और वह प्रतिपाद्य सू० २।३।१६ में पूर्णतया समाप्त हो जाता है और फिर स्वतन्त्र रूप से 'नात्माऽश्रुतेः' (सू० २।३।१७) के द्वारा जीवोत्पत्ति का विषय प्रस्तुत होता है जो कि पाद की समाप्ति तक चलता है। बाद में 'तथा प्राणाः'

१. आचार्य शंकर-ब्रह्मसूत्र-शांकरभाष्य, सू० २।३।१६।

(सू० २।४।१) के द्वारा स्वतन्त्र रूप से इन्द्रियों की उत्पत्ति का विषय प्रस्तुत होता है। अतः सूत्र २।४।१ से अव्यवहित रूप से पूर्व में जीव के नित्यत्व का प्रतिपादन किया गया है, अतः स्पष्ट है कि इस सूत्र के पूर्वातिदेशक 'तथा' शब्द से उसी के साथ अतिदेश करते हुए इसके द्वारा इन्द्रियनित्यत्वप्रतिपादक पूर्वपक्ष को प्रस्तुत किया गया है, और परवर्ती सूत्रों (२।४।२-४) के द्वारा उस पूर्वपक्ष का निराकरण कर इन्द्रियों की भी उत्पत्ति का प्रतिपादन किया गया है।

उक्त प्रकार से स्पष्ट है कि उक्त जीवस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्र (२।३।१६-५३) प्रक्षिप्त न होकर मौलिक सूत्रपाठ के ही सुसम्बद्ध अंग हैं।

डा० बेलवलकर ने उक्त जीवस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्रों के अतिरिक्त, तृतीय अध्याय के द्वितीय पाद के अन्तिम ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्रों (३।२।११-४१) को भी इस आधार पर प्रक्षिप्त सम्भावित किया है कि ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपण समुचित रीति से प्रारम्भ में ही उस स्थान पर होना चाहिए, जहाँ कि ब्रह्म का लक्षण देने का प्रयत्न किया गया है, इसका जीव की स्वप्न एवं सुषुप्ति आदि दशाओं के बाद रहना तार्किक दृष्टि से अत्यन्त आक्षेप के योग्य है और इसलिए संभव है कि जब सूत्रों में उक्त जीव-स्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्र (२।३।१६-५३) जोड़े गए, तभी ये ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणपरक सूत्र (३।२।११-४१) भी जोड़ दिए गए हैं।

डा० बेलवलकर की यह सम्भावना भी उचित प्रतीत नहीं होती। सूत्रकार ने ब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपण प्रथम अध्याय में ही तत्प्रतिपादक उपनिषद्-वाक्यों की मीमांसा के माध्यम से कर दिया है और यहाँ वह विषय मुख्य रूप से नहीं लिया गया, अपितु, जैसा कि इस निरूपण के पूर्ववर्ती जीवदशानिरूपणपरक सूत्रों (३।२।१-१०) और साथ ही इसके प्रस्तावक सूत्र 'न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिंगं सर्वत्र हि' (३।२।११) से स्पष्ट है, इस प्रसंग से आया है कि जिस प्रकार बद्धावस्थ जीव में दोष आ जाते हैं, क्या उसी प्रकार जड़चेतनात्मक जगत् में स्थित परतत्व ब्रह्म में भी दोष आते हैं और इस प्रसंग-प्राप्त आशङ्का का निराकरण करने के लिए ही 'न स्थानतोऽपि०' (सू० ३।२।११) के द्वारा इस रूप में समाधान प्रस्तुत किया गया है कि परतत्व स्वरूपतः तो निर्दोष है ही, "स्थानतः" अर्थात् जड़चेतनात्मक जगत् में स्थित होने पर भी उसमें जीव के समान दोष नहीं आते, क्योंकि वह सर्वत्र श्रुतियों में उभयलिंग अर्थात् विश्वरूप होते हुए भी विश्वातीत या विश्व के दोषों से अस्पृश्य बताया गया है। इसी समाधान के प्रसंग में ही परतत्व के स्वरूप का निरूपण यहाँ स्वभावतः आ गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त, ब्रह्मसूत्रों का प्रारम्भ उनके जिज्ञास्य जगत्कारण ब्रह्म की जिज्ञासा से हुआ है, अतः जगत्कारण ब्रह्म के स्वरूप का ही वर्णन वहाँ किया जा सकता था और वह वहाँ सूत्रकार ने उसे जगत्कारण बताते हुए और उसी में विभिन्न श्रुतिवाक्यों का समन्वय करते हुए कर दिया। किन्तु केवल 'परतत्व', जो कि जीवों का प्राप्य होने पर भी सूत्रकार के अनुसार जगत् का अभिन्ननिमित्तोपादानकारण न होने के कारण जिज्ञास्य नहीं, अतः

उसके मुख्य स्वरूप पर प्रारम्भ में ही प्रकाश नहीं डाला जा सकता था, अतः सूत्रकार ने वहाँ ऐसा नहीं किया। यहाँ यह बताने के लिए कि परतत्व निर्दोष होने के कारण जीवों का प्राप्य है, उसके स्वरूप पर इस रूप में यहाँ प्रसंगतः प्रकाश डालना पड़ा है, जिससे सभी स्थितियों में उसकी निर्दोषता स्पष्ट हो सके। इस प्रकार उक्त दृष्टियों से यहाँ परतत्वनिरूपण पूर्णतया सुसंगत एवं पूर्वापरप्रसंग से सुसम्बद्ध है और फलतः यह स्पष्ट है कि वह मौलिक सूत्रपाठ का ही अंश है, प्रक्षिप्त नहीं।

वस्तुतः ब्रह्मसूत्रों का प्रत्येक विषय मौलिक रूप से एक-दूसरे से परस्पर घनिष्ठतया सम्बद्ध है और फलतः इस प्रकार की मान्यताओं में कोई सार प्रतीत नहीं होता कि वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों के मौलिक अंश में विभिन्न कर्त्ताओं के द्वारा विभिन्न भाग समय-समय पर संयोजित किए जाते रहे हैं, और अन्त में किसी ने उनका वर्तमान रूप में सम्पादन कर दिया है। वर्तमान बह्मसूत्र अपने उपलब्ध रूप में एक ही कर्त्ता के पूर्णरूप से सुसम्बद्ध मौलिक कृति हैं। परम्परा भी यही मानती है और ब्रह्मसूत्रों के अध्ययन से भी इसी की पुष्टि होती है। इतनी बात अवश्य है कि विभिन्न भाष्यों में प्राप्त सूत्र-पाठ में कुछ सूत्रों के न्यूनाधिक्य एवं कुछ सूत्रों के पाठभेद की समस्या अवश्य उपस्थित हो गई है, किन्तु, जैसा कि स्वयं डा० वेलवलकर ने कहा है, इससे ब्रह्मसूत्रों का बहुकर्तृकत्व नहीं माना जा सकता, क्योंकि एक ही कर्त्ता की किसी भी कृति में विभिन्न कारणों से कुछ पाठभेद हो जावे तो भले ही यह विवाद बना रहे कि अमुक स्थल का मौलिक पाठ क्या है, किन्तु वह कृति तो एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति मानी जावेगी।

३—ब्रह्मसूत्रों का बादरायणकर्तृकत्व—उक्त प्रकार से यह सुनिश्चित हो जाने के बाद कि ब्रह्मसूत्र अपने वर्तमान समग्र रूप में एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं, अब यह प्रश्न उपस्थित होता है कि इनका वह एक कर्त्ता या रचयिता कौन है ? परम्परागत मान्यता के अनुसार इनके रचयिता बादरायण माने जाते हैं और आधुनिक विद्वानों का भी बहुमत बादरायण को ही ब्रह्मसूत्रकार मानता है। इस प्रकार यद्यपि इस विषय में कोई विवाद नहीं रह जाता कि आचार्य बादरायण ने बह्मसूत्रों की रचना की है, किन्तु फिर भी इस आधार पर कि सूत्रों में बादरायण के मतों का उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यास किया गया है, इस सम्भावना के लिए, जैसा कि कुछ विद्वानों का मत है,[1] अवसर बना रहता है कि बादरायण से परवर्ती किसी अन्य आचार्य ने बह्मसूत्रों की रचना की और विभिन्न विषयों के निरूपण में उसने जिस प्रकार यथाप्रसंग अपने से पूर्ववर्ती आश्मरथ्य, बादरि, काशकृत्स्न, जैमिनि आदि आचार्यों के मतों का उपन्यास उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ किया है, उसी प्रकार उसने अपने पूर्ववर्ती बादरायण के भी मत का उपन्यास उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ किया है।

सामान्य रूप से देखने पर उक्त संभावना आपाततः उचित प्रतीत होती है, किन्तु वस्तुस्थिति पर ध्यान देने पर वह मान्य प्रतीत नहीं होती। इस विषय में सर्वप्रथम

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१. डा० बेलवलकर : (मल्टीपिल आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्त सूत्रास्)।

यह ध्यातव्य है कि प्राचीन सूत्र-ग्रन्थों की यह भी एक मान्य शैली रही है कि सूत्रकार किसी विवादास्पद विषय के निरूपण में विभिन्न पूर्ववर्ती या समकालीन आचार्यों के नामनिर्देश के साथ उनके मतों का उपन्यास करते हुए अन्त में अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने सिद्धान्त को उपस्थित करते रहे हैं और उसी शैली का अनुसरण कर यहाँ भी ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण ने स्वनामनिर्देश के साथ अपने मत का उपन्यास किया है। उदाहरण के लिए, आचार्य शाण्डिल्य ने अपने भक्तिसूत्र में भक्ति के स्वरूप का निरूपण करते हुए 'तामैश्वर्यपरां काश्यपः परत्वात्' (सू० २९), तथा 'आत्मैकपरां बादरायणः' (सू० ३०) के द्वारा आचार्य काश्यप और बादरायण के मतों का उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यास कर अन्त में 'उभयपरां शाण्डिल्यः शब्दोपपत्तिभ्याम्' (सू० ३१) के द्वारा अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मत का उपन्यास किया है। आचार्य नारद ने अपने भक्तिसूत्र में 'तल्लक्षणानि वाच्यन्ते नानामतभेदात्' (सूत्र०१५) के द्वारा भक्ति के लक्षण के सम्बन्ध में विभिन्न मतों का प्रस्तावन करते हुए 'पूजादिष्वनुराग इति पाराशर्यः' (सू० १६), 'कथादिष्विति गर्गः' (सू०१७), एवं 'आत्मरत्यविरोधेनेति शाण्डिल्यः' (सू० १८) के द्वारा पाराशर्य, गर्ग और शाण्डिल्य के मतों को उपन्यस्त कर अन्त में, 'नारदस्तु तदर्पिताखिलाचारता तद्विस्मरणे परमव्याकुलतेति' (सू० १९) के रूप में अपने मत का उपन्यास किया है। आचार्य कौटिल्य या कौटल्य ने अपने अर्थशास्त्र में अनेक स्थलों पर 'तमेव हि प्रत्यावृत्तौ ग्रसत इति आचार्याः' (७।४।२१) आदि के रूप में अपने से भिन्न आचार्यों के मतों का उपस्थापन कर अन्त में 'नेति कौटल्यः' (७।४।२२) आदि के रूप में अपने नामनिर्देश के साथ अपने सिद्धान्तभूत मत को प्रस्तुत किया है। इसी प्रकार आचार्य जैमिनि ने अपने मीमांसा-सूत्रों में अनेक स्थलों पर 'द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेषु बादरिः' (३।१।३) आदि के रूप में अपने से भिन्न बादरि आदि आचार्यों के मतों को उपस्थित कर अन्त में 'कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात्' (३।१।४) आदि के रूप में अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने सिद्धान्तभूत मत को प्रस्तुत किया है। वस्तुतः, जिस प्रकार आधुनिक काल के लेखक अपने ग्रन्थ के साथ अपना नाम स्वयं लिख देते हैं, उस प्रकार उस समय में तो कोई ऐसी परिपाटी नहीं थी। उस समय तो उपरिप्रदर्शित प्रकार से ही सूत्रकार अपने सूत्रों में अपना नाम-निर्देश करने का अवसर पाते थे।

अब यहाँ पर यह प्रश्न किया जा सकता है कि जब ब्रह्मसूत्रों में अन्य आचार्यों के भी नाम का निर्देश है, तो बादरायण को ही ब्रह्मसूत्रकार क्यों माना जावे, अन्य आचार्यों में से ही किसी को क्यों न माना जावे ? इस प्रश्न का समाधान भी इस रूप में किया जा सकता है कि जिस प्रकार पूर्वोक्त शाण्डिल्य आदि आचार्यों ने अन्य आचार्यों के मतों को पूर्व में उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ प्रस्तुत कर अन्त में अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मत को सिद्धान्त रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है, उसी प्रकार ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण ने भी अन्य आचार्यों के नाम-निर्देश के साथ उनके मतों का पूर्व में उपन्यास कर अन्त में अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मत का उपन्यास किया है। उस समय के

सूत्रकार जिस शैली में अपने मत का उपन्यास अन्त में करते थे, उसी शैली में ब्रह्मसूत्र-कार बादरायण ने भी अपने मत का उपन्यास अन्त में किया है और फलतः जिस प्रकार शाण्डिल्य आदि को तत्तत् सूत्रों का प्रणेता माना जाता है, उसी प्रकार बादरायण को भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों का प्रणेता मानना उचित है।

जैसा कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों को देखने से ज्ञात होता है, उनमें बारह स्थलों (सू० १।२।२४-३२; १।३।२६-३३; १।४।१६-१८; १।४।१९-२२; ३।१।८-११; ३।२।३८-४१; ३।४।१-२५; ३।४।४०; ३।४।४४-४६; ४।३।७-१६; ४।४।५-७; ४।४।१०-१४) पर विभिन्न विषयों के निरूपण के प्रसंग से जैमिनि, बादरि, औडुलोमि, आश्मरथ्य, कार्ष्णाजिनि, आत्रेय, काशकृत्स्न एवं बादरायण, इन आठ आचार्यों के मतों का इनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यास किया गया है। इन स्थलों में से छः स्थलों (सू० १।३।२६-३३; ३।२।३८-४१; ३।४।१-२५; ४।३।७-१६; ४।४।५-७; ४।४।१०-१४) पर अन्य आचार्यों के मतों के साथ बादरायण के मतों को उपन्यस्त करते हुए सर्वत्र बादरायण के मतों को अन्त में सिद्धान्त रूप से प्रस्तुत कर विषय का उपसंहार किया गया है और अन्य आचार्यों के मतों को या तो साक्षात् रूप से निराकृत किया गया है या उनको आंशिक रूप से स्वीकार करते हुए संशोधित या परिष्कृत किया गया है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि इन स्थलों पर जिन आचार्यों—जैमिनि, बादरि एवं औडुलोमि—के मतों को निराकृत या परिष्कृत किया गया है, वे कदापि ब्रह्मसूत्रकार नहीं और फलतः छः अवशिष्ट स्थलों (सू० १।२।२४-३२; १।४।१६-१८; १।४।१९-२२; ३।१।८-११; ३।४।४०; ३।४।४४-४६) में से, जहाँ कि बादरायण के नाम का निर्देश नहीं, अपितु अन्य विभिन्न आचार्यों के मतों को अन्त में रखते हुए विषय का उपसंहार किया गया है, जो तीन स्थलों (सू० १।२।२४-३२; ३।१।८-११; ३।४।४४-४६) पर अन्य आचार्यों के मतों के बाद क्रमशः जैमिनि, बादरि और औडुलोमि के मतों को अन्त में रक्खा गया है, उसका केवल इतना ही तात्पर्य हो सकता है कि यहाँ तत्तत् स्थलों पर अन्य आचार्यों के मतों की अपेक्षा क्रमशः जैमिनि, बादरि एवं औडुलोमि के मत सूत्रकार को अधिक अभीष्ट हैं, उससे यह निष्कर्ष नहीं प्राप्त किया जा सकता कि इन तीनों में से कोई सूत्रकार है। अतः इन स्थलों पर इन तीन आचार्यों के अतिरिक्त अन्य आचार्यों—आश्मरथ्य, कार्ष्णाजिनि और आत्रेय—के मतों को क्रमशः पूर्व में उपन्यस्त कर उनके बाद उक्त जैमिनि आदि तीन आचार्यों के मतों को उपन्यस्त करते हुए इनमें अभिरुचि दिखाई गई है, अतः आश्मरथ्य आदि के सूत्रकारत्व की सम्भावना तो बिलकुल ही नहीं की जा सकती। इसी प्रकार जो अन्य दो स्थलों (सू० १।४।१६-१८, ३।४।४०) पर अन्य किसी आचार्य के नाम-निर्देश के बिना केवल जैमिनि के मत का उपन्यास इनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ किया गया है, उसका केवल इतना ही तात्पर्य है कि यहाँ सूत्रकार अपने प्रतिपाद्य में जैमिनि की भी सहमति प्रदर्शित कर रहे हैं या जैमिनि द्वारा स्वीकृत उपपत्ति से भी अपने प्रतिपाद्य का समर्थन प्रदर्शित कर रहे हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त वैसे भी जो अन्य किसी आचार्य के नाम-निर्देश के बिना केवल जैमिनि के ही नाम का

निर्देश है, उससे इस तथ्य की ही और अधिक पुष्टि होती है कि जैमिनि सूत्रकार नहीं क्योंकि यदि ऐसा होता तो जब किसी अन्य आचार्य का कोई भिन्न मत प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया है, तब फिर जैमिनि अपने मत का उपन्यास अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ क्यों करते ? इस प्रकार उक्त ग्यारह स्थलों पर विभिन्न आचार्यों के मतों को उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यस्त करने के रूपों को देखते हुये छः आचार्यों—जैमिनि, बादरि, औडुलोमि, आश्मरथ्य, कार्ष्णाजिनि, आत्रेय—के सूत्रकारत्व की सम्भावना जहाँ निरस्त हो जाती है वहाँ आचार्य बादरायण के सूत्रकारत्व की पुष्टि होती है।

अब केवल एक स्थल (सू० १।४।१९-२२) और वहाँ उक्त आचार्यों के अतिरिक्त नामतः निर्दिष्ट एक ही आचार्य—काशकृत्स्न—का विचार अवशिष्ट रह जाता है। इस स्थल पर आश्मरथ्य और औडुलोमि के मतों को उपन्यस्त करने के बाद अन्त में काशकृत्स्न का मत इनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यस्त किया गया है और एकमात्र इसी स्थल पर इनका नाम इस रूप में आया है। इस प्रकार यद्यपि ब्रह्मसूत्रों में काशकृत्स्न की ऐसी स्थिति है कि अन्य आचार्यों के समान न तो कहीं उनके मत का निराकरण या परिष्कार किया गया है और न कहीं उनके मत को पूर्व में प्रस्तुत कर उसके बाद किसी अन्य आचार्य के मत को रक्खा गया है, किन्तु फिर भी उनके सूत्रकारत्व की संभावना इसलिए नहीं की जा सकती कि यदि वे सूत्रकार होते तो जब उन्होंने उक्त एक स्थल पर अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मत का प्रस्तावन किया ही है, तो फिर पूर्वोक्त अन्य अनेक ऐसे स्थलों (सू० १।३।२६-३३; ३।२।३८-४१ आदि) पर, जहाँ कि बादरायण के नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यस्त मत के द्वारा सिद्धान्त-पक्ष को प्रस्तुत किया गया है, वे अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मत के द्वारा सिद्धान्त-को प्रस्तुत न कर बादरायण के नाम-निर्देश के साथ इनके मत से उसे क्यों प्रस्तुत करते ? वस्तुतः जिस रूप में और जितनी बहुलता के साथ बादरायण का नाम आया है, उसकी तुलना में उक्त एकमात्र स्थल पर प्रयुक्त काशकृत्स्न का नाम कुछ महत्त्व ही नहीं रखता। फलतः इस स्थल पर जो उनके मत को अन्य आचार्यों के मतों के बाद अन्त में रक्खा गया है, उससे केवल यही तात्पर्य निकलता है कि जिस प्रकार पूर्वोक्त प्रकार से अन्य तीन स्थलों (सू० १।२।२४-३२ आदि) पर अन्य आचार्यों के मतों के बाद अन्त में निर्दिष्ट क्रमशः जैमिनि, बादरि एवं औडुलोमि के मत सूत्रकार को अधिक अभीष्ट हैं, उसी प्रकार यहाँ भी अन्त में निर्दिष्ट काशकृत्स्न का मत इससे पूर्व में निर्दिष्ट अन्य आचार्यों के मतों की अपेक्षा सूत्रकार को अधिक अभीष्ट है। वैसे भी, इस स्थल पर सू० १।४।१९ में जो सूत्रकार का प्रतिपादन है, उसके विरोध में सू० १।४।२०-२१ में अन्य आचार्यों के मत प्रस्तुत नहीं किए गए हैं, जो कि यह माना जावे कि सूत्रकार ने सू० १।४।२२ में पुनः अपने मत के प्रतिष्ठापन के लिए अपने नाम—काशकृत्स्न—के साथ उसे प्रस्तुत किया है। यहाँ तो सू० १।४।१९ में किए गए सूत्रकार के प्रतिपाद्य का ही सू० १।४।२०-२२ में निर्दिष्ट तीन आचार्यों के द्वारा स्वीकृत विभिन्न उपपत्तियों से समर्थन किया गया है, जिनमें कि काशकृत्स्न द्वारा स्वीकृत

उपपत्ति सूत्रकार को अधिक अभीष्ट हो सकती है और इसीलिए उसे अन्त में रक्खा गया है।

अस्तु ! उक्त प्रकार से ब्रह्मसूत्रों के उन स्थलों पर, जहाँ कि विभिन्न आचार्यों के मतों को उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उपन्यास किया गया है, उपन्यस्त विभिन्न आचार्यों के मतों के उपन्यास के रूपों को परस्पर तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से देखते हुए यही निष्कर्ष प्राप्त होता है कि इनमें जहाँ बादरायण के मतों को इनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ उसी प्रकार सिद्धान्तरूप में उपन्यस्त किया गया है, जिस प्रकार कि पूर्वोक्त शाण्डिल्य, नारद एवं कौटिल्य आदि सूत्रकार अपने अपने सूत्र-ग्रन्थों में अपने नाम-निर्देश के साथ अपने मतों का उपन्यास सिद्धान्त रूप में करते रहे हैं, वहाँ अन्य आचार्यों के मतों का उपन्यास केवल निराकरण, परिष्कार या स्वप्रतिपाद्य-समर्थन आदि के उद्देश्य से ही किया गया है और इस प्रकार एकमात्र बादरायण ही ब्रह्मसूत्रकार सिद्ध होते हैं।

डा० बेलवलकर ने यह देखते हुए कि पूर्वमीमांसा-सूत्रों में बादरायण के नाम का निर्देश है और ब्रह्मसूत्रों में जैमिनि के नाम का निर्देश है, यह विचार व्यक्त किया है कि जब तक यह न कल्पना की जावे कि जैमिनि और बादरायण केवल समसामयिक ही नहीं थे, अपितु साथ-साथ काम करने वाले ऐसे साथी थे जो कि प्रायः प्रतिदिन अपने-अपने लेखों को मिलाते थे, उक्त पारस्परिक नाम-निर्देशों के तथ्य की व्याख्या करना यह माने बिना कठिन होगी कि या तो इन निर्देशों को सूत्रकारों के शिष्यों ने बाद में मिला दिया या सभी सूत्रों की रचना ही प्रथित सूत्रकारों के द्वारा न होकर उनके शिष्यों के द्वारा ही हुई है।[१]

इस विषय में इतना कहना पर्याप्त होगा कि पूर्वमीमांसा-सूत्रों और ब्रह्मसूत्रों में से किसी एक में दूसरे के उद्धरण नहीं प्राप्त होते हैं, जो कि यह मानना पड़े कि इन सूत्रों के रचयिता अपने लेखों को परस्पर प्रायः प्रतिदिन मिलाते थे। इन सूत्रों में दोनों के रचयिताओं के द्वारा केवल एक दूसरे के मतों का उपन्यास उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ मिलता है, जिससे इतना ही प्रकट होता है कि इनके रचयिता—जैमिनि और बादरायण—समसामयिक थे और दोनों के सिद्धान्त तत्कालीन श्रुति-मीमांसा के क्षेत्र में इतने प्रथित हो गए थे कि ये दोनों भी एक-दूसरे के सिद्धान्तों से पूर्णतया परिचित थे और इसीलिए यह संभव हो सका कि दोनों ने एक दूसरे के मतों का उपन्यास उनके नाम-निर्देश के साथ किया है। फलतः यह कल्पना करने की किंचिन्मात्र भी आवश्यकता नहीं कि इन दोनों सूत्र-ग्रन्थों की रचना प्रथित सूत्रकारों के द्वारा न होकर इनके शिष्यों के द्वारा हुई है या इनके शिष्यों ने इनके नाम-निर्देशक सूत्रों को बाद में मिला दिया है।

इस प्रकार अब यह पुनरावृत्त करने की आवश्यकता नहीं कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना एकमात्र आचार्य बादरायण ने ही की है अर्थात् ब्रह्मसूत्र बादरायणैककर्तृक हैं। परम्परा-

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१. मल्टीपिल आथरशिप आफ दी वेदान्तसूत्रास् (इंडियन फिलासाफीकल रिव्यू, वाल्यूम २, १९१८-१९, पृ० १४१-१५३)।

गत मान्यता का भी इस बात से विरोध नहीं है और आधुनिक विद्वानों की भी प्रायः सर्वसम्मति ऐसा मानती है। इसके अतिरिक्त ब्रह्मसूत्रों के उपलब्ध प्राचीनतम भाष्य के रचयिता आचार्य शंकर का भी इस विषय में स्पष्ट साक्ष्य प्राप्त है। आचार्य शंकर ब्रह्मसूत्रों के अन्तिम सूत्र (४।४।२२) की, जिसमें कि "बादरायण' का नाम-निर्देश नहीं है, प्रस्तावना में कहते हैं, 'नन्वेवं सति सातिशयत्वादन्तवत्त्वमैश्वर्यस्य स्यात्ततश्चैषामावृत्तिः प्रसज्येतेत्यत उत्तरं भगवान् बादरायणः आचार्यः पठति—।' इस प्रकार उनके कथन से स्पष्ट है कि वे भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों का रचयिता आचार्य बादरायण को मानते हैं।

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न्यायदर्शने त्रिलोचनमतविमर्शः

डा० किशोरनाथ झा*

नाविदितमेतन्न्यायशास्त्ररसिकाणां यदक्षपाददर्शनानुशीलनपराः विद्वांसः प्राचीनकालादेव बौद्धन्यायचिन्तकैः साकं सारस्वतीं प्रतिस्पर्द्धितां प्रकटीकृत्यैव कमपि विचारमारचयन्तीति। अतएव गौतमदर्शनग्रन्थेषु पूर्वपक्षतया बौद्धमतानि समायान्ति, बलवता प्रमाणनिवहेन खण्डितानि च भवन्ति। तथैव बौद्धदर्शनग्रन्थेष्वपि न्यायसिद्धान्ताः प्रतिपक्षतया सविशेषमामृष्टाः सन्तीति नैव तिरोहितं विद्वल्लोचनेभ्यः। उभयोश्च दर्शनयोर्ग्रन्थानामापाततोऽवलोकनेन सांप्रतमपरिचिताअपि स्वसमयस्य विश्रुताः विद्वांसस्तेषां सिद्धान्ताश्च शेमुषी-जुषां गवेषकाणां मनांसि नितरामाकर्षन्ति। तत्रापि विशेषेण बौद्धजैनदार्शनिकाणां कतिपु न्यायाचार्याणां सन्दर्भाः बाहुल्येन नामग्राहं समुद्धृताः विद्यन्ते, येषां चर्चापि संप्रदायग्रन्थेषु विरला एव विद्यते, अथवा नास्त्येव सर्वथा। अत्र च निदर्शनं शान्तरक्षिताचार्येणोल्लिखितौ भाविविक्ताविद्धकर्णनामानौ प्राचीनतमनैयायिकाविति।[१] एवं धर्मोत्तरप्रदीपे न्यायविनिश्चयविवरणे च समुल्लिखितो न्यायभाष्यटीकाकृद्विश्वरूपः[२] रुचिटीकाकारोऽध्ययनश्च।[३]

एवं ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलावधुना लुप्तपरिचयानां विशिष्टनैयायिकानां गौतमन्यायप्रस्थानस्य वेदिकास्तम्भरूपेण परिगणना दृश्यते। तद्यथा—

दुर्नीताश्रमवेदिकादृढ़तर स्तम्भानमून् शङ्कर-
न्यायालङ्करण त्रिलोचनवचस्पत्याह्वयान् हेलया।
उन्मूल्य क्षणभङ्ग एष विहितो यत्पुण्यमाप्तं मया
तेन स्तात् परपारगस्त्रिभुवने ज्ञानश्रियोऽयंजनः॥[४]

अमुना च पद्येन त्रिलोचनाचार्यः स्वसमयस्य प्रसिद्धतमनैयायिकेषु निजास्पदं रक्षतिस्मेति वयमनुमिनुमः। ऐतिहासिकदृष्ट्या विचारविधौ स्वयं न्यायवार्तिककृदुद्द्योत-

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* सीनियर रिसर्च फेलो (यू० जी० सी०), कामेश्वरसिंह दरभंगा संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालयः, दरभंगा।

१—द्रष्टव्या वादन्यायस्य विपञ्चितार्थाव्याख्या।

२—द्र० धर्मोत्तरप्रदीपः, न्यायविनिश्चयविवरणम्।

३—द्र० न्यायविनिश्चयविवरणम्।

४—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० १५९

करं तात्पर्यटीकाकारंश्च वाचस्पतिश्चान्तरा विद्यमान आसीदिति तर्कयामः। यद्यप्यधुनास्य न कापि कृतिरिहास्माकं समक्षमस्ति तथापि मतान्यस्य निजान्तेवासिनो वाचस्पतेर्ग्रन्थानवलम्ब्याद्यापि जीवन्त्येव। वाचस्पतिस्तुतात्पर्यटीकायां सविकल्पकप्रत्यक्षस्य विचारावसरे—"त्रिलोचन गुरून्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः।

यथामानं यथावस्तु व्याख्यातमिदमीदृशम् ॥[१]

इत्युक्त्वा स्वयमेव कण्ठतस्तच्छिष्यत्वमङ्गीकरोति। विधिविवेकस्य न्यायकणिकां व्याख्यां प्रारभमाणेनाप्यनेन मङ्गलाचरणे त्रिलोचनाचार्योऽयमात्मगुरुतया सादरं स्मृतोऽस्ति। तद्यथा—

अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं रुचिराम्।
प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे ॥[२]

अयमेव हि त्रिलोचनाचार्य इहचर्चितायाः न्यायमञ्जर्याः प्रणेतेत्यत्र बौद्धदार्शनिकः ज्ञानश्रीमित्रोऽपि सुष्ठु साक्ष्यं प्रस्तौति। तदीये क्षणभङ्गाध्यायनाम्नि निबन्धे[३] त्रिलोचनकृतेः न्यायमञ्जरीति पूर्णं नामधेयं समागच्छति। ईश्वरदूषण निबन्धेऽपि "मञ्जर्यां त्रिलोचनस्त्विवति"[४] वाक्येनोपक्रम्य पूर्वपक्षतया तन्मतं सविस्तरमुपवर्णयति। अत्र नामैकदेशग्रहणे नामग्रहणमिति लौकिकन्यायमवलम्ब्य बलरामो राम इतिवत् केवलं मञ्जरीपदं न्यायमञ्जर्याः कृते व्यवहृतमस्ति।

रत्नकीर्तिरपि बौद्धाचार्यस्त्रिलोचनममुमुद्धरति। तत्र च रत्नकीर्तिनिबन्धावलेः प्रस्तावनायां विदुषा संपादकेन युक्तिभिरुपपादितं यदिह चर्चिताः न्यायमञ्जरीसंदर्भाः जयन्तभट्टप्रणीतयोपलब्धन्यायमञ्जर्या सह नैव कमपि संबन्धं संरक्षन्त इति।[५] धर्मोत्तरप्रदीपे दुर्वेकमिश्रस्तु त्रिलोचनस्य न्यायभाष्यटीकामुद्धरति।[६] एवं स्याद्वादरत्नाकरे वादिदेवोऽस्य न्यायप्रकीर्णकं चर्चति।[७] किन्तु दौर्भाग्यादस्माकं नैतस्य कापि रचना सांप्रतमुपलभ्यते। न्यायभाष्यवार्तिकतात्पर्यविवरणपञ्जिकाकारोऽनिरुद्धः बहुषु स्थलेषु वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्य न्यायमञ्जरीकारानुसारित्वं प्रादर्शयत्।

तस्मादिह ज्ञानश्रीमित्रस्य निबन्धावलौ विविधेषु प्रसङ्गेषु पूर्वपक्षतया समागतान्येतस्य मतान्येवेह प्रज्ञावतां पुरतः सरलया रीत्या यथामति समुपस्थाप्यन्ते—

१—द्र० तात्पर्यटीका १।१।४।
२—द्र० विधिविवेकस्य न्यायकणिकाव्याख्यायाः मङ्गलाचरणम्।
३—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० ३६
४—द्र० ,, ,, २३६
५—द्र० रत्नकीर्तिनिबन्धावलिः, प्रस्तावनाभागः।
६—द्र० धर्मोत्तरप्रदीपः
७—द्र० स्याद्वादरत्नाकरः

१—पदार्थानां क्षणिकत्वसिद्धये प्रयत्नशीलाः बौद्धाचार्याः स्थिरवस्तुवादिनो नैयायिकान् प्रति विकल्पद्वयं प्रस्तुवन्ति, उभयोश्च विकल्पयोः युक्तिबलैः खण्डने सति स्वयं तन्मतं सुप्रतिष्ठितं स्यादिति निजमनोरथं सफलयितुं प्रथमं विकल्पस्वरूपं पुरस्कुर्वन्ति—किं स्थिरपदार्थः सर्वाः क्रियाः युगपत्कर्तुं प्रभवति ? अथवा क्रमश इति ? नाद्यः कल्पस्तथासति द्वितीयक्षणे तस्य कृते किमपि कर्तुं नावशिष्यत इति तस्मिन् क्षणेऽर्थ-क्रियाकारित्वरूपं सल्लक्षणं तत्र न घटत इत्यसत्स्वरूपापत्तिः । नापि द्वितीयः कल्पः, यतोहि सर्वार्थं क्रिया समर्थोऽपि काञ्चिदेव क्रियामारभते नान्यामित्यत्र को नियामकः । समर्थस्य कार्यसम्पादनानन्तरमेव विश्रामः बहुलं लोकेऽवलोक्यते ।

यच्चुच्यते समर्थोऽपि सहकारिणमपेक्ष्यैव कार्यसम्पादने प्रभुरिति, समर्थस्यापि सहकारिणोऽभावे तत्र विलम्बो भवितुमर्हतीति । अत्रापि पुनः विप्रतिपत्तिरुदेति किमसौ सहकारी किञ्चित्करोति आहोस्विन्नेति ? यदिविधिकोटिस्तदा सहकारिणैव कार्यसंपादन-संभवे किमनेन समर्थेन ? यदि च निषेधकोटिस्तदा सहकारी सर्वथाऽनपेक्ष्य एव स्यादिति समर्थस्य विलम्बो न युज्यते । तस्माद्वस्तुनः स्थैर्यमसंभवम् । सन्मात्रानुबन्धितया तु क्षणिकत्वं सिद्धयति ।

२—अत्र त्रिलोचनाचार्यः बौद्धमतं प्रतिवक्ति यत् पदार्थस्थैर्यवादिनो नैयायिकाः कस्यचिदपि कारणस्य स्वकार्यसम्पादनाय द्विविधं सामर्थ्यमागन्तुकं स्वाभाविकञ्चा-न्वयव्यतिरेकयोर्बलेनाङ्गीकृत्य द्वाभ्याञ्च सामर्थ्याभ्यां कार्योत्पत्तिमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । अत्रापि स एव सहकारिपदवीं लभते यस्मिन्नागन्तुकं सामर्थ्यमस्ति । यस्मिश्च स्वाभाविकं सामर्थ्यं वर्तते, स एव प्रधानो हेतुरिति स्थिरपदार्थादेव केवलात् कार्यसम्पादने दोषोद्भावन-पटुर्बौद्धाचार्यः हेतुसामर्थ्यमेवाज्ञात्वा पदार्थस्य स्थिरसत्तायाः प्रतिविधानमकरोत् मलमिदं त्रिलोचनाचार्यस्य तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धावौदयने ३. २. १४ न्या० सूत्र व्याख्यायामक्षर-शश्चर्चितमस्ति । क्रमशः कार्याणामुत्पत्तिस्तु सहकारिणः सन्निधानासन्निधानाभ्यामुपप-द्यते । यस्य कार्यस्य सहकारिसन्निधिरस्ति तत्प्रथममुत्पद्यते, यस्य विलम्बेन सहकारिसन्नि-धिस्तत् पश्चादुत्पत्तिं लभत इति सहकारिवैविध्यात् क्रमशः कार्यनानात्वं सङ्गच्छते । एतदर्थं भावानां क्षणिकत्वं नाङ्गीकर्तव्यम्[१] । अत्र त्रिलोचनाचार्यः क्षणिकवाद-स्यास्तित्वमेव न संभवतीत्युक्त्वा सम्प्रति तत्रानुपपत्तिं प्रदर्शयति—क्षणवादे पदार्थस्य स्वभावः प्रतिक्षणं भिद्यते नवेति विप्रतिपत्तौ यदि बौद्धाचार्यः निषेधकोटिमवलम्बते तदा तन्मते रूपरसयोरभेदापत्तिः स्यात् । यतोहि पूर्वरूपक्षणः येन स्वभावेनानन्तरक्षण-मुत्पादयति तेनैव रसक्षणमप्युत्पादयेदिति रूपरसयोरभेदः । एकस्वभावात् कारणा-देकस्वभावकमेव कार्यं भवतीत्यस्य दर्शनात् । यदि चात्र विधिकोटिमभ्युपगच्छेदसौ, तदैकस्य विरुद्धं स्वभावद्वयं प्रसज्येत । रूपजननस्वभावतो रसजननस्वभावस्य सर्वथा

१—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० २८

भेदोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां निश्चित इति पदार्थस्य क्षणिकवादसिद्धान्तः किमप्यसाधारण्यं न भजत इति तन्न सङ्गच्छते[१]।

३—बौद्धाचार्यः क्षणिकवादस्य सिद्धये यदि ब्रूयात् यत् क्षेत्रपतितबीजेषु कुर्वद्रूपत्वमङ्कुरजननसामर्थ्यमस्ति कुशूलस्थबीजेषु तु तन्नास्ति। तस्मात् क्षेत्रपतितानि बीजानि सम्यगङ्कुराण्युत्पादयन्ति न कुशूलस्थानीति क्षेत्रपतितकुशूलस्थबीजयोर्भेदोऽवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्य इति क्षणिकत्वं पदार्थानां सिद्धयति। क्षणिकत्वं विनोक्तभेदस्यानुपपत्तेः। सहानवस्थानरूपविरोधशालिनौ पदार्थावेकस्मिन्नधिकरणे स्थातुं नैव प्रभवत इति कुशूलस्थ क्षेत्रपतित बीजयोर्यदि भेदं नाभ्युपगच्छेत् तदा कुशूलस्थबीजादप्यङ्कुरमुत्पद्येत, नोत्पद्येत वा क्षेत्रपतितबीजादप्यङ्कुरम्। अतएव भावानां क्षणिकत्वं सर्वथा युक्तिसिद्धमिति। अस्य च निरासाय त्रिलोचनाचार्यः व्यपदिशति यत् क्षेत्रपतितबीजेषु सहकारिसमवधानेनाङ्कुरजनकतां कुशूलस्थ बीजेषु च सहकारिणोऽभावादङ्कुरजनकत्वाभावं वयं कल्पयामः। एतयैव कल्पनया सर्वत्र कार्यं प्रचलतीति तदर्थं क्षेत्रपतितकुशूलस्थबीजयोर्भेदमुपपाद्य तन्निदर्शनेनपदार्थानां क्षणिकत्वस्य प्रसाधनं नैव सङ्गच्छते। सहकारिसमवधानासमवधानरूपकालभेदेनैकत्रापि विरुद्धधर्मयोः समावेशो भवितुमर्हतीति पदार्थानां क्षणिकत्वं न सिद्धयति। अमीषाञ्च सहकारिणां सर्वत्र प्रत्यक्षं न भवति किन्तु क्वचित् प्रत्यक्षं भवति। यथा क्षेत्रपतितबीजानां सहकारिणः पृथ्वीपाथस्तेजोवाय्वादीनां। सम्यक् संयोगरूपाः प्रत्यक्षाः। एतेषाञ्चाभावः कुशूलस्थबीजेषु। किन्तु, अविभक्तमातापितृसंयोगादिसामग्री संभवानामेकशरीरावयवानां क्वचिदेव तिलकाः जायन्ते न सर्वत्र सत्यपि त्वङ्कमासादिसाम्येऽन्यावयवेषु। तत्रादृष्टं सहकारिणमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यम्। एवमेव हि प्रसिद्धकार्यस्य घटस्योत्पादनविधौ प्रधानं कारणं मृत्तिका सहकारिणश्च दण्डचक्रचीवरादयः प्रत्यक्षाः परोक्षाश्चेश्वरेच्छाभोक्तृपुण्यादय इति। तस्मात्सर्वत्र प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षरूपसहकारिणः समवधानासमवधानाभ्यां कार्यं प्रचलितुमर्हतीति क्षणिकत्वं पदार्थानां न सिद्धयति[२]। पश्चाद्भवे न्यायाचार्योदयनस्यात्मतत्त्वविवेके—[३] "सामर्थ्यासामर्थ्यलक्षणविरुद्धधर्मसंसर्गेण भेदसिद्धौ तत्सिद्धिरिति चेन्न, विरुद्धधर्मसंसर्गासिद्धेरित्युक्तौ त्रिलोचनाचार्यस्य निरुक्तकथायाः परोक्षं प्रभावं परिलक्षयामः।

४—न च क्षणिकवादे प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणेन व्याप्तिमुपपादयितुं शक्नोति बौद्धाचार्य इत्यभिप्रायं हृदि निधाय त्रिलोचनाचार्यः कथयति—"कश्चित्सहकारिप्रत्ययतः प्रत्ययः, परोक्षश्चेतरः, ततः प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षसहकारिप्रत्ययसाकल्यमसर्वविदा प्रत्यक्षतो न शक्यं

१—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० ३६

२—द्र० ,, ,, ,, ४६

३—द्र० आत्मतत्त्वविवेकः पृ० २८ [चौखम्बा संस्करणम्]

प्रत्येतुम् । तथा च सति तादृशसहकारिप्रत्ययसाकल्यवतः क्रमयौगपद्यस्यात्यन्तपरोक्षत्वात् तेन व्याप्तं सत्त्वमपि परोक्षमेवेति कथं प्रतिबन्धः प्रत्यक्षेण सिद्धयतीति"।[१]

५—अधुना त्रिलोचनाचार्यः प्रतिसन्धानान्यथानुपपत्त्या क्षणिकवादनिरसनपुरस्सरं पदार्थस्थैर्यं स्थापयति । यद्यपीयं युक्तिः न्यायभाष्यकृता भगवता पक्षिलस्वामिना "तदात्मगुणत्वसद्भावाद प्रतिषेधः" । ३।१।१४।इति न्यायसूत्रव्याख्यायां वैशद्येन प्रादर्शि तथापि तदनुगामितामात्मनि समर्थयन्नसौ त्रिलोचन इमां युक्तिं सम्यक्तया चर्चति । तथाहि यमर्थमनुभूतवानहं तमेवैतर्हि स्मरामीति वाक्येनानुभवस्मृत्योरेकाधारता सिद्धयति । यतो हि नान्यदृष्टमन्यः स्मरतीत्युभयवाद्यनुमतम्, क्षणिकवादे त्वनुभवितुः स्मर्त्रा भिन्नतयोक्तवाक्यस्य सङ्गतिरेव न स्यात् । पदार्थस्थैर्यवादे त्वनुभविता स्मृतिसमये संस्कारद्वारयानुभूतपदार्थं स्मर्तुमर्हतीति पदार्थस्य स्थैर्यं सिद्धयति । अनुभूतपदार्थस्य स्मृतिरेव हि प्रतिसंधानं तच्च क्षणिकवादे नोपपद्यते । पदार्थस्य प्रतिक्षणं भिन्नतया येनानुभूतं न स स्मरणसमयेऽस्ति, न च यस्यैवानुभवो विहितः स एव परस्मिन्क्षणे तथा स्वस्वरूपेणावस्थातुं प्रभवति । तस्मात् पदार्थस्थैर्यवाद एवावलम्बनीयः । तथाचोक्तानुपपत्तिर्न भवतीति ।

अपि च स्थिरपदार्थोऽयमात्मा प्रत्यक्षेण ग्रहीतुं शक्यः यतो ह्यहमिति ज्ञानं न संदिग्धं भ्रान्तं वा । नाप्यनुमानात्मकं शाब्दबोधात्मकं वा, किन्तु प्रत्यक्षात्मकम् । अहमित्येतस्मिन् ज्ञाने योऽर्थश्चकास्ति तमेवार्थमधिकृत्य स्मृत्यनुसंधानेच्छादयः प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतिभान्ति । तस्मादिहोपसंहर्तुं प्रभवामो वयमिदमुक्त्वा यदनुभवस्मरणयोरेकाधारतयात्मा स्वातन्त्र्येण स्थिरपदार्थः सिद्ध इति न कदापि क्षणिकवादः प्रतिपद्यते ।[२] तत्रानुपपत्तीनां प्रतिपादितत्वात् ।

इदमत्रावधेयम्—बौद्धाचार्यः क्षणिकत्वसिद्धौ तेन वास्तवप्रतिबन्धान्नैरात्म्य-सिद्धिमुपजीवति । अतएव त्रिलोचनाचार्यं इहात्मसिद्धिप्रदर्शनं कृत्वा नैरात्म्यवादस्य निरासार्थं यतते । आत्मनः सिद्धौ सत्यां सर्वविषयस्य क्षणिकत्वमनुनातुं क इष्टे । इयञ्च कथा त्रिलोचनाचार्य ईश्वरसाधनावसरे स्वयमपि भङ्ग्या प्रतिपादयति ।[३]

ईश्वरसिद्धिविधौ त्वयं त्रिलोचनाचार्यः धर्मकीर्तबौद्धदार्शनिकस्य युक्तिनिवहं निरस्य प्रमाणतर्काभ्यां स्वमतं परिष्करोति । तथाहि—यादृशाकृतिकस्य वस्तुजातस्य निर्मितिर्लोचनगोचरीभवति तादृशाकृतिकेषु वस्तुषु सकर्तृकत्वनिश्चयोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां कर्तुमर्हः । यथा शिल्पिनां मन्दिरनिर्माणकलां वीक्ष्य पुरातनमन्दिरे भग्नदेवालये च सकर्तृकत्वानुमानं सङ्गच्छते । किन्तु यादृशाकृतिकवस्तुनः निर्माणं केनापि न प्रत्यक्षीकृतं, यथा गिरिनदीसमुद्रादेस्तत्र सकर्तृकत्वं न संभवतीति तत्कर्तृतयेश्वरसिद्धिप्रयासो नैयायिकानामसङ्गत इति प्रमाणवार्तिकस्य ।

१—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० ६६

२—द्र० " " ७६

३—द्र० " " २४०

सिद्धं यादृगधिष्ठातृभावाभावानुवृत्तिमत् ।
सन्निवेशादि तद्युक्तं तस्माद्यदनुमीयते ॥

इति कारिकायां प्रतिवादिना धर्मकीर्तिना प्रतिपादितम् । अस्य च निरासार्थं त्रिलोचनो ब्रवीति—घटादिप्रसिद्धकार्येषु तादृशविशेषः कश्चिन्नास्ति यस्याभावं गिरिनदीसमुद्राद्यात्मकेषु कार्येषु प्रसाध्योभयत्र वैलक्षण्यप्रदर्शनद्वारा सकर्तृकत्वस्यैकत्र संभवेऽप्यपरत्र सकर्तृकत्वं न सिद्धिं यास्यतीति । यदि च कर्तृक्रियोपलब्ध्यात्मकं विशेषमभ्युपगच्छेत्तदा अक्रियादर्शिनां कृतबुद्धिहेतुत्वस्वीकारो न संगच्छेत् । कुम्भकारस्य क्रियाकलापमपश्यताऽपिजनेन घटादौ प्रसिद्धकार्येसकर्तृकत्वमनुभूयत इत्यस्यापलापस्तु केनापि कर्तुं न शक्यत इति । नापि कृतकत्वमेव विशेषोऽत्र वक्तुं शक्यः कारण-समवायलक्षणस्याभूतप्रादुर्भावस्य सर्वत्र सुलभतया समुपलब्धेः । तस्माद्घटसमुद्रयोः परस्परं भेदं प्रदर्श्यैकत्र सकर्तृकत्वनिर्णयोऽपरत्र तु तदभावः शक्रेणापि निरूपयितुं न शक्यः । अतएव गिरिनदीसमुद्रादिविलक्षणकार्यकर्तृतयेश्वरस्य साधने नास्ति कश्चित्प्रति-बन्धक इति त्रिलोचनोऽभिप्रैति ।[१]

ईश्वरस्योपपत्त्या तत्र सर्वज्ञत्वसिद्धये त्रिलोचनोऽयं प्रशस्तमतिना मतैक्यं विधाय कर्तरि उपादानोपकरणप्रयोजनसंप्रदानादीनां प्रत्यक्षात्मकं ज्ञानं सम्यगुपपादयति । यथा कुलालः घटस्योपादानं मृत्पिण्डमुपकरणं चक्रादिकं प्रयोजनमुदकाहरणादि संप्रदानञ्च कुटुम्बिनं प्रत्यक्षतो प्रतिपद्यमानः घटं निर्माति । तथेश्वरोऽपि विश्वस्योपादानं परमाणुचतुष्टयं दिक्कालादिकमुपकरणं जीवानामुपभोगलक्षणं प्रयोजनं जीवादिकञ्च संप्रदानं प्रत्यक्षतया जानन् विश्वं विदधातीति, स्वतस्तस्मिन् सर्वज्ञत्वमुपपन्नं भवति। न तदर्थं कश्चिदायासविशेषो नैयायिकानाम् । क्षित्यादिकं सकर्तृकं कार्यत्वादित्यनुमानेन साध्यसामान्यस्य सकर्तृकत्वस्य सिद्धयैव सर्वज्ञत्वमुपपद्यते । उपादानादिसाक्षात्करण-लक्षणस्य विशेषस्य सकर्तृकात्मकेन साध्येन सह वास्तवसंबन्धस्यापलपितुमशक्यत्वात् । उक्तविशेषस्य त्यागे सति साध्यसामान्यस्यैव त्यागप्रसङ्गादिति ।[२]

यद्यत्र पूर्वपक्षी ब्रूयात् यन्महाभूतघटयोरुत्पत्तौ यदि कश्चिद्विशेषो नास्ति तदा द्वयणुकादेर्महाभूतारंभकस्यापि कर्त्ता कुम्भकारः स्यात् न च द्वयणुकोपादानस्य परमाणोः प्रत्यक्षमसौ कर्तुमर्हतीति कर्तर्युपादानप्रत्यक्षता न सिद्धयतीति तदात्र तत्प्रतिविधानार्थ-मिदमस्ति त्रिलोचनस्य वक्तव्यं यत् कर्ता निजयोग्यतानुसारमेव कारणं प्रयुज्य कृतकृत्यो भवति । अतएवान्त्यावयविनोऽङ्गस्य सर्वस्य निर्माणं कुम्भकारो न करोति । क्षित्यादिरिव द्वयणुकमपि सकर्तृकत्वानुमाने पक्ष एव भवति । तस्मादुक्तदोषानवकाशः[३] । अत्र त्रिलो-चनः निदर्शनविधया बौद्धमतोपयोगं करोति । यथा बौद्धः क्षणिकत्वं प्रसाध्य तत्संबद्धं

१—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० २३६
२—द्र० ,, ,, २३९
३—द्र० ,, ,, २४०

नैरात्म्यवादमनायासेनोपपादयति तथैव नैयायिकः कार्येषु सकर्तृकत्वं प्रतिपादयन् तत्सं-बद्धं सर्वज्ञत्वमितरबाधसहकारात्मकानुमानरूपाल्पायासेन साधयति। अतएव "यावती-मर्थगतिं साधनं व्याप्नोति तावतीं दूषणमपि। यद्यसौ विशेषो न साधनेन विषयीकृतः, कथमतस्तत्सिद्धिः ? सिद्धचन् वा कथमविषयः, विषयश्चेत् कथं स्वाश्रयां दोषगतिं न स्पृशे-दितितन्निरस्तम्। यतः साधनवादी साधनाधीनां यदि विशेषसिद्धिमभ्युपगच्छेत्, तदै-तत् स्यात्। न च नैयायिकः साधनायत्तां विशेषसिद्धिमुपजीवति। किं तर्हि साध्यसामान्य-प्रतिबन्धाकृष्टस्य विशेषस्य सिद्धिमिति"[१] त्रिलोचनोक्तिः पुष्णाति मदुक्तिमूर्ध्व-निर्दिष्टाम्।

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१—द्र० ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलिः पृ० २४०

शांकर वेदान्त में ईश्वरवाद*

डा० योगेश पाण्डेय†

आचार्य शंकर के अभिमत ब्रह्म के निर्गुण एवं निर्विशेष स्वरूप[१] में दो प्रधानभूत आक्षेप उपस्थित होते हैं--एक तो निर्गुण ब्रह्म में शून्यत्व[२] की प्रसक्ति और दूसरा ब्रह्म के जगत्कारणत्व—अंगीकार करने पर ब्रह्म में परिणामधर्मत्वदोष लगने की संभावना। अद्वैत वेदान्त के सामने यही दो प्रमुख समस्याएं हैं, जिनका समाधान ही अद्वैत वेदान्त का आधारस्तम्भ है। आचार्य शंकर ने इन दोनों समस्याओं का पूर्ण समाधान प्रस्तुत किया है और ब्रह्म के—पारमार्थिक निर्गुण स्वरूप को उक्त दोनों दोषों से रक्षित रखा है। ब्रह्म को शून्य स्वभाव मानने पर वह जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि असत् शून्य से जगत् की उत्पत्ति नहीं हो सकती। इसी प्रकार निर्विशेष ब्रह्म सविशेष भावापन्न होकर ही जगत् का कारण हो सकता है - सविशेषभाव को प्राप्त हुए विना नहीं। शून्य स्वभाव ब्रह्म सविशेषभाव को नहीं प्राप्त हो सकता। सत्स्वरूप निर्विशेष ब्रह्म ही सविशेषभाव को ग्रहण कर सकता है। ब्रह्म का सगुणभावापन्नत्व ही उसका ईश्वरभाव है। निर्गुण ब्रह्म में सगुणभावापन्नत्व मायाशक्ति द्वारा उपपन्न होता है। यही मायाशक्त्युपहित सगुणब्रह्म शांकर वेदान्त में ईश्वर है।[३] अतः स्वरूप से ईश्वर वस्तुतः निर्विशेष निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही है, उससे भिन्न नहीं है। सगुण भावापन्न ब्रह्म में किस प्रकार निर्गुणत्व का निर्वाह हो सकता है, ऐसी आशंका नहीं करनी चाहिए। परमार्थावस्था में तो ब्रह्म निर्गुण निर्विशेषस्वभाव ही है, व्यवहारा-

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* शांकर वेदान्त से यहाँ तात्पर्य शंकराभिमत वेदान्त है। इसमें ब्रह्मसूत्र, उपनिषदों एवं गीता पर शंकर द्वारा प्रणीत भाष्यों से ही उनके साक्षात् विचारों के जानने का प्रयास किया गया है। शंकर के परवर्ती अनुयायियों का विशेष विचार इसमें सम्मिलित नहीं है। प्रस्तुत लेख में यह दिखाने का प्रयत्न किया गया है कि आचार्य शंकर की दृष्टि में अद्वैत वेदान्त में ईश्वर का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है।

१. समस्तविशेषरहितं निर्विकल्पकमेव ब्रह्म प्रतिपत्तव्यम्। न तद्विपरीतम् कूटस्थं च नित्यं ब्रह्म सर्वविक्रियाप्रतिषेधात्।—(ब्र० सू० शां० भा०)

२. आचार्य शंकर की दृष्टि में शून्य शशशृंग के समान असत् है। आजकल कुछ विद्वान् शून्य को भी एक तत्व मानने लगे हैं। किंतु यहाँ पर शंकर के अनुसार ही शून्य का अर्थ ग्रहण किया गया है।

३. The moment we try to link up Māyā with Brahman the latter becomes transformed into ईश्वर and माया denotes the शक्ति or the energy of ईश्वर. ईश्वर however is not any moment affected by his माया.—डा० राधाकृष्णन, (इन्डियन फिलासफी)

वस्था में वही मायाशक्ति से युक्त होकर सविशेष एवं सगुण बन जाता है। निर्गुण एवं सगुण रूप से ब्रह्म की दो भिन्न-भिन्न सत्ताएँ हैं, ऐसा नहीं समझना चाहिए, एक ही परमात्मा में दृष्टिभेद से निर्गुणत्व और सगुणत्व उपपन्न होता है।[1]

कुछ लोग यह आक्षेप करते हैं कि शांकर वेदान्त में ईश्वर का कोई महत्वपूर्ण स्थान नहीं है, क्योंकि वहाँ ईश्वर की परमार्थसत्ता का पूर्णतः निषेध किया गया है। यह आक्षेप निराधार है। परमार्थावस्था में तो "एक अद्वितीय ब्रह्म" ही है, द्वैतप्रपंच का अस्तित्व ही नहीं है। उस अवस्था में कुछ ईशितव्य है ही नहीं जिसके लिए ईशितृत्व की अपेक्षा हो। अतः उस अवस्था में ईशितृ ईशितृत्वभाव उपपन्न नहीं होता और न उपास्य उपासक भाव ही संगत होता है। परमार्थावस्था में निर्विशेष पर ब्रह्म का सविशेषभाव या ईश्वर भाव ही अपेक्षित नहीं है। अतः उस अवस्था में ईश्वरभाव के अनपेक्षित होने से ईश्वर के परमार्थत्व प्रतिषेध द्वारा वस्तुतः निर्विशेष ब्रह्म के ईश्वरभाव या सविशेषभाव का ही प्रतिषेध है, स्वरूपतः ईश्वर के प्रतिषेध में तात्पर्य नहीं है। स्वरूप से तो ईश्वर निर्गुण निरंजन ब्रह्म ही है,[2] वही व्यवहार-दशा में ईशितव्य के अपेक्षित होने से ईश्वरभाव से आपन्न हो जाता है, यह पहले ही कहा जा चुका है। अतः सविशेष और निर्विशेष ब्रह्म में एकत्व की दृष्टि से ईश्वर स्वरूपतः निर्गुण ही है ऐसा ध्यान में रखते हुए निर्गुण ब्रह्म को भी ईश्वर शब्द से कहने या उसे ईश्वर स्वीकार करने में कोई असंगति प्रतीत नहीं होती। इसी बात को ध्यान में रखकर संभवतः आचार्य शंकर ने अपने समस्त भाष्यों में निर्गुण ब्रह्म के अर्थ में ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग अनेकों बार किया है।[3] कभी-कभी वे सविशेष और

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१. सगुण तथा निर्गुण ब्रह्म में किसी प्रकार का भेद नहीं है। वह एक ही सत्ता है परन्तु दृष्टिकोण के भेद से दो नामों से पुकारा जाता है। पारमार्थिक दृष्टि से ब्रह्म निर्गुण है। यह निर्विशेष ब्रह्म माया के द्वारा सविशेष या सगुण-भाव को धारण करता है, तब उसे ईश्वर कहते हैं। अतः वह निर्विशेष ब्रह्म ही संसार की अपेक्षा से ईश्वर है परन्तु निरपेक्षभाव से देखने पर वही ब्रह्म है। निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही—वास्तविक पारमार्थिक सत्ता है, परन्तु व्यवहार तथा उपासना के निमित्त वही सगुण ईश्वर माना जाता है। तत्त्व एक ही है। प्रो० ब० उपाध्याय (भा० द० का इतिहास)।

From two different stand-points ब्रह्मन् may be condi—tioned and unconditioned. वही पृ० ४६८

२. उदाहरणार्थ—सविशेष ब्रह्म या ईश्वर के संकल्प आदि तो औपाधिक ही हैं, स्वरूपतः तो वह निर्गुण ही है—"संकल्पाः कामाश्च शुद्धसत्वोपाधिनिमित्ता ईश्वरस्य चित्रगुवत्। न स्वतो नेति नेति इति प्रत्युक्तत्वात्" छा० उप० भा०

३. द्रष्टव्य, ब्र० सू० भा० उपनिषदों पर भाष्य तथा गीता भाष्य

उदाहरणार्थ—गीता भाष्य में (क्षेत्रज्ञेश्वरैक्य) प्रकरण में ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही के अर्थ में है—"अविक्रियस्य च व्योमवत् सर्वगतस्य अमूर्तस्य आत्मनः केनचित् संयोगवियोगानुपपत्तेः सिद्धं क्षेत्रज्ञस्य नित्यं एव ईश्वरत्वम्।" (१३-२)

ब्र० सू० भा० १-४-६ आदि

निर्विशेष ब्रह्म के दोनों रूपों में एकत्व दृष्टि रखते हुए दोनों के प्रतिपादक-शब्दों का एक साथ प्रयोग करते हैं, जिनसे शंकर का अभिप्राय या तो सविशेषपरक होता है या निर्विशेषपरक ।[1] इस कथन का समर्थन प्रो० सच्चिदानन्दमूर्ति से भी प्राप्त होता है। वे कहते हैं---'ब्रह्म और ईश्वर दो भिन्न-भिन्न वस्तुएँ नहीं हैं किन्तु एक ही तत्व के दो दृष्टिकोण हैं । अतः ब्रह्म (निर्गुणं) बहुत स्थानों में परमेश्वर कहा गया है ।[2] इसी सविशेष ब्रह्म या ईश्वर की यह जगत् अभिव्यक्ति है । शांकर वेदान्त में तो जगत् मिथ्या है, यह सिद्धान्त है। अब जगत् का अस्तित्व मानना कहाँ तक उपयुक्त है, यह कथन ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि जगत् की पारमार्थिक सत्ता का प्रतिषेध है। जगत् की व्यावहारिक सत्ता तो शंकर को मान्य है । यहाँ 'मिथ्या' शब्द पारिभाषिक अर्थ में है, जिसका अर्थ शशशृंगवत् असत् नहीं है । जगत् को मिथ्या कहने का तात्पर्य यहाँ परमार्थ की अपेक्षा से है ।[3] जो परमार्थदर्शी है, उसी की दृष्टि में यह जगत् मिथ्या हो सकता है । मिथ्या का अर्थ है आपेक्षिक सत्य ।[4] परमार्थ की अनपेक्षा से जगत् को मिथ्या या भ्रम रूप नहीं कहा जा सकता ।

व्यवहाररूप में तो जगत् न मिथ्या है न भ्रमरूप है, जिस रूप में वह है, सत्य ही है ।[5] प्रो० हिरियन्ना का यह कथन ठीक है कि जिसे एकत्व का साक्षात्कार नहीं हुआ उसे जगत् को मिथ्या मानने का अधिकार नहीं है ।[6] यह मिथ्या रूप जगत् निराश्रित नहीं है ।[7] ब्रह्म ही इसका अधिष्ठान है, किन्तु निर्विशेषस्वभावात्मक ब्रह्म से इस जगत् का सम्बन्ध स्थापित नहीं हो सकता । यह सम्बन्ध सविशेष ब्रह्म अथवा

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१. बृ० उप० भा० ३-७-२३

२. तस्मात् सर्वभूतैः वैलक्षण्यम् अत्यन्तमेव परमेश्वरस्य सिद्धं निर्विशेषत्वम् एकत्वं च ।---गीता० भा० (१३-२७)

Vedanta.

३. सर्वव्यवहाराणामेव प्राक् ब्रह्मात्मताविज्ञानात् सत्यत्वोपपत्तेः प्राग्-ब्रह्मात्मताप्रतिबोधात् उपपन्नः सर्वो लौकिको वैदिकश्च-व्यवहारः ।
ब्र० सू० भा० २-१-१४

४. एकमेव हि परमार्थसत्यं ब्रह्म । इह पुनर्लोकव्यवहारविषयमापेक्षिकं सत्यम् ।
(तैत्ति० उप० भा०)

५. प्राक् सदात्मप्रतिबोधात् स्वविषयेऽपि सर्वं सत्यमेव । छा० उप० भा०

६. आलोचक जब यह कहते हैं कि शंकर के मत से सम्पूर्ण जगत् मिथ्या या आभास है तब उनका इस बात की उपेक्षा करना है कि जगत् का ईश्वर से जो सम्बन्ध है वह उस सम्बन्ध से भिन्न है जो जगत् का जीव से है । निस्सन्देह जगत् ईश्वर के लिए आभास है, परन्तु हमारे लिये जिन्होंने जगत् की अपने से एकता समझी नहीं, यह आभास नहीं है । जब तक हम ऐसा नहीं कर लेते, तब तक हमें जगत् को सत्य ही समझना चाहिए । (भारतीय दर्शन की रूपरेखा पृ० ३७५.)

७. नहिमृगतृष्णिकादयोऽपि निरास्पदा भवन्ति ।

ईश्वर के द्वारा ही उपपन्न होता है। इसी प्रकार जगत् के अधिष्ठानभूत परमार्थ रूप परब्रह्म का निरूपण बिना जगत् की व्याख्या के नहीं हो सकता। जगत् स्वरूप की व्याख्या ईश्वर सत्ता के स्वीकार किये बिना नहीं हो सकती। ईश्वर ही इन दोनों निर्गुण ब्रह्म और जगत् का एक प्रकार से मध्यस्थ है।[1] इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि निर्गुण ब्रह्म से सगुण ब्रह्म भिन्न है। सविशेष ब्रह्म या ईश्वर जो स्वरूपतः अनौपाधिक रूप में निर्गुण ही है, सविशेष रूप द्वारा ही वह अपने अनौपाधिक निर्गुण रूप तक पहुँचाने में समर्थ होता है। इसी प्रकार वह जगत् के अस्तित्व एवं स्वरूप की सिद्धि में भी नियामक है। यही बात 'अध्यारोपापवादन्याय' से भी स्पष्ट होती।[2]

कुछ समालोचक शंकर वचनों को उद्धृत करते हुए यह प्रमाणित करने का प्रयास करते हैं कि श्रुति प्रतिपादित जगत् की सृष्टि प्रक्रिया में शंकर की वास्तविक रुचि नहीं दिखाई देती——उनकी दृष्टि में सृष्टि अर्थवाद मात्र है।[3] अतः शंकर की दृष्टि में जगत् या सृष्टि का कोई महत्व नहीं है। शंकर के ऐसे वचनों को छिपाने का हमारा यहाँ प्रयास नहीं है। किन्तु इन कथनों से आचार्य शंकर का क्या अभिप्राय है, यही दिखाने का तात्पर्य है। इससे शंकर का आशय यही है कि श्रुति में सृष्टि के प्रतिपादन का प्रयोजन अंतिम नहीं है, किन्तु उसका अन्तिम लक्ष्य "आत्मबोध" है। जगत् की सृष्टि प्रक्रिया में परमार्थविषयिणी बुद्धि न हो यही उनकी उसमें अरुचि का तात्पर्य है न कि सृष्टि-प्रक्रिया के निराकरण में।[4] उनकी दृष्टि में श्रुति का परम उद्देश्य सृष्टि को सृष्टि मात्र दिखाने का नहीं है किन्तु उसके माध्यम से ब्रह्मात्मभाव प्रतिपादन का है। व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से वे जगत् की सृष्टि को स्वीकार करते हैं। वस्तुतः परमार्थ प्राप्ति ही परमपुरुषार्थ है। यही प्रधानरूप से दिखाना शांकर दर्शन का मुख्य प्रयोजन है। यही कारण है कि उनकी दृष्टि प्रधानतया सच्चिदानन्द स्वरूप निर्गुण ब्रह्म के प्रतिपादन पर बल देने में ही गोचरी-भूत होती है।[1] किन्तु इससे उनकी दृष्टि में व्यवहार बिलकुल निर्मूल अथवा महत्वहीन है, यह नहीं समझना चाहिए। अतः व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से सगुण ब्रह्म अथवा ईश्वर और जगत् दोनों ही आचार्य की दृष्टि में

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१. He is the intermediate principle between the ब्रह्मन् and the empirical world——J. N. Sinha. (*H. I. Phil*, P. 1507)

२. उपाधिकृतं मिथ्यारूपमपि अस्तित्वाधिगमाय ज्ञेय धर्मवत् परिकल्प्य उच्यते सर्वतः पाणिपादम् इत्यादि। तथाहि सम्प्रदायविदां वचनम् अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां निष्प्रपंच प्रपंच्यते। ——गीता० शा० भा० (३-१३)

३. अत्रात्माऽवबोधमात्रविवक्षितत्वात् सर्वोऽयमर्थवादः (ऐत० उप० भा०—२—१)

४. न चैयं परमार्थविषया सृष्टिश्रुतिः अविद्याकल्पितनामरूपव्यवहारगोचरत्वात् ब्रह्मात्मभावप्रतिपादनपरत्वाच्च। —(ब्र० सू० शा० २-१-३३)

अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं। यही कारण है कि आचार्य ने ब्रह्मसूत्र भाष्य में वैनाशिक बौद्धों के मतों का खंडन कर जगत् के स्थिर अस्तित्व को प्रबल तर्कों द्वारा स्थापित किया है। यदि आचार्य की जगत् के अस्तित्व मानने में वास्तविक अरुचि होती तो वे उसके अस्तित्व सिद्ध करने का इतना प्रबल प्रयास न करते। वहाँ शंकर ने जगत् का अस्तित्व सिद्धि के द्वारा प्रकारान्तर से ईश्वरवाद की ही प्रतिष्ठा की है। अतः ईश्वर के सम्बन्ध में साक्षात् विचार करने के पहिले यह आवश्यक है कि जगत् के स्वरूप के संबंध में कुछ विचार किया जाय। अनीश्वरवादी स्थूलतया दो भागों में विभक्त किए जा सकते हैं—अनात्मवादी और आत्मवादी। इनमें अनात्मवादी बौद्ध एवं चार्वाक हैं। आत्मवादियों में सांख्य, वैशेषिक, मीमांसक तथा आर्हत आते हैं, जो जगत् के स्वरूप को अनेक चेतन-भोक्तृ संयुक्त स्वीकार करते हैं। अनात्मवादियों में भौतिक चार्वाक यद्यपि जगत् की स्थिर सत्ता स्वीकार करते हैं, तथापि उनके मत में जगत् का स्वरूप नित्य चेतन भोक्ताओं से युक्त नहीं है—प्राणियों में चेतनत्व भौतिक है। बौद्धमतावलम्बी तीनों प्रमुख सम्प्रदाय शून्यवादी, विज्ञानवादी तथा बाह्यार्थवादी अनीश्वरवादी एवं अनात्मवादी हैं, किन्तु उनमें जगत् के अस्तित्व एवं स्वरूप के विषय में महान् मतभेद है। शून्यवादियों के अनुसार यह जगत् शून्यमात्र है। आचार्य शंकर की दृष्टि में शून्यवाद अथवा माध्यमिक पक्ष सर्वथा सर्वप्रमाण प्रतिषिद्ध है। इस पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि जगन्मिथ्यावादी वेदान्ती भी प्रकारान्तर से शून्यत्व ही अंगीकार करते हैं। यह कथन संगत नहीं है, जैसा कि आरम्भ ही में संकेत किया जा चुका है, शून्यत्व और मिथ्यात्व परस्पर विरुद्ध हैं। शून्यत्व शशशृंग की तरह असत् है। जगत् का मिथ्यात्व सद्रूप परमार्थ की अपेक्षा से ही है। मिथ्यात्व से व्यावहारिक अस्तित्व का निषेध नहीं है। जगत् का मूल सत् है। यदि जगत् का मूल सत् न होता तो व्यवहार में जगत् को सत् मानना असंभव था।[2] कार्य का कारण से अनन्यत्व होने से जगत् को भी सत् कहा जा सकता है तथा जगत् में होने वाले सब व्यवहारों का सत्यत्व भी उपपन्न होता है।[3] इसीलिए यह कहा गया है कि स्थावर-जंगमात्मक सब प्रजा सत्कारण वाली है, अपने स्थिति

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१. सर्वधर्मविशेषरहितब्रह्मदर्शनादेव फलसिद्धौ सत्यां यत्राऽफलं श्रूयते ब्रह्मणो जगदाकारपरिणामित्वादि तत्र ब्रह्मदर्शनोपायत्वेनैव विनियुज्यते, नहि परिणामवत्व विज्ञानात् परिणामवत्वमात्मानः फलं स्यादिति वक्तुं युक्तं कूटस्थनित्यत्वान्मोक्षस्य।
—ब्र० सू० भा० (२-१-१४)

२. मूलं चेज्जगतो न स्यात् असदन्वितमेवेदं कार्यं असदित्येवं गृह्येत नत्वेतदस्ति सतसदित्येव गृह्यते। यथा मृदादिकार्यं घटादिमृदाद्यन्वितम्। तस्माज्जगतो मूलमात्मास्तीत्येवोपलब्धव्यम्। —कठ० उप० भा० २-३-१३

सन्मूलमेकमेवाद्वितीयं परमार्थं सत्यम्। तदस्य जगतो मूलम्। छा० उप० भा०

३. कार्यस्य कारणादनन्यत्वम्। अतश्च कृत्स्नस्य जगतो ब्रह्मकार्यत्वात् तदन्यत्वाच्च। ब्र० सू० भा० २-१-२० सर्वं च नामरूपादि सदात्मनैव सत्यं विकारजातम्। स्वतस्तु अनृतमेव वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयमित्युक्तत्वात्। अतः सदात्मना सर्व-

काल में इसी सत् पर आश्रित है तथा अन्त में उसी में लीन होने वाली है।[१] शून्य-वादी के पक्ष में जगत् का अधिष्ठानभूत सत् स्वीकार्य नहीं है। शंकर कहते हैं कि सर्व-प्रमाण प्रसिद्ध इस लोक-व्यवहार का, उसके अधिष्ठानभूत सत् को माने बिना, उसका बाध नहीं किया जा सकता।[२]

विज्ञानवादी एवं बाह्यार्थवादी दोनों ही सम्प्रदाय अपनी-अपनी प्रक्रिया के अनुसार जगत् की सत्ता स्वीकार करते हैं तथापि इन दोनों मतों में जगत् का अस्तित्व क्षणिक ही माना गया है। विज्ञानवादी तो बाह्यार्थ का क्षणिक अस्तित्व भी स्वीकार नहीं करते। इस दृष्टि से इन्हें जगत् के अर्धसत्तावादी ही समझना चाहिए। आचार्य शंकर ने प्रबल तर्कों द्वारा इस मत का निराकरण कर बाह्यार्थ के अस्तित्व को स्थापित किया है। आचार्य कहते हैं कि विज्ञानवादियों का यह तर्क कि बाह्यार्थ के बिना भी ज्ञान-वैचित्र्य का अस्तित्व है और यह ज्ञानवैचित्र्य वासनाओं से ही जन्य है, ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि बाह्यार्थ के बिना वासनाओं की सिद्धि संभव नहीं है। दूसरे वासनाएँ संस्कार विशेष ही हैं। संस्कारों के लिए अपने आश्रय की अपेक्षा है। विज्ञानवादी वासनाओं के आश्रयभूत आलय-विज्ञान की कल्पना करते हैं किन्तु आलयविज्ञान के क्षणिक होने से वह वासनाओं के आश्रय बनने में समर्थ नहीं है। इसलिए उसके आधार के लिए कोई चेतन साक्षी अपेक्षित है। आचार्य यहाँ स्पष्टरूप से स्थिर चेतनभोक्तृ संयुक्त जगत् का अस्तित्व सिद्ध करते हैं। साथ ही यह प्रकाश डालते हैं कि संस्कारवान् भोक्ता के नियन्तृत्व के लिए साक्षी चेतन (ईश्वर का अन्तर्यामित्व) की आवश्यकता है। प्राणियों की यह जीवन प्रक्रिया बिना ईश्वर के अस्तित्व से, भौतिक यंत्रवत् चलने में सर्वथा असमर्थ है।

सर्वास्तित्ववादी बौद्ध जगत् के बाह्य एवं आन्तर दोनों का अस्तित्व स्वीकार करते हैं–भूत और भौतिक बाह्य है तथा चित्त और चैत्त आन्तर। इनके मत में बाह्य समुदाय परमाणु समुदायरूप ही है। आन्तर समुदाय भी रूप विज्ञानादि पंचस्कन्धरूप है, जो सर्वव्यवहारों का निर्वाहक है। आचार्य शंकर कहते हैं कि यह उक्त परमाणुओं एवं

व्यवहाराणां सर्वविकाराणां च सत्यत्वम् सतोऽन्यत्वे चानृतत्वमिति। छा० उप० भा०, पृ० ६५३

१. सन्मूलाः––सत्कारणाः––स्थावरजंगमलक्षणाः सर्वाप्रजाः। न केवलं सन्मूला एव इदानीमपि स्थिति काले सदायतनाः। सदाश्रयाएव नहि मृदमनाश्रित्यघटादेः सत्व-स्थितिवास्ति। अन्ते च सत्प्रतिष्ठाः सदेव प्रतिष्ठालयः यासां ताः। छा० उप० भा० पृ० ६५३

२. नह्ययं सर्वप्रमाणप्रसिद्धो लोकव्यवहारोऽन्यत् तत्वमनधिगम्य शक्यते अपह्नोतुम्। ब्र० सू० भा० २-२-३१

स्कंधों का संघात होना संभव नहीं है क्योंकि वे अचेतन हैं। दूसरे इनके मत में क्षणिक विज्ञान से अन्य कोई स्थिर चेतन जीव अथवा ईश्वर संघात के निमित्त स्वीकृत नहीं है, अतः ईश्वर के बिना परमाणु और स्कन्ध स्वयमेव संघात के प्रवर्तक नहीं हो सकते।[१] वस्तुतः संघातसिद्धि के लिए जीव और ईश्वर दोनों ही अपेक्षित हैं। चेतन भोक्ताओं के स्वीकार करने पर भी ईश्वर के बिना संघातसिद्धि उपपन्न नहीं हो सकती। यही बात शंकर ने चेतन भोक्ताओं को मानने वाले अनीश्वरवादी वैशेषिकों के प्रति कही है।[२]

इस प्रकार इन बौद्ध साम्प्रदायिकों के अभिमत जगत् के अस्तित्व एवं स्वरूप विषयक मतों का शंकर के द्वारा किये गये खण्डन का मूल्यांकन निम्नलिखित हो सकता है--

१---जगत् की स्थिर सत्ता है।

२--इसका स्वरूप चेतन भोक्ताओं से युक्त है।

३--जगत् के नियन्तृत्व तथा कारणत्व के लिए ईश्वर अपेक्षित है।

इसी के द्वारा जगत् स्वरूप को भौतिक चेतनों से युक्त माननेवाले चार्वाकों के मत का भी खण्डन समझना चाहिए।

अब हम नित्य चेतन भोक्ताओं से युक्त जगत् स्वरूप को माननेवाले अनीश्वर-वादी सांख्य, वैशेषिक, आर्हत आदि मतों पर आते हैं। सांख्य मत के अनुसार प्रकृति ही जगत् का कारण है। आचार्य शंकर ने सांख्यीय प्रकृतिवाद का खण्डन कर ईश्वरवाद की स्थापना की है। अचेतन प्रकृति जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकती। क्योंकि उसमें प्रवृत्ति की सामर्थ्य नहीं है। यदि कहो कि अचेतन क्षीरादि में प्रवृत्ति स्वाभाविक होती है उसी प्रकार यहाँ भी प्रवृत्ति संभव है। यह कथन ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि अचेतन में प्रवृत्ति चेतनाधीन होती है। शंकर यहाँ श्रुति प्रमाणों के आधार पर अचेतन पदार्थों में भी ईश्वर का अन्तर्यामित्व प्रदर्शित करते हैं।[३]

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१. तस्मिन्नुभयहेतुकेऽपि समुदायेऽभिप्रेयमाणे--समुदायाप्राप्तिः समुदायिकानामचेतनत्वात्--अन्यस्य च कस्यचित् चेतनस्य भोक्तुः प्रशासितुर्वा स्थिरस्य संहन्तुरनभ्युपगमात्--निरपेक्षप्रवृत्यभ्युपगमे च प्रवृत्यनुपरमप्रसंगात्।

ब्र० सू० भा० २-२-१८

२. तच्च नित्येष्वणुष्वभ्युपगम्यमानेष्वाश्रयाश्रयिभूतेषु च भोक्तृषु सत्सु न संभवतीत्युक्तं वैशेषिकपरीक्षायाम् किमंग पुनः क्षणिकेष्वप्यणुषु भोक्तृरहितेष्वाश्रयाश्रयि शून्येषु वाभ्युपगम्यमानेषु सम्भवेत्।

ब्र० सू० भा० २-२-१९

३. योऽप्सु तिष्ठन् या ऽपोऽन्तरो यमयति। इत्यादि ब्र० उप० ३-७-४ एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासेन गार्गि प्राच्योऽन्या नद्यः स्यन्दन्ति। (ब्र० उप० ३-८-९)

इत्येवं जातीयकं (शास्त्रम्) समस्तस्य लोकपरिस्पन्दितस्येश्वराधिष्ठितां श्रावयति। ब्र० सू० भा०

आगे शंकर कहते हैं कि सांख्याभिमत साम्यावस्थापन्न प्रकृति अथवा प्रधान के प्रवर्तकत्व एवं निवर्तकत्व में उदासीन-स्वभाव पुरुष नियामक नहीं हो सकता। यदि कहो कि उदासीन पुरुष अयस्कान्त की तरह सन्निधिमात्र से अचेतन-प्रधान को प्रवृत्त करेगा तो यह ठीक नहीं है। क्योंकि नित्य सन्निधान के होने से निरन्तर प्रवृत्ति का प्रसंग आ जायगा। प्रधान और पुरुष के मध्य में कोई सम्बन्ध का स्थापित करने वाला न होने से दोनों का सम्बन्ध उपपन्न नहीं हो सकेगा। इसी प्रकार कर्म भी प्रधान के प्रवर्तकत्वादि में नियामक नहीं हो सकता। अतः सर्वथा अनपेक्ष प्रधान जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकता। वेदान्त में तो ईश्वर सर्वज्ञ सर्वशक्तिमान् माना गया है। अतः उसमें प्रवर्तकत्व एवं निवर्तकत्व दोनों उपपन्न हो सकते हैं।[1] यहाँ सांख्यानुयायियों की ओर से यह तर्क प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है कि वेदान्त में भी तो आत्मा नित्य शुद्ध बुद्ध मुक्त स्वभाव मानने पर उसमें प्रवृत्ति की अनुपपत्ति है और प्रवृत्ति के साहित्य से उसमें प्रवर्तकत्व संभव नहीं है। इसका समाधान करते हुए आचार्य कहते हैं कि परमार्थ दृष्टि से निर्गुण निरंजन स्वभाव प्रवृत्तिरहित ईश्वर में भी प्रवर्तकत्व संभव है।[2] इसी प्रकार परमार्थभूत ब्रह्म के अद्वितीय होने पर भी व्यवहार में प्रवर्त्य का अभाव नहीं होता और प्रवर्त्य के सद्भाव में ईश्वर में प्रवर्तकत्व अनुपपन्न नहीं होता। अतः सर्वज्ञ चेतन ही जगत् का कारण हो सकता है अचेतन नहीं।[3]

इस प्रकार प्रकृतिवाद के खण्डन द्वारा शंकर का अभिमत यही है कि स्वतंत्र अचेतन प्रकृति जगत् का कारण नहीं बन सकती। चेतनाधीन होकर ही वह कारण बन सकती है। इसका अर्थ है ईश्वर कारणवाद की स्थापना।

वैशेषिकों के मत में परमाणुओं से जगत् की उत्पत्ति मानी गई है। उनके अनुसार सर्गकाल में वायवीय अणुओं में अदृष्टापेक्ष कर्म उत्पन्न होता है। उस कर्म के द्वारा दूसरे अणुओं में संयोजन होता है और फिर उसके द्वारा क्रमशः सृष्टि होती है।[4]

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१. ईश्वरस्य तु सर्वज्ञत्वात् सर्वशक्तित्वान्महामायत्वाच्च प्रवृत्यप्रवृत्ती न विरुद्ध्येते। वही २-२-४।

२. एवं प्रवृत्तिरहितोऽपीश्वरः सर्वगतः सर्वात्मा सर्वज्ञः सर्वशक्तिश्च सन् सर्वं प्रवर्तयेदित्युपपन्नम्।

ब्र० सू० भा० २-२-२

३. एकत्वात् प्रवर्त्यभावे प्रवर्तकत्वानुपपत्तिरिति चेत् न अविद्यापत्युपस्थापित नामरूपमायावेशवशेन……तस्मात् संभवति प्रवृत्तिः सर्वज्ञकारणत्वे न त्वचेतनकारणत्वे। वही २–२–२

४. सर्गकाले च वायवीषु अणुषु अदृष्टापेक्षं कर्म उत्पद्यते तत्कर्म स्वाश्रयमणुं अण्वन्तरेण संयुनक्ति, ततो द्वयणुकादिक्रमेण वायुरुत्पद्यते, एवं यमग्निः, एवमापः एवं पृथिवी एवमेव शरीरं सेन्द्रियमिति। एवं सर्वमिदं जगदणुभ्यः सम्भवति। ब्र० सू० भा० २–२–१

आचार्य की दृष्टि में यह मत ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि अदृष्टनिमित्तक कर्म अणुओं में उत्पन्न नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि अदृष्ट अचेतन है।

इसी परमाणुवाद के निराकरण से आर्हत मत का भी खण्डन हो जाता है जो यह मानते हैं कि पुद्गल संज्ञक अणुओं से संघात उत्पन्न होता है। अचेतन परमाणुवाद के खण्डन से शंकर का वही ध्येय है जो प्रकृतिवाद के खण्डन से है।

ऊपर के विवेचन से स्पष्ट हो चुका है कि जगत् का (बाह्याभ्यन्तरसहित) अस्तित्व स्थिर है क्षणिक नहीं है और उसका कारण सर्वज्ञ चेतन अथवा ईश्वर है। अचेतन प्रधान परमाणु आदि कारण नहीं है। किन्तु अभी हमें जगत् और उसके कारण का कुछ और अधिक विशेष स्वरूप जानना अपेक्षित है। इन दोनों का स्पष्ट स्वरूप ब्रह्मसूत्रकार के "जन्माद्यस्ययत:" सूत्र पर शंकर द्वारा की गई व्याख्या में अवगत होता है। इस सूत्र से जगत् की उत्पत्ति, स्थिति एवं लय तीन अवस्थाएँ सूचित होती हैं।[1] जगत्कारण इन तीनों अवस्थाओं से संबंधित रहता है। आचार्य ने इस सूत्र की व्याख्या में जगत् के विलक्षण स्वरूप को विशेषरूप से स्पष्ट किया है, जिससे उसके कारणभूत ईश्वरस्वरूप की महत्ता और भी बढ़ जाती है। क्योंकि विलक्षण कार्य का कारण भी विलक्षण ही हो सकता है। जगत् के स्वरूप के विषय में वे कहते हैं--

> अस्य जगतो नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतस्य, अनेककर्तृभोक्तृ-
> संयुक्तस्य, प्रतिनियतदेशकालनिमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य,
> अचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य – (ब्र० सू० भा० २-१-१)

यहाँ जगत् के स्वरूप निष्पादक नामरूप--आदि चार विशेषण-पद हैं, जिनके द्वारा जगत् का सर्वांगीण स्वरूप सामने आ जाता है। इन जगत्स्वरूप निष्पादक चार विशेषणों द्वारा क्रमशः आचार्य शंकर का अभिप्राय इस प्रकार संगृहीत किया जा सकता है--

(१) यह जगत् नामरूपों से व्याकृत अवस्था में है और कारण मूलक है-- अकारण नहीं है। यह नामरूपों से अव्याकृत अवस्था में अपने कारण में लीन रहता है।

(२) यह जगत् अनेक कर्तृभोक्तृस्वरूप चेतन जीवों से युक्त है।

(३) यह चेतनाचेतनात्मक जगत् सर्वथा व्यवस्थित है।

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१. इसी आशय का प्रतिपादक वचन छान्दो० उप० ३-१४ में मिलता है।— 'तज्जलान्" जिसकी व्याख्या शंकर इस प्रकार करते हैं--"तज्जलानिति, तस्माद-ब्रह्मणो जातं तेजोऽबन्नादिक्रमेण सर्वम् अतस्तज्जम्, तथा तेनैव जननक्रमेण प्रतिलोम तया तस्मिन्नेव ब्रह्मणि लीयते तदात्मतया श्लिष्यत इतितल्लम्। तथा तस्मिन्नेव स्थिति कालेऽनिति प्राणिति चेष्टत इति। एवं ब्रह्मात्मतया त्रिषु कालेष्वविशिष्टं-तद्व्यतिरेकेणा-ग्रहणात्।"

(४) इन उपर्युक्त विशेषणों से विशिष्ट इस जगत् की रचना के स्वरूप का वैलक्षण्य यह चतुर्थ विशेषण "अचिन्त्य-रचनारूपस्य" प्रकट करता है।

यद्यपि सूत्र की व्याख्या में ही जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है, जगत् के कारण ईश्वर के स्वरूपबोधक पृथक् विशेषण दिए गए हैं,[१] तथापि उपर्युक्त जगत्स्वरूप के निष्पादक चारों विशेषण पद भी जगत् कारण ईश्वर के स्वरूप को लक्षित कराते हैं। यथा प्रथम विशेषण "नामरूपाभ्यां जगत्" यह सूचित करता है कि जगत् का कारण चेतन ही हो सकता है अचेतन नहीं।[२] किन्तु यहाँ चेतन से तात्पर्य सर्वज्ञ ही है, क्योंकि नामरूप का व्याकर्ता अन्यत्र सर्वज्ञ ही कहा गया है।[३] अल्पज्ञ चेतन जीव जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि इसका अन्तर्भाव कार्यभूत जगत् में ही है। यह जगत् चेतन जीवों से युक्त है यह "अनेक कर्तृभोक्तृसंयुक्तस्य" पद से कहा गया है। संसारी भोक्ता जीव से भिन्न सर्वज्ञ चेतन ही जगत् का कारण है। यह बात तृतीय विशेषणपद "प्रतिनियतदेशकालनिमित्तक्रियाफलाश्रयस्य" से पूर्णतः स्पष्ट हो जाती है। इस जगत् में प्राणियों के कर्मफल आदि सब प्रकार की व्यवस्था देखी जाती है। इससे यह सूचित होता है कि इस व्यवस्था का कोई सर्वज्ञ शासक अवश्य होगा। चतुर्थ विशेषणपद "अचिन्त्यरचनारूपस्य" से जगत् कारण सर्वशक्तिमान् ही हो सकता है, सूचित होता है। इस प्रकार जगत् के इन विशेषणपदों से जगत् के स्वरूप के साथ-साथ उसके कारण ईश्वरस्वरूप का भी बोध हो जाता है। इससे सिद्ध है कि यथोक्त विशेषण विशिष्ट जगत् का यथोक्त विशेषण विशिष्ट ईश्वर ही कारण है। यदि यह जगत् अव्यवस्थित-रूपवाला क्षणिक एवं भौतिक चेतनयुक्त होता तो ऐसे चेतन सर्वज्ञ सर्वशक्तिमान् ईश्वर की आवश्यकता न होती। किन्तु जगत् ऐसा नहीं है। अतः उक्त विशेषण विशिष्ट ईश्वर अवश्य है। इसी प्रकार शंकर ने केन उप० में वर्णित यक्षोपाख्यान के भाष्य में ईश्वर की महत्ता प्रदर्शित की है। यहाँ भी विविध प्राणियों से युक्त इस जगत् का कारण एवं नियन्ता ईश्वर सिद्ध किया गया है।[४] अनीश्वर-

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१. "यतः सर्वज्ञात् सर्वशक्तेः कारणात्"

२. यत् खलु नाम्ना रूपेण च व्याक्रियते तत्चेतनकर्तृकं दृष्टं यथा घटादि। विवादास्पदाध्यासितं च जगन्नामरूपाभ्यां व्याकृतं तस्माच्चेतनकर्तृकं संभाव्यते। चेतनो हि बुद्धावालिख्य नामरूपे घट इति नाम्नारूपेण च कम्बुग्रीवादिना बाह्यं घटं निष्पादयति। भामती।

३. "नामरूपे व्याकरवाणि।" उप०

४. यदिदं जगद्देवगन्धर्वयक्षरक्षः पितृपिशाचाद्विलक्षणं द्युवियत्पृथिव्यादित्य-चन्द्रग्रहनक्षत्रविचित्रं, विविधप्राण्युपभोगयोग्यस्थानसाधनसम्बन्धि तदत्यन्तकुशलशिल्पिभिरपि दुर्निर्माणम्—केन उप०–३ वाक्य भाष्य, देशकालनिमित्तानुरूपनियतप्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ति-क्रममेतद्भोक्तृ-कर्मविभागज्ञ प्रयत्नपूर्वकं भवितुमर्हति······वही।

वादी कर्मवादियों के इस मत का कि जगत् की उत्पत्ति कर्म से हो सकती है, निराकरण किया गया है ।[1]

"जन्माद्यस्ययतः" सूत्र की व्याख्या से यह भी सूचित हो जाता है कि जगत् का यह कारण अभिन्न निमित्तोपादान है । अन्यत्र तो स्पष्ट रूप से ईश्वर को जगत् का अभिन्न निमित्तोपादान कहा ही गया है ।[2]

अब हम यहाँ प्रसंगवश अन्य ईश्वरवादी दार्शनिकों के सम्बन्ध में विचार करेंगे जो सभी जगत् को अनेक चेतन संयुक्त व्यवस्थित रूप तो मानते हैं किन्तु वे ईश्वर को जगत् का केवल निमित्तकारण स्वीकार करते हैं । आचार्य शंकर ने उनके ईश्वर विषयक मत का केवल इसी पक्ष को लेकर खण्डन किया है । कुछ सांख्य[3] मतावलम्बी यह मानते हैं कि प्रधान और पुरुष का अधिष्ठाता केवल निमित्तकारण ईश्वर है । माहेश्वर मत में भी पशुपति ईश्वर का केवल निमित्त कारणत्व अंगीकृत है । इसी प्रकार कुछ परमाणुवादी[4] वैशेषिक आदि हैं जो अपनी प्रक्रिया के अनुसार ईश्वर को निमित्त कारण मानते हैं । उपर्युक्त प्रथम मत का निर्देश करते हुए शंकर कहते हैं कि ईश्वर प्रधान और पुरुष के अधिष्ठातृत्वरूप से जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि इससे ईश्वर में रागादि दोष की प्रसक्ति होगी । यदि यह कहा जाय कि ईश्वर कर्मापेक्षित होकर प्राणियों में हीनादि भेद करता है, अतः उसमें रागादि दोष न होंगे तो यह कथन ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि कर्म और ईश्वर में प्रवर्त्य और प्रवर्तयितृत्व असंभव है । बिना किसी संबंध के प्रधान और पुरुष का अधिष्ठाता ईश्वर नहीं हो सकता । यहाँ ईश्वर तो पुरुषविशेष ही है अतः पुरुष के उदासीन होने से उसमें प्रवर्तकत्व अनुपपन्न है ।

भागवत सिद्धान्त में यद्यपि ईश्वर निमित्तोपादान उभयात्मक कारण स्वीकृत है तथापि उनके मत में यह दोष है कि उसमें वासुदेव संज्ञक परमात्मा से संकर्षण संज्ञक जीव की उत्पत्ति मानी गई है । यह समीचीन नहीं है क्योंकि इससे अनित्यादि दोषों की प्रसक्ति होगी । इस पर हम आगे विवेचन करेंगे । अतः इन ईश्वर-

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१. कर्मण एवेति चेत् न, परतंत्रस्य निमित्तमात्रत्वात्—वही ।

२. चेतनं ब्रह्म जगत्कारणं प्रकृतिश्च—ब्र० सू० भा० २—१—३७

२. उपादानकारणं च ब्रह्माभ्युपगन्तव्यं निमित्तकारणं च ।
ब्र० सू० भा० १—४—७

३. शंकर यहाँ सांख्य से सेश्वर सांख्य का संकेत करते हैं । इसके पहले वे निरीश्वर सांख्य के प्रधानवाद का खण्डन कर चुके हैं ।

४. इसके पहले शंकर निरीश्वरवादी वैशेषिकों के अचेतन परमाणुवाद का खण्डन कर चुके हैं । यहाँ वे सेश्वर वैशेषिकों के ईश्वर के निमित्त कारण-वाद का खण्डन करते हैं ।

वादियों का ईश्वरविषयक मत समीचीन नहीं है। केवल निमित्त कारणवाद पक्ष में न तो ईश्वर का प्रधान और पुरुष के अधिष्ठातृत्व रूप से जगत्कारणत्व उपपन्न है और न कर्म और ईश्वर में प्रवर्त्य और प्रयर्तयितृत्व उपपन्न हो सकता है। पुरुष विशेष ईश्वर है, ऐसे ईश्वर के स्वरूप में तो प्रवर्तकत्व ही उपपन्न नहीं हो सकता। ब्रह्मवादियों के पक्ष में ऐसी कठिनाई नहीं है। क्योंकि वहाँ तो माया और ब्रह्म का "अनिर्वाच्यतादात्म्यलक्षणसम्बन्ध" उपपन्न है।[1] इस प्रकार इन ईश्वर-वादियों के निमित्तकारणत्वादि पक्ष[2] के खण्डन द्वारा शंकर यही दिखाना चाहते हैं कि अद्वैतवाद के अनुसार ईश्वर का स्वरूप माने बिना सच्चे अर्थ में ईश्वरत्व उपपन्न नहीं हो सकता। वस्तुतः ईश्वर को केवल निमित्तकारण मानने से वह सर्वशक्तिमान नहीं हो सकता। उपादानवस्तु की सत्ता उससे भिन्न रहने से वह सीमित हो जायगा और उसका सर्वज्ञत्व भी अक्षुण्ण नहीं रह सकेगा।

शंकर सिद्धान्तित ईश्वर में पूर्ण सर्वज्ञत्व और पूर्ण सर्वशक्तिमत्व उपपन्न हो जाता है। उसे समस्त जगत् आदि का सामान्यरूप से ज्ञान रहता है अतः वह सर्वज्ञ है। वह सर्ववित् है क्योंकि उसे विशेषरूप से ज्ञान रहता है।[3] सर्वशक्तिमान् होने से उसे जगत्सृष्टि के लिए वस्त्वन्तर की अपेक्षा नहीं रहती।[4] ऐसे सर्वज्ञत्वादि-विशिष्ट ईश्वर के लिए तो इस जगत् की सृष्टि लीलामात्र है।[5] परमेश्वर आप्तकाम है। इसमें उसका कोई अपना प्रयोजन नहीं है। अतः उसमें स्वभाव से ही यह लीला-रूपाप्रवृत्ति होती है[6]। किन्तु इससे यह न समझना चाहिए कि वह जगत् की सृष्टि

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१. ब्र० सू० भा०।

२. यहाँ पर यह आपत्ति उठाई जा सकती है कि शंकर निरीश्वर सांख्य तथा निरीश्वर परमाणुवादियों के क्रमशः प्रकृतिवाद एवं परमाणुवाद के खण्डन में ईश्वर को जगत् का केवल निमित्तकारण स्वीकार करते हुए दिखाई देते हैं। किन्तु इससे यह निष्कर्ष न निकालना चाहिए कि उनका तात्पर्य वहाँ केवल निमित्तकारणवाद स्वीकार करना है। निरीश्वर-वादियों के अचेतन कारणवाद के खण्डन द्वारा पहले वे ईश्वरवाद की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं। निमित्त कारण मात्र ईश्वर को वहीं दिखाना अपेक्षित था फिर यहाँ ईश्वरवादियों के केवल निमित्त कारणवाद का खण्डन कर अभिन्ननिमित्तो-पादान कारण दिखाना अभीष्ट है।

३. सामान्येन जानाति इति सर्वज्ञः। विशेषेण वेत्ति इति सर्ववित्। मुण्डक उप० भा० २–१

४. जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयकृत असंसारी सर्वज्ञः, सर्वशक्तिः सर्ववित् सर्वमिदं जगत् स्वतोऽन्यद् वस्त्वन्तरमनुपादैव आकाशादिक्रमेणसृष्ट्वा—ऐतरेये उप० भा०

५. परमेश्वरस्य लीलैव (इयंसृष्टिः) केवलम्, अपरिमितशक्तित्वात्। ब्र० सू० भा० २–१–३३।

६. ईश्वरस्याऽनपेक्ष्य किंचित् प्रयोजनान्तरं स्वभावादेव लीलारूपा प्रवृत्तिः। वही २–१–३३

उन्मत्त की तरह करता है क्योंकि सर्वज्ञ होने से ऐसी संभावना नहीं की जा सकती।[1] यहाँ यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि ऐसा ईश्वर जगत् का रचयिता है तो वह ऐसी विषमा सृष्टि से वैषम्य एवं नैर्घृण्य, दोष का भागी क्यों बनता है। इसके समाधान में शंकर कहते हैं कि ये दोष ईश्वर पर नहीं लग सकते। क्योंकि वह प्राणियों के धर्म और अधर्म की अपेक्षा से सृष्टि करता है। यदि वह निरपेक्ष होकर सृष्टि करता तो ये दोनों दोष लगते। यह विषमा सृष्टि प्राणियों के धर्माधर्मापेक्षा से है अतः इसमें ईश्वर का क्या अपराध है।[2] यदि यह कहा जाय कि सृष्टि के आदि में तो कर्म नहीं था तो फिर उसकी अपेक्षा से विषमासृष्टि कैसे? यह ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि संसार अनादि है[3]। जगत् के अन्तर्गत आनेवाले जीव भी अनादि हैं। यदि यह संसार सादि हो तो उसके आकस्मिक प्रादुर्भाव से मुक्तों का भी संसार में आने का प्रसंग और सुखदुःखादि वैषम्य के निर्निमित्त होने से अकृत पाप और पुण्य की प्रसक्ति होगी। ईश्वर जीव और जगत् को उत्पन्न नहीं करता किन्तु अभिव्यक्त करता है। यहाँ जगत् स्रष्टा का अर्थ है अव्याकृत नामरूपों को व्याकृत करने वाला[4] और सृष्टि का अर्थ है अव्याकृत नामरूपों का व्याकृत होना। नामरूप से व्याकृत यह जगत् कारणावस्था में नामरूपों से अव्याकृत था। जगत् की यह प्रागवस्था बीजशक्तिरूपा है[5] जो परमेश्वर से पराधीन है स्वतंत्र नहीं है। यह अविद्यात्मिका बीजशक्ति ईश्वर की शक्ति है जो, कहीं अव्यक्त कहीं माया अथवा कहीं प्रकृति शब्द से कही गई है। इस शक्ति के बिना ईश्वर जगत्सृष्टि में प्रवृत्त नहीं हो सकता। संसार प्रपंच के बीजभूत अविद्याकल्पितअनिर्वचनीय ये नामरूप ईश्वर के आत्मभूत जैसे हैं[6]। यद्यपि शक्ति और

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१. नाप्यप्रवृत्तिरुन्मत्तप्रवृत्तिर्वासृष्टिश्रुतेः सर्वज्ञत्वश्रुतेश्च। वही २–१–३३

२. वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये नेश्वरस्य प्रसज्येते। कस्मात्। सापेक्षत्वात्। यदि हि निरपेक्षः केवल ईश्वरो विषमां सृष्टिं निर्मिमीते स्यातामेतौ दोषौ वैषम्यं नैर्घृण्यं च, न तु निरपेक्षस्य निर्मातृत्वमस्ति, सापेक्षो हीश्वरो विषमां सृष्टिं निर्मिमीते।.........
प्राणिधर्मापेक्षा विषमा सृष्टिरिति नायमीश्वरस्यापराधः। वही २–१–३४

३. अनादित्वात् संसारस्य। वही २–१–३७
गीता० भा० १३–१९
आदिमत्वे हि संसारस्याऽकस्मादुद्भूतेर्मुक्तानामपि पुनः संसारोद्भूतिप्रसंगः। अकृताभ्यागमप्रसंगश्च। सुखदुःखादि वैषम्यस्य निर्निमित्तत्वात्। ब्र० सू० भा० २–१–३६

४. अविद्यात्मकनामरूपबीजव्याकरणापेक्षत्वात्-सर्वज्ञत्वस्य। वही २–१–१४

५. जगदिदमनभिव्यक्त नामरूपं बीजात्मकं प्रागवस्थम्। ब्र० सू० भा०

६. परमेश्वराधीनात्वियं..........प्रागवस्था जगतोऽभ्युपगम्यते न स्वतन्त्रा। ....न हि तया बिना परमेश्वरस्य स्रष्टृत्वं सिद्ध्यति, शक्तिरहितस्य तस्य प्रवृत्यनुपपत्तेः।.....अविद्यात्मिका हि बीजशक्तिः अव्यक्तशब्दनिर्देश्या परमेश्वराश्रया मायामयी महासुषुप्तिः, यस्यां स्वरूपप्रतिबोधरहिताः शेरते संसारिणोजीवाः। वही १–४–३

शक्तिमान् में अभेद रहता है[1] तथापि संसार के बीजभूत नामरूपों को ही ईश्वर नहीं समझना चाहिए, उनसे सर्वज्ञ ईश्वर भिन्न है।[2] ईश्वर नामरूपों से विलक्षण तथा उनसे अस्पृष्ट है, तब भी वह नामरूपों का व्याकर्ता है।[3] जगत् की नामरूपों से अव्याकृत तथा व्याकृत दोनों अवस्थाओं में ईश्वर का नियन्तृत्व सिद्ध है।[4] प्रलयावस्था में जब यह जगत् अपने कारण ईश्वर में लीन रहता है तब उसमें विविध प्राणियों का कर्मसांकर्य नहीं होने पाता।[5] सृष्टि होने पर प्राणियों को पुनः अपने प्राक्तन शुभाशुभ कर्मसंस्कारों के अनुसार विभिन्न योनियों में जन्म ग्रहण करना पड़ता है और जन्म मरण का यह चक्र उनमें निरन्तर चलता रहता है। वे प्राणी अपने शुभाशुभ कर्मों के अनुसार ही सुख-दुःख के भोक्ता होते हैं। किन्तु यह ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि कर्म जो स्वतः जड़ है, सीधे फल प्रदान करने में समर्थ नहीं है, अतः ईश्वर ही प्राणियों के शुभाशुभ कर्मों के फल प्रदान करने में समर्थ हैं क्योंकि उसे उनके कर्मों का पूर्ण ज्ञान रहता है।[6] ईश्वर कर्माध्यक्ष, सर्वान्तर्यामी, सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा तथा साक्षी कहा गया है। ईश्वर साक्षित्व रूप-सत्ता-मात्र से भोक्ता और भोग्य दोनों का प्रेरक है। इसका प्रेरकत्व केवल दर्शन मात्र है। अतः सत्ता मात्र से सब भूतों के अन्तःकरणों का प्रेरक होने के कारण वह सबका साक्षी है। उसकी सर्वत्र सत्ता होने से ही वह सर्वान्तर्यामी कहा गया है। समस्त प्राणियों में प्रविष्ट होकर उनका नियन्तृत्व करता है।[7]

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१. गीता भा०

२. पारमेश्वर्याः शक्तेः समस्त जगत्विधायिन्या·······न स्वतंत्रा काचित् प्रकृतिः। सैव दैवीशक्तिरव्याकृतनामरूपा नामरूपयोः प्रागवस्था। वही १–४–९

सर्वज्ञस्येश्वरस्याऽऽत्मभूत इवाऽविद्याकल्पिते नामरूपे तत्वान्यत्वाभ्यामनिर्वचनीये संसारप्रपंचस्य बीजरूपे सर्वज्ञस्येश्वरस्य मायाशक्तिः प्रकृतिश्च·········ताभ्यामन्यः सर्वज्ञः ईश्वरः। वही २–१–१४

३. यदित्येतद् ब्रह्म नामरूपविलक्षणं नामरूपाभ्यामस्पृष्टं तथापि तयोर्निवोढा। छा० उप० भा० ८–१४–१

४. तदुभयं परस्पर संयुक्तं कार्यकारणात्मकं विश्वं विभर्ति ईश्वरः। श्वेत० उप० भा०

५. ब्र० सू० भा० २–३–५०

६. कर्तृकर्मफलविभागज्ञः (केन उप० वा० भा० खं० ३)
सर्वस्य सर्वक्रियाफलप्रत्ययसाक्षी (वही खं० ३)
सर्वजन्तुबुद्धिकर्मफलविभागसाक्षी (वही खं० ३)

आत्मसंस्थस्य प्रत्यगात्मनः ईश्वरस्य सर्वज्ञस्य सर्वक्रियाफलसंयोजयितुः प्राणिनाम् (वही पद० भा० खं० ३)

७. सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा (वही वा० भा० खंड ३)

एक एवेश्वरश्चात्मा सर्वभूतानां नित्यमुक्तोऽभ्युपगम्यते। (वही वा० भा० खं० ३)

कर्माध्यक्षात्·······साक्षिणश्चेत् चितुरीश्वरात्। ब्र० सू० भा० २–३–४२

प्राणियों की जाग्रत् स्वप्न सुषुप्ति तीनों अवस्थाओं में ईश्वर का साक्षित्व वा अधिष्ठातृत्व अव्यभिचरित रूप से रहता है,[1] क्योंकि जैसा पहले कहा जा चुका है, वह तो उनकी आत्मा ही है। ईश्वर प्राणियों के हृदय में स्थित होकर उन्हें अपनी माया से भ्रमित कर रहा है।[2] जीव ईश्वर की माया से मोहित होकर ही जीवभाव की अवस्था में है जिसके कारण वह अपनी आत्मा ईश्वर को नहीं जानता। यहाँ यह प्रश्न उठता है कि जब ईश्वर ही जीवों का पूर्णतः प्रेरक और नियन्ता है तो फिर उनमें कर्मकर्तृत्व स्वातंत्र्य कैसे सुरक्षित रह सकता है और वे अपने शुभाशुभ कर्मों के अनुसार सुख-दुःख के भोक्ता किस प्रकार माने जा सकते हैं। यद्यपि ईश्वर जीवकृत धर्माधर्म के वैषम्य से अपेक्षित होकर ही उनके अनुरूप विषम फलों को प्रदान करता है[3] तथापि जीव का कर्तृत्व ईश्वर पराधीन होने के कारण उसका कृतप्रयत्नापेक्ष व ही उपपन्न नहीं है। इसका समाधान करते हुए आचार्य शंकर कहते हैं कि इसमें कोई दोष नहीं है। जीव का कर्तृत्व ईश्वर के पराधीन होने पर भी कर्म का कर्ता तो जीव ही है, कर्म करते हुए उस जीव को ईश्वर करवाता है। दूसरी बात यह भी है कि जीव द्वारा कृत पूर्व प्रयत्न की अपेक्षा से ही ईश्वर इस समय उससे कर्म करवाता है इसी तरह इससे किए गये पूर्वतरप्रयत्न की अपेक्षा से उसने पहले प्रवृत्त किया था। संसार के अनादि होने से इसमें कोई दोष नहीं है[4] वस्तुतः जीव का कर्तृत्व ईश्वर-परायत्त केवल इसी दृष्टि से समझना चाहिए कि ईश्वर उसे दोनों प्रकार के शुभाशुभ कर्मों के साधन एवं सामर्थ्य प्रस्तुत करता है[5]—किन्तु इससे जीव का स्वतन्त्र कर्तृत्व बाधित नहीं होता। उन

प्रेरयिता ह्यसावुभयोः भोग्यभोक्त्रोः नित्यसाक्षित्व सत्तामात्रेण। दर्शनमात्रं हि तस्य प्रेरयितृत्वम् मुण्ड उप० भा० ३–१

सर्वेक्षितृ हि तत् सर्वभूतकरणप्रयोक्तृत्वात्। केन उप० पद० खं० ३)

एषोऽन्तर्यामी अनुप्रविश्य सर्वेषां भूतानां नियन्ताप्येष एव। मा० उप० भा० ७

१. तस्य सर्वेश्वरत्वात्सर्वास्वस्थास्वपि अधिष्ठातृ त्वोपपत्तेः। ब्र० सू० भा० ३–२–४

२. गीताभाष्य १८–६१

३. जीवकृतधर्माधर्मवैषम्यापेक्ष एव तत्तत्फलानि विषमं विभजते। ब्र० सू० भा० २–३–४२

४. ननु कृतप्रयत्नापेक्षत्वमेव जीवस्य परायत्त कर्तृत्वे नोपपद्यते नैष दोषः। परायत्तेऽपि हि कर्तृत्वे करोत्येव जीवः कुर्वन्तं हि तं ईश्वरः कारयति। अपि च पूर्वं प्रयत्नमपेक्ष्येदानीं कारयति पूर्वतरं च प्रयत्नमपेक्ष्य पूर्वमकारयत इति अनादित्वात् संसारस्य अनवद्यम्। ब्र० सू० भा० २–३–४७

५. य एष साधु कर्म कारयति इत्यादि श्रुतिवचनों का भी यही तात्पर्य समझना चाहिए।

शुभादि कर्मों के करने में जीव स्वतन्त्र है। ईश्वर संसार की माया से संस्पृष्ट नहीं होता। जगत् कारण ईश्वर जगत् की उत्पत्ति स्थिति लय तीनों अवस्थाओं में उसके धर्मों से न तो संस्पृष्ट होता है और न वह समस्त प्राणियों की आत्मा होने पर भी जीवों के दुःखादि से लिप्त होता है।[1]

जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है कि जीव जगत् का कारण नहीं हो सकता, यहाँ अचेतनकारणवादी की ओर से संभाव्य इस आशंका का कि यदि ईश्वर ही समस्त जीवों के आत्मरूप से शरीर में अनुप्रविष्ट है तो जीव को ईश्वर से भिन्न न होने से जीव को स्रष्टा मानने से उसमें हिताकरणादि दोष प्रसक्त होंगे क्योंकि संसार में जीव अपने को दुखी क्यों बनाएगा। शंकर इसका निराकरण करते हुए कहते हैं कि जीव जगत् का स्रष्टा नहीं हो सकता। जगत् स्रष्टा तो सर्वज्ञ सर्वशक्तिमान्, नित्य शुद्धयुक्त स्वभाव ईश्वर है। उसमें हिताकरणादि दोष नहीं लग सकते क्योंकि उसके लिए न तो कुछ हितकरणीय है और न अहित परिहरणीय है। उसमें न ज्ञान का प्रतिबन्ध है और न शक्ति का ही प्रतिबन्ध है। किंतु जीव ऐसा नहीं है। अतः जीव और ईश्वर में महान् भेद है।[2] यह ठीक है कि परमार्थतः जीव और ईश्वर में अभेद है[3] और यह भेद औपाधिक ही है। दोनों की उपाधि में भेद है। जीव की उपाधि हीनोपाधि है जिसके कारण वह अल्पज्ञ, अल्पशक्ति शुभाशुभ कर्मों के अनुसार सुख दुःख का भोक्ता संसारी एवं शासित है। ईश्वर की विशुद्ध सत्त्वोपाधि है, जिसके कारण वह सर्वज्ञ सर्वशक्तिमान् एवं सर्वनियन्ता है। ईश्वर के सर्वज्ञत्व, सर्वशक्तिमत्व आदि धर्म औपाधिक ही हैं। परमार्थतः ईश्वर निर्गुणस्वभाव होने पर भी वह अपनी माया-शक्ति उपाधि से युक्त होकर ही सृष्ट्यादि कर्म में प्रवृत्त होता है। किन्तु यह न भूलना चाहिए कि ईश्वर अपनी उपाधि-मायाशक्ति के कभी भी पराधीन नहीं होता। ईश्वर मायावी होने पर भी माया उसके सदैव नियन्त्रण में रहती है—वह कभी भी माया से लिप्त नहीं होता। शंकर की दृष्टि में, ईश्वर मायाशक्तिमत् होने पर भी नित्यशुद्धमुक्त

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१. यथा, स्वयं प्रसारितया मायया मायावी त्रिस्वपि कालेषु न संस्पृश्यते अवस्तुत्वात्, एवं परमात्माऽपि संसारमायया न संस्पृश्यत इति। ब्र० सू० भा० २-१-९

यथा चोदशरावादिकम्पनात् तद्गते सूर्यप्रतिबिम्बे कम्पमानेऽपि न तद्वान्-सूर्यः कम्पते, एवमविद्योप्रत्युपस्थापिते बुद्ध्याद्युपहिते जीवाख्येऽशे दुःखायमानेऽपि न तद्वानीश्वरो दुःखायते। वही २-३-४६

२. यत् सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्ति ब्रह्म नित्यशुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं शरीरादधिकमन्यत् तत्स्वयं जगतः स्रष्टु ब्रूमः। न तस्मिन् हिताकरणाद्वयो दोषो प्रसज्यन्ते, न हि तस्य हितं किंचित् कर्त्तव्यमस्ति अहितं वा परिहर्तव्यम्, नित्यमुक्तस्वभावत्वात् न च तस्य ज्ञान-प्रतिबन्धः शक्तिप्रतिबन्धो वा क्वचिदप्यस्ति, सर्वज्ञत्वात् सर्वशक्तित्वाच्च शारीरस्त्वनेवं-विधः नतु तं वयं जगतः स्रष्टारं ब्रूमः।

३. परमावतिस्तु परमात्मविज्ञानात्मनो भेदाभावात्। ब्र० सू० भा० १-४-१

स्वभाव है। किन्तु संसारी जीव ऐसा नहीं है। वह सदैव अनादि माया के वश में रहता है। ईश्वर औपाधिक होने पर भी अपनी उपाधि का स्वामी है किन्तु जीव अपनी उपाधि का दास है। शंकर की दृष्टि में यद्यपि जीव का जीवत्व और ईश्वर का ईश्वरत्व दोनों औपाधिक हैं, तथापि दोनों में अत्यन्त भेद है। जीव का औपाधिक जीवत्व मिथ्या ज्ञानजनित भ्रान्तिरूप है, किंतु ईश्वर का औपाधिक ईश्वरत्व ईश्वर के भ्रान्ति से जन्य नहीं है। जीव अपने जीवत्व से संसारी बनता है किन्तु ईश्वर अपने ईश्वरत्व से संसार धर्मों से स्पृष्ट नहीं होता। औपाधिक ईश्वर का जो सम्बन्ध निर्गुण ब्रह्म का है ठीक वैसा ही औपाधिक जीव का निर्गुण ब्रह्म से नहीं है। जीवदशा में जीव परमात्मा का आभासमात्र है किन्तु औपाधिक अवस्था में भी ईश्वर साक्षात् ब्रह्म या आत्मा ही है। इस आभासरूप जीव का जीवत्व मिथ्याज्ञाननिमित्तक ही है। अतः जीवबुद्ध्यादि में परिकल्पित आत्म-सम्बन्ध मात्र है। जब तक जीव शरीरेन्द्रियादि में आत्मबुद्धि रखता है, तभी तक जीव का जीवत्व तथा संसारित्व रहता है। किन्तु ज्योंही जीव शरीरेन्द्रियादि से आत्मबुद्धि हटा कर अपनी आत्मा ईश्वर को जान लेता है, त्यों ही उसका जीवत्व एवं संसारित्व नष्ट हो जाता है। और इस प्रकार आत्मरूप ईश्वर के अतिरिक्त जीव की भिन्न सत्ता नहीं रह जाती। शंकर की दृष्टि में "जीवेश्वरैक्य" अथवा "जीवब्रह्मैक्य" का तात्पर्य जीव के जीवत्वापनयन द्वारा आत्मभूत ईश्वर का साक्षात्कार कर लेना मात्र है। इसी स्थिति में यह कहा जा सकता है कि जीव परमार्थतः आत्मारूप ईश्वर या ब्रह्म ही है।[1] अतः शंकर की दृष्टि में सोपाधिक जीव और सोपाधिक ईश्वर दोनों में उनको क्रमशः निकृष्ट उपाधियों का ही भेद नहीं है अपितु दोनों में सूक्ष्म भेद है—प्रथम दूसरे का आभासमात्र है और दूसरा साक्षात् ब्रह्म या आत्मा ही है। इस तथ्य को आचार्य शंकर अपने साक्षात् शब्दों द्वारा घोषित करते हैं--"यावदेव चाऽयं बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धस्तावज्जीवस्य जीवत्वं संसारित्वं च। परमार्थतस्तु न जीवो नाम बुद्ध्यादिसम्बन्धपरिकल्पित स्वरूपव्यतिरेकेण अस्ति। नहि नित्यमुक्त-स्वरूपात् सर्वज्ञात् ईश्वरात् अन्यः चेतनो धातुर्द्वितीयो वेदान्तार्थनिरुपणायामुपलभ्यते।" "नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा, श्रोता मन्ता विज्ञाता (ब्र० ३-७-२३) नान्यदतोऽस्ति द्रष्टृ, श्रोतृ (मन्तृ विज्ञातृ) छा०-६-८-७ तत्वमसि (छा० ६-६-६) अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृ० १-४-७) इत्यादिश्रुतिभ्यः। ब्र० सू० भा० (२-३-३०)"

यहाँ स्पष्टरूप से शंकर ईश्वर को पारमार्थिक सत्य मानते हुए दिखाई देते हैं।

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१. आत्मेत्येव परमेश्वरः प्रतिपत्तव्यः। तथाहि परमेश्वर प्रक्रियायां जाबाला आत्मत्वेनैवेतमुपगच्छन्ति "त्वं वा अहमस्मि भगवो देवतेऽहं वै त्वमसि भगवो देवते इति। तथाऽन्येऽपि अहं ब्रह्मास्मि इत्येवमादय आत्मत्वोपगमा द्रष्टव्याः। ग्राहयन्ति चात्मत्वे-नैवेश्वरं वेदान्तवाक्यानि" एष त आत्मा सर्वान्तरः (बृ० ३-४-१) एष त आत्मा-ऽन्तर्याम्यमृतः (बृ० ३-४-७) तत्सत्यं स आत्मा तत्वमसि (छा० ६-८-७) इत्येवमादीनि। ब्र० सू० भा० (४-१-३)

अन्यत्र भी उनके ऐसे वचन मिलते हैं ।[1] यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वे यहाँ ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग निर्गुण ब्रह्म के ही अर्थ में कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि ईश्वर शब्द औपाधिक सर्वज्ञात् विशेषणपद के साथ प्रयुक्त है। किन्तु इससे यह भी तात्पर्य नहीं लगाया जा सकता है कि शंकर ईश्वर के सविशेष या औपाधिक रूप को पारमार्थिक कहना चाहते हैं अतः यहाँ यही निर्धारण संगत जान पड़ता है कि शंकर की ईश्वर के सविशेष और निर्विशेष रूपों में अभेद दृष्टि है —उनकी दृष्टि में ईश्वर और निर्गुण ब्रह्म में तात्विक भेद नहीं है। संभवतः वे इसी अभेद दृष्टि से कहते हैं कि ईश्वर के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी द्वितीय की सत्ता नहीं है। किन्तु जीव की स्थिति इससे भिन्न है वह तो बुद्ध्युपाधि सम्बन्ध से परिकल्पित मात्र है। परमार्थतः तो वह ईश्वर ही है—ईश्वर से भिन्न उसकी सत्ता नहीं है। इससे भी अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण शंकर द्वारा प्रयुक्त "अद्वैतेश्वर" पद है, जो पूर्णतः निर्गुण ब्रह्म का बोधक है।[2] यहाँ ईश्वर शब्द किसी सर्वज्ञादि औपाधिक विशेषण के साथ प्रयुक्त नहीं है। शंकर के इन वचनों से स्पष्टतः प्रमाणित हो जाता है कि उनकी दृष्टि में ईश्वर के पारमार्थिकत्व का निषेध नहीं है किन्तु ईश्वर के औपाधिक धर्मों का ही पारमार्थिकत्व निषेध है। यहाँ आचार्य स्पष्ट रूप से घोषित करते हैं कि जब संसारी जीव संसारित्व या जीवत्व के अपोहन द्वारा आत्मस्वरूप "अद्वैतेश्वर भाव" को प्राप्त हो जाता है तब उस अवस्था में द्वैत के अभाव में ईश्वर की अपहतपाप्यत्वादि औपाधिक धर्म मिथ्या व्यवस्थित हो जाते हैं। किन्तु कतिपय परवर्ती वेदान्तियों की दृष्टि जीव की भाँति ईश्वर को भी माया की कठपुतली बनाने में दिखाई देती है। पंचदशीकार के इस कथन का कि जीव और ईश्वर दोनों ही मायारूपी कामधेनु के वत्स हैं, यही आशय झलकता है। भले ही लेखक का इससे अभिप्राय दोनों की सौपाधिकता मात्र इंगित करना हो।

यद्यपि उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट हो चुका है कि शंकर की दृष्टि में जीव और ईश्वर में केवल स्थूल औपाधिक ही भेद नहीं है किन्तु सूक्ष्म भेद भी है[3] तथापि यहाँ इस सन्बम्ध में कुछ पुनरावृत्ति द्वारा पुनः स्पष्ट कर देना अनावश्यक नहीं है। इस कथन से अद्वैत वेदान्त में सिद्धान्तित "जीवब्रह्मैक्य" अथवा "जीवेश्वरैक्य" में कोई विरोध नहीं समझना चाहिए। जीव और ब्रह्म अथवा आत्मा या ईश्वर का तादात्म्य जीवरूप से नहीं होता किन्तु जीवत्व के अपनयन द्वारा होता है।

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१. प्रतिषिध्यत एव तु परमार्थतः सर्वज्ञात् परमेश्वरादन्यो द्रष्टा श्रोता वा "नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा" (बृ० ३-७-२३) इत्यादिना। ब्र० सू० भा० (३-१-१७)

२. संसारिणः संसारित्वापोहनेनेश्वरात्मत्वं प्रतिपादयिषमिति एवं च सति अद्वैतेश्वरस्यऽपहतपाप्मत्वादि गुणता.... मिथ्येति व्यवतिष्ठते। ब्र० सू० भा० (४-१-३)।

३. परमेश्वरस्तु अविद्याकल्पिताच्छारीरात् कर्तुर्भोक्तुर्विज्ञानात्माख्यादन्यः...। ब्र० सू० भा० (१-१-१७)।

अतः इस ऐक्य का तात्पर्य शंकर की दृष्टि में हुआ एकमात्र 'नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव सर्वज्ञ ईश्वर की ही सत्ता है' इससे भिन्न जीव की सत्ता नहीं है, यह जान लेना है। समस्त भूतों की आत्मा एक ही ईश्वर है जो प्राणियों के हृदय में साक्षीरूप में स्थित है। उसका साक्षित्व सत्तामात्र से स्थित होना है। यही सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ईश्वर साक्षीरूप से सब जीवों का प्रेरक है किन्तु जीव मिथ्याज्ञान के कारण अपने आत्मा साक्षी ईश्वर को नहीं जानता और देहेन्द्रियादि में आत्मबुद्धि रखने के कारण अपनी अलग सत्ता मान लेता है, जिससे वह संसारी बनकर दुःख-सुख का भोक्ता बनता है। जीव परमार्थतः साक्षी ईश्वर ही है अर्थात् साक्षी ईश्वर से भिन्न उसकी अलग सत्ता नहीं है। शंकर की दृष्टि में सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा साक्षी ईश्वर निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही है।[१] इसीलिए वे निर्गुण ब्रह्म की दृष्टि से "जीवेश्वरैक्य" "क्षेत्रज्ञेश्वरैक्य" आदि पदों में ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं।

अतः जीव का अपने आत्मस्वरूप साक्षी ईश्वर के साथ एकत्व स्थापित होने से जीव के जीवत्व के अपनयन हो जाने पर ईशितव्य के अभाव में उसके प्रति ईश्वर के नियन्तृत्वादि औपाधिक ईश्वरत्व धर्मों का भी अपनयन हो जाता है। प्रकारान्तर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि मुक्त जीव के प्रति ईशितव्य के अभाव में ईश्वर अपना नियन्तृत्व उस मुक्त जीव से (उसके शासित न रह जाने से) हटा लेता है किन्तु अन्य संसारी जीवों के प्रति अब भी वह नियन्तृत्वादि धर्मों से विशिष्ट बना रहता है। किन्तु ईश्वर के नियन्तृत्वादि औपाधिक धर्मों के हट जाने पर भी उसके स्वरूप में कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता, क्योंकि वह तो 'नित्यशुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव' ही है। सौपाधिक अवस्था में भी ईश्वर का यह 'नित्यशुद्धमुक्तस्वरूप' तिरोहित नहीं होता। इस दृष्टि से उसके सविशेष और निर्विशेष दोनों रूपों में कोई तात्विक भेद नहीं रह जाता। वस्तुतः ईश्वर में शंकर की सदैव निर्गुणत्वदृष्टि रहती है। ईश्वर के सर्वज्ञत्व, सर्वशक्तिमत्वादि औपाधिक विशेषणों के साथ प्रायः वे उसके "नित्यशुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव" विशेषण का भी प्रयोग करते हैं। आचार्य शंकर ईश्वर को निर्विशेष ब्रह्म से बिलकुल पृथक् नहीं छोड़ देना चाहते अपितु वे उसे उसके निर्गुण स्वरूप तक ले जाना चाहते हैं।

शंकर अपने ब्र० सू० भाष्य में (४-४-१९) बादरायण सूत्र की व्याख्या करते हुए स्पष्ट-रूप से यह तथ्य अंगीकार-करते हैं कि परमेश्वर का केवल सविशेष विकारी ही रूप नहीं है, अपितु उसका नित्य निर्गुण रूप भी है—विकारावर्त्यपि च नित्यमुक्तं पारमेश्वरं रूपं न केवलं विकारमात्र गोचरम्...। तथाह्यस्य द्विरूपां स्थितिमाहाऽऽम्नाये। 'तावानस्य महिमा ततो ज्यायांश्च पुरुषः। पादोऽस्य सर्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतन्दिवि' (छा० उप० ३-११-६) इत्येवमादिः। इस प्रकार ईश्वर का सगुण रूप उसके निर्गुण

१. परवर्ती वेदान्तियों में जीव, साक्षी तथा ईश्वर के स्वरूपों में महान् मतभेद है।

रूप से नितान्त पृथक नहीं किया जा सकता। ईश्वर के सगुणरूप में भी निर्गुणत्व रहता है। किन्तु सगुण के उपासक उसके निर्गुण रूप को प्राप्त नहीं करते।[1] यह ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि आचार्य शंकर, जैसा कि पहले भी कहा जा चुका है, प्रायः ईश्वर अथवा परमेश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग ठीक ब्रह्म शब्द के समानान्तर रूप में ही करते हैं। जिस प्रकार ब्रह्म शब्द का प्रयोग उसके सविशेष एवं निर्विशेष दोनों रूपों के लिए होता है, उसी प्रकार आचार्य शंकर ईश्वर या परमेश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग सविशेष तथा निर्विशेष दोनों रूपों के लिए करते हैं। अतः आचार्य की दृष्टि में अपरब्रह्मसविशेष ब्रह्म या सगुण ब्रह्म ही ईश्वर नहीं है, अपितु परब्रह्म निर्विशेषब्रह्म या निर्गुणब्रह्म भी ईश्वर है।[2] शंकर की दृष्टि में ईश्वर का वास्तविक रूप निर्गुण ही है,[3] और इसी रूप में वह सर्वभूतों का आत्मा है जो न तो जीवों के कर्मफलों से लिप्त होता है और न उनके दुःखों से दुखित होता है। ये ईश्वर के निर्गुण रूप की महत्ता बताते हुए कहते हैं—

एवंभूतमपि परमेश्वरं नित्यशुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वभूतात्मानं निर्गुणं संसारदोष-बीजप्रदाहकारणं मां न अभिजानाति जगत........।

(गीता भा० ७-१२)

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१. न च तन्निर्विकारं रूपमितरालम्बनाः प्राप्नुवन्तीति शक्यं वक्तुं अतत्क्रतुत्वात्तेषाम्।अतश्च यथैव द्विरूपे परमेश्वरे निर्गुणं रूपमनवाप्य सगुण एवाऽवतिष्ठन्ते— (ब्र० सू० भा० ४-४-१९)

२. अपि च यत्र तु निरस्तसर्वविशेष पारमेश्वरं रूपमुपदिश्यते, भवति तत्र शास्त्रम्—"अशब्दमस्पर्शमरूपमव्ययम् इत्यादि। सर्वाकारणत्वात् तु विकारधर्मैरपि कैश्चित् विशिष्टः परमेश्वरः उपास्यत्वेन निर्दिश्यत" सर्वकर्मा सर्वकामः, सर्वगन्धः सर्वरस, (छा० ३-१४-२) इत्यादिना। ब्र० सू. भा० (१-१-२०)

२. विकारावर्त्यपि च नित्यमुक्तं पारमेश्वरं रूपं, न केवलं विकारमात्रगोचरम्। ब्र० सू० भा०, (४-४-१९) किं पुनः परं ब्रह्म किमपरंमित्युच्यते। यत्राविद्याकृतनाम-रूपादिविशेषप्रतिषेधात् अस्थूलादि शब्दैर्ब्रह्मोपदिश्यते तत्परम तदैव यत्र नामरूपादि विशेषेण केनचित् विशिष्टमुपासनायोपदिश्यते....इत्यादि शब्दैः तत्परम्। ब्र० सू० भा० (४-३-१४)

३. स्मरन्ति च व्यासादयो यथा जैवेन दुःखेन न परमात्मा दुःखायत इति—

तत्र यः परमात्मा हि स नित्यो निर्गुणः स्मृतः।
न लिप्यते फलैश्चापि पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा॥
कर्मात्मात्वपरो योऽसौ मोक्षबन्धैः स युज्यते।
स सप्तदर्शकेनापि राशिना युज्यते पुनः॥

तयोरन्यः पिप्पिलं स्वाद्वत्ति-अनश्नन्नन्योअभिचाकशीति (श्वेत० ४-६) इति एकस्तथा सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा न लिप्यते लोक दुःखेन बाह्यः (कठ० उप० ५-११) इति च।

ब्र० सू० भा० (२-३-४७)

अद्वैत वेदान्त का ईश्वर सच्चे अर्थ में अनन्तगुणों से विशिष्ट एवं अनन्त-शक्तिमत् है। वह जिन जगत्कारण सर्वज्ञ, सर्ववित्, सर्वशक्तिमान्, सर्वान्तर्यामी, सर्वभूतात्मा, साक्षी, कर्माध्यक्ष, स्वयंभू, अपहतपाप्मा, सत्यसंकल्प, सर्वगत, स्वतंत्र, आप्तकाम, महामाय आदि अनेक विशेषणों से कहा गया है, वे सब उसके स्वरूप में पूर्णतः उपपन्न होते हैं।

वस्तुतः वेदान्त के ईश्वर का ऐसा तर्कसंगत स्वरूप जो जगत् का अभिन्न-निमित्तोपादान कारण, जगत् की उत्पत्ति स्थिति लय तीनों अवस्थाओं का आधार, जीवों की जाग्रत् स्वप्न तथा सुषुप्ति तीनों अवस्थाओं में साक्षीरूप से नियामक, जीवों के शुभाशुभ कर्मों का फलप्रदाता, परायत्त जीवों के कर्तृत्व के नियन्ता होने पर भी उन्हें कर्तृत्व स्वातन्त्र्य प्रदान करने में समर्थ, सोपाधिक होने पर भी संसारदोषगन्धों से सर्वथा अस्पृष्ट, सर्वभूतात्मा होने पर भी जीवों के दुखों को स्पर्श न करनेवाला, निरुपाधिक अवस्था में अपने पारमार्थिक निर्गुणरूप में औपाधिक नियन्तृत्वादि धर्मों से रहित होने पर भी परमपुरुषार्थस्वरूप हो, विश्व के अन्य दर्शनों में दुर्लभ है।

ब्रह्मसूत्र-भाष्य में आचार्य शङ्कर द्वारा किए गए ईश्वर के केवल निमित्त कारणवाद पक्ष के खण्डन द्वारा अन्य सभी भारतीय तथा पाश्चात्य दर्शनों में केवल निमित्तकारणवादियों का खण्डन समझना चाहिए। रामानुज के विशिष्टाद्वैत में ईश्वर का अभिन्न निमित्तोपादान कारणत्व स्वीकृत है, किन्तु ईश्वर के विशेषण के रूप में उपादान तत्व को भी पारमार्थिक मानने के कारण उनके ईश्वर का उपादानत्व सच्चे अर्थ में उपपन्न नहीं होता। दूसरे यहाँ जीव की आत्मा ईश्वर को मान लेने पर भी उन दोनों में पारमार्थिक स्वगत भेद बना ही रहता है। अन्य द्वैतवादियों के मत में भी पुरुष या आत्मा को ईश्वर से पारमार्थिक रूप में भिन्न मानने के कारण उनका ईश्वर "सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा" सच्चे अर्थ में नहीं बन सकता।

इसी प्रकार शंकराभिमत ईश्वर सिद्धान्त के द्वारा पाश्चात्यदर्शन के उन ईश्वर-वादी सम्प्रदायों का भी खण्डन हो जाता है जिनके अनुसार ईश्वर जगत् की निर्निमित्त रूप में प्राणियों के धर्माधर्म अपेक्षा के बिना सृष्टि करता है। अवश्य पाश्चात्य दर्शन में स्पिनोजा का ईश्वर (द्रव्य) अद्वैतरूप निर्गुण एवं निराकार है जो संसार में दृष्टिगोचर होने वाले परिणामों से विकृत नहीं होता। अतः स्पिनोज़ा का ईश्वरवाद शंकर के विवर्तवाद से कुछ मिलता-जुलता है[१]। किन्तु तर्क की कसौटी से कसने पर वह शंकर सिद्धान्त के पूर्णतः समकक्ष नहीं ठहराता। वहाँ न तो निर्गुण ईश्वर और

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१. डा० रमाकान्त त्रिपाठी (रीडर, दर्शनविभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय) ने Spinoza in the light of Vedanta नामक अपने विद्वत्तापूर्ण ग्रंथ में स्पिनोजा का शंकर के साथ साम्य स्थापित करने का स्तुत्य प्रयास किया है।

जगत् से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने के लिये माया शक्ति ही स्वीकृत है[1] और न जीवों के कर्तृत्व में स्वातन्त्र्य ही सुरक्षित रह सका है।[2] प्रो० टी० आर० वी० मूर्ति भी स्पिनोजा और शङ्कर के पूर्ण साम्य में असहमत जान पड़ते हैं।[3] पाश्चात्य दर्शन जगत् में क्रान्तिकारी कान्ट का भी दर्शन ईश्वर को प्राप्त करने में असमर्थ ही रह गया। जबकि शांकरदर्शन का सर्वभूतात्मा ईश्वर अनुभवगम्य है। प्रो० भी० ला० आत्रेय अपने "शंकराचार्य का मायावाद" नामक निबन्ध में शङ्कर की मायावाद की प्रशंसा करते हुए कहते हैं कि "इसके आगे कोई दर्शन नहीं जाता। यही सिद्धान्त मनुष्य के लिए अन्तिमतम सिद्धान्त है।" प्रकारान्तर से यह कथन शंकर के ईश्वरवाद के लिए भी लागू होता है, जिसका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध मायावाद से है।

अतः इस कथन में कोई अत्युक्ति न होगी कि शांकर सिद्धान्त में प्रतिष्ठित ईश्वरवाद के समक्ष विश्व की इतर समस्त ईश्वरकल्पनाएँ निष्प्रभ हो जाती हैं। आचार्य शंकर इस सम्बन्ध में स्वयं कहते हैं—

"एवमन्यास्वपिवेदवाह्यस्येश्वरकल्पनासु
यथासम्भवमसामंजस्यं योजनीयम्।" ब्र० सू० भा०
२-२-३८

अब हम ईश्वर के इस पहलू पर विचार करंगे कि व्यावहारिक जीवन में ईश्वर का क्या महत्त्व है? ईश्वर जगत् का कारण एवं नियन्ता हो, सर्वज्ञ एवं सर्व-शक्तिमान हो, प्राणियों के धर्मानुसार फल का प्रदाता हो, किन्तु यदि वह हमारे जीवन में दुःख का साथी नहीं है, हमारी अभीष्ट कामनाओं की वह पूर्ति नहीं करता तो ऐसे गुणविशिष्ट ईश्वर से हमें क्या लाभ? जब वह हमारे शुभाशुभ कर्मों के अनुसार ही शुभ या अशुभ फल देता है तो हमें ईश्वर के मानने पर भी अपने कर्मों के अनुरूप ही फल भोगना पड़ेगा। हमें उसके मानने या न मानने में कोई फरक नहीं पड़ता। ईश्वर तो न्यायी है। ईश्वर शुभ कर्म करने वाले नास्तिक को भी शुभ फल अवश्य ही प्रदान करेगा। ठीक है, ईश्वर को न मानने से ईश्वर का कुछ नहीं बिगड़ता किन्तु उसके विपरीत उसे न माननेवाले का ही अनर्थ हो सकता है। मनुष्य निरन्तर शुभ कर्मों में प्रवृत्त नहीं हो पाता। अपने अनादि प्राक्तन संस्कारों के वशीभूत होकर वह अशुभ कर्म न चाहने पर भी विवश होकर उनमें प्रवृत्त होता है। मनुष्य की इन्द्रियाँ स्वभावतः बलवान् होती हैं। मन स्वतः चंचल है अतः मन इन्द्रियों के वशीभूत होकर अशुभ कर्मों में प्रवृत्त होता है। इस प्रकार वह अपने भावी दुःख वृक्ष का बीज बोता है।

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१. प्रो० चन्द्रधर शर्मा—पाश्चात्यदर्शन
२. प्रो० देवराज—पाश्चात्यदर्शन का इतिहास
३. द्रष्टव्य—प्रस्तावना "स्पिनोजा।"

किन्तु जो ईश्वर-भक्त है, उसे ईश्वर सत्कर्म में प्रेरित करता है। ईश्वरोपासना से मनुष्य जितेन्द्रिय बन जाता है—उसके मन का चांचल्य दूर हो जाता है। अनीश्वरवादी तो कभी-कभी अपने दुःखमय जीवन से दुखित होकर आत्मघात कर लेता है। किन्तु ईश्वर-वादी दुख से उद्विग्न होकर ऐसा जघन्य कार्य नहीं कर सकता। उसे ईश्वरोपासना से महान् आपत्ति में शान्ति तथा जीवन में उदात्त कर्मों के सम्पादन एवं उदात्त चरित्र निर्माण में अपूर्व प्रेरणा प्राप्त होती है। ईश्वरभक्त का जीवन मंगलमय बन जाता है। ईश्वर हमारी गहन आपत्ति में तथा अभीष्ट कामनाओं की पूर्ति में सहायक होता है। प्रथम दृष्टि से गीतोक्त ईश्वरभक्त "आर्त" है जो दुःख में उसके निवारणार्थ ईश्वर की उपासना करता है और द्वितीय दृष्टि से वह "अर्थार्थी" है जो अपने जीवन के अभ्युदय के लिए उसका उपासक होता है।

अब प्रश्न है कि क्या द्वैतवादियों का केवल निमित्त कारण ईश्वर, ईश्वर के सविशेषरूप को पारमार्थिक माननेवालों का ईश्वर, तथा अन्य विश्व में विविध प्रकार के ईश्वर के स्वरूप को माननेवाले ईश्वरवादियों का ईश्वर, हमारे दुःख और अभ्युदय-पूर्ति में सहायक तथा सदनुष्ठान का प्रेरक नहीं हो सकता? इसका उत्तर नकारात्मक नहीं है। इन सभी ईश्वरवादियों का ईश्वर उपर्युक्त सभी अवस्थाओं में सहायक हो सकता है। उसकी उपासना से दैनिक जीवन में भी शान्त्यादि प्राप्त हो सकती है। गीता का यह वचन भी कि ये "यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्" इस तथ्य की पुष्टि करता है।

किन्तु यदि उपासक अपने उपास्य ईश्वर को यह जान लेता है कि इससे बढ़कर अन्य कोई सर्वज्ञत्वादि अनन्त गुणों वाला एवं अनन्तशक्तिमान् नहीं है तब उस उपासक की भक्ति एवं श्रद्धा अपने उस अनन्तशक्ति अनन्तगुणवाले उपास्य के प्रति और भी अधिक बढ़ जाती है। इसके साथ ही वह उपास्य देव सर्वशक्तिमान् आदि गुणों से युक्त भी होना चाहिए तभी वह अपने उपासक के दुख निवारणादि में समर्थ हो सकता है। अतः अभीष्ट सिद्धि के लिए उपासक की भक्ति भी सच्ची होनी चाहिए और उपास्य भी सर्वसमर्थ होना चाहिए। किन्तु दोनों में प्रधानता उपास्य ही की है क्योंकि उसी के अनन्त गुणों के कारण उसके प्रति भक्त की भक्ति संवर्धित होती है, और उपासना में तीव्रता आती है।

यद्यपि अन्य ईश्वरवादी भी अपने अपने मतानुसार ईश्वर को सर्वशक्तिमत्वादि अनन्तगुणों से सम्पन्न समझते हैं, तथापि अन्धविश्वास मात्र से ईश्वर सर्वशक्तिम वादि अनन्तगुणों से सम्पन्न नहीं हो सकता। अद्वैत सिद्धान्तित ईश्वर में तो अनन्त शक्ति-मत्वादि धर्म सर्वप्रमाण सिद्ध हैं।

यदि हम थोड़ी देर के लिए यह मान भी लें कि इतर ईश्वरवादियों का ईश्वर भी हमारे दुख-निवारण, सांसारिक अभ्युदय की प्राप्ति तथा दैनिक जीवन में शान्ति प्राप्ति में सहायक हो सकता है, तो भी मानवबुद्धि इतने ही से तो सन्तुष्ट नहीं हो

सकती । मानव एक ऐसी स्थिति में आता है जिसमें न तो वह जीवन के अस्थायी दुख की निवृत्ति से सन्तुष्ट होता है और न सांसारिक भोगों से ही तृप्त होता है । उसके सामने यह समस्या उठती है कि क्या ईश्वर हमारे दुख की आत्यन्तिक दुख निवृत्ति करने एवं शाश्वत शान्ति अथवा सुख प्रदान करने में समर्थ है ? इस स्थिति में आकर वह ईश्वर के तात्विक स्वरूप को जानना चाहता है क्योंकि ईश्वर के सच्चे स्वरूप के ज्ञान से ही परमसुख (मोक्ष) संभव है ।[१] यही गीतोक्त तीसरे प्रकार का "जिज्ञासु भक्त" है । जब वह ईश्वर के तात्विक स्वरूप को जान लेता है तब वह गीतोक्त "ज्ञानीभक्त" की कोटि में आता है ।[२] इस स्थिति में वह ईश्वर के तात्विक स्वरूप के जानने के साथ अपने जीव स्वरूप को भी आपातत: जान लेता है, क्योंकि जीव का आत्मा तो ईश्वर ही है । "ज्ञानी-भक्त" ईश्वर को अपनी आत्मा समझकर उसके साथ तादात्म्य प्राप्त करने का सतत अभ्यास करने लगता है । अत: व्यावहारिक उपयोगिता के साथ-साथ पारमार्थिक उपादेयता की दृष्टि से भी शंकराभिमत ईश्वर का महत्त्व-पूर्ण वैशिष्ट्य है । यहाँ ईश्वर अपने अनौपाधिक पारमार्थिक रूप में नि:श्रेयस् या परमपुरुषार्थ स्वरूप ही है । इसी परंपुरुषार्थ को प्राप्त कर मानव आत्यन्तिक दुख से निवृत्त होकर शाश्वत् शान्ति लाभ करता है । ईश्वर के इस निर्गुण रूप का साक्षात्कार मात्र ही परम पुरुषार्थ है—"ब्रह्मावगतिर्हि पुरुषार्थ: ।" ईश्वर सोपाधिक सगुण रूप के माध्यम से ही अपने अनौपाधिक निर्गुण रूप का साक्षात्कार कराने में समर्थ होता है । एक ही ईश्वर अपने सौपाधिक रूप से परम पुरुषार्थ प्राप्त कराने का साधन बनता है तो वही अपने अनौपाधिक निर्गुण रूप से साध्य भी है ।

इतरद्वैती ईश्वरवादियों के ईश्वर में भी पारमार्थिक उपादेयता स्वीकार की गई है । वहाँ तो किन्हीं-किन्हीं के मतों में ईश्वर भक्ति: ही साक्षात् नि:श्रेयस् का साधन है । किन्तु इनके ईश्वर स्वरूप की तरह इनका मोक्षस्वरूप भी तर्क-संगत नहीं है । जिनके मत में साक्षी ईश्वर से भिन्न जीव ही पारमार्थिक सत्य है उनके मोक्ष में द्वैत बना रहता है । द्वैतावस्था में पूर्ण स्वातंत्र्य प्राप्त करना संभव नहीं है । इनका ईश्वर सच्चे अर्थ में न तो सर्वान्तिर्यामी ही बन सकता है और न सर्व-भूतात्मा ही । अत: इनके ईश्वर का पूर्णत: पारमार्थिक उपादेयत्व भी सिद्ध नहीं होता ।[३]

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१. ततोहीश्वररूपापरिज्ञानात् बन्धस्तत्स्वरूपपरिज्ञानात् तु मोक्ष: ब्र० सू० भा० । ३-२-५

२. साक्षीत्वात्मैव में मतम्—गीता

३. येषां पुनरीश्वरोऽन्य आत्मन: कार्यं चान्यत् तेषां भयानिवृत्तिर्भयस्यान्यानिमित्तत्वात् ।......एकत्वेपक्षे पुन: सनिमित्तस्य संसारस्य अविद्याकल्पितत्वोद्दोष: । ऐतरे० उप० भाष्य ।

इसके विपरीत अद्वैत वेदान्त के ईश्वर का स्वरूप पारमार्थिक उपयोगिता की दृष्टि से भी तर्कसंगत है।

हम पहले यह कह आए हैं कि जब परमार्थाभिलाषी अथवा मुमुक्षु साधक ईश्वर के स्वरूप को तत्वतः जान लेता है तब वह उसके साथ तादात्म्य प्राप्त करने का अभ्यास करने लगता है। किन्तु यह अद्वैत परम पद प्राप्त करना खिलवाड़ नहीं है। अनेक जन्मों के बाद कहीं जीव इसे प्राप्त करने में समर्थ होता है।[1] एक तो इस परमपद के अभिलाषी भी इने-गिने ही होते हैं, जो इस पद की प्राप्ति की साधना में रत रहते हैं दूसरे इसकी साधना में भी बहुत कम लोग सिद्ध होते हैं। यह जान लेने पर भी कि सर्वभूतात्मा साक्षी रूप से मेरे हृदय में स्थित अन्तर्यामी ईश्वर ही मेरी आत्मा है, बन्धन के कारण शुभादिकर्मों के कर्तृत्व में अहंभाव न रखना अथवा कर्मफल में अनासक्ति बुद्धि रखना अथवा कर्मों का पूर्णतः परित्याग करना बड़ा कठिन हो जाता है। अतः साधक के लिये इसकी अपेक्षा सरल साधन यह है कि वह शुभादि कर्मों को करता हुआ उसके फल को ईश्वरार्पण कर दे, जिससे वह कर्म बन्धन में नहीं पड़ेगा। अधिकारी भेद से स्थूलतया ये उपर्युक्त दो मार्ग क्रमशः "ज्ञान मार्ग" तथा "भक्ति मार्ग" कहलाते हैं। किन्तु इससे यह न समझना चाहिए कि ज्ञान मार्ग में भक्ति का बिलकुल महत्त्व नहीं है तथा भक्तिमार्ग में ज्ञान का महत्त्व नहीं है। दोनों में ज्ञान और भक्ति का महत्त्व है। किन्तु प्रधानता की दृष्टि से उनके नाम भिन्न-भिन्न कहे गये हैं। प्रथम मार्ग में ईश्वर के निर्गुणत्वपक्ष की दृष्टि प्रधान है तो द्वितीय में उसके सगुणत्व पक्ष की। प्रथम में अभेद दृष्टि (मैं तो आत्मभूत ईश्वर ही हूँ) प्रधान है। द्वितीय में भेददृष्टि (मैं और मेरा उपास्य ईश्वर पृथक्-पृथक् है) प्रधान रहती है। अभेद-दृष्टि में भी साधनावस्था में आत्मा के साक्षात्कार के पहले जीव और ईश्वर का भेद बना ही रहता है।

यहाँ यह आशंका उपस्थित होती है कि "जीवेश्वरैक्य" का साक्षात्कार होने पर जीवनमुक्त को भी ईश्वर की तरह सर्वज्ञत्व सर्वशक्तिमत्वादि धर्मों से सम्पन्न हो जाना चाहिए। किन्तु ऐसी बात नहीं है। यहाँ जीव ईश्वर का तादात्म्य ईश्वर के पारमार्थिक निर्गुण रूप में ही होता है। उसके सविशेष व्यावहारिक रूप के साथ तादात्म्य हो ही नहीं सकता। साधनावस्था में साधक की एक ही ईश्वर के निर्गुणत्व और सगुणत्व पक्षों में जो पहले एकत्व दृष्टि रहती है वह इस रूप में रहती है कि उसका प्रथम पक्ष ही पारमार्थिक है और दूसरा अपारमार्थिक। ईश्वर के पारमार्थिक निर्गुणरूप में तो सर्वज्ञत्व सर्वशक्तिमत्वादि धर्म रहते ही नहीं। क्योंकि ज्योंही वह साक्षीरूप से स्थित अपनी आत्मा ईश्वर का साक्षात्कार कर लेता है त्योंही जीव के जीवत्व का अपनयन होने से ईश्वर उसके प्रति अपने सर्वज्ञत्वादि ऐश्वर्य धर्मों को हटा लेता है।[2]

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१. अनेक जन्मसंसिद्धिस्ततो याति परां गतिम्।—गीता

२. तत्वमसीत्येवं जातीयकेन भेदनिर्देशेनाऽभेदः प्रतिबोधितो भवति अपगतं

इस अवस्था में न तो जीव शासित एवं यामक रहता है और न ईश्वर उसके प्रति शासक अथवा नियामक। अन्य बद्ध जीवों के प्रति ईश्वर उसी रूप में नियन्ता बना रहता है। किन्तु जो ईश्वर के सगुणरूप के उपासक हैं, उनके सम्बन्ध में यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि उन्हें मुक्तावस्था में ईश्वर के सर्वज्ञत्व स्रष्टत्वादि धर्म से युक्त हो जाना चाहिए, किन्तु ऐसी बात नहीं है। सगुणोपासकों की 'सायुज्यमुक्ति' कही गई है जिसमें उन्हें अणिमादि ऐश्वर्य की प्राप्ति हो जाती है परन्तु जगदुत्पत्ति आदि व्यापार के वे अधिकारी नहीं होते।[1] वस्तुतः सायुज्यमुक्ति में पूर्ण स्वातंत्र्य नहीं रहता। अणिमादि ऐश्वर्य भी अंतवान् होता है।[2] इसके अतिरिक्त सगुणोपासकों को अन्य सांसारिक कामनाओं की सिद्धि भी प्राप्त होती है।

इस प्रकार शांकराद्वैत सिद्धान्तित ईश्वर न केवल यंत्रवत् समस्त ब्रह्माण्ड का स्रष्टा, नियन्ता तथा प्राणियों का कर्माध्यक्ष होकर उनके शुभादि कर्मों का फल-प्रदाता है, अपितु वह उनके सदनुष्ठान में प्रेरक भी है। उसका यहाँ जिस प्रकार मानव जीवन की व्यावहारिक उपयोगिता की दृष्टि से महत्त्व है उसी प्रकार पारमार्थिक उपयोगिता से भी महत्त्व है।

फिर भी सर्वज्ञत्वादि गुणों से विशिष्ट ब्रह्म या ईश्वर का यह सगुण रूप हमारे लिये इन्द्रियातीत ही रहता है। अतः साधारण साधक के लिए ऐसे ईश्वर की सगुणोपासना भी बिलकुल सरल नहीं है। इसीलिए श्रुतियाँ ईश्वर की अनेक प्रतीकोपासनाओं का विधान करती हैं। इनमें सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण ओंकारोपासना मानी जा सकती है। इसमें जगत् कारण ईश्वर को जगत् की स्थूल, सूक्ष्म तथा प्रलय तीन अवस्थाओं का क्रमशः ओंकार के अ, उ, म अक्षरों के साथ समीकृत किया गया है तथा इन सभी अवस्थाओं में ईश्वर को व्याप्त एवं नियन्ता माना गया है। ब्रह्म के निर्गुण-रूप में चतुर्थपाद की कल्पना कर उसे ओंकार के अमात्र-रूप का चतुर्थपाद से तादात्म्य किया गया है। इस प्रकार ओंकार के प्रतीक रूप में ईश्वर का सोपाधिक सगुण रूप तथा अनौपाधिक निर्गुण रूप साधक के सम्मुख उपस्थित हो

भवति तदा जीवस्य संसारित्व। ब्रह्मणश्च स्रष्टत्वम् समस्तस्य मिथ्याज्ञानविजृम्भितस्य भेद व्यवहारस्य सम्यज् ज्ञानेन बाधितत्वात्। ब्र० सू० भा० (२–१–२२)

१. जगदुत्पत्यादि व्यापारं वर्जयित्वान्यदणिमाद्यात्मकमैश्वर्यं मुक्तानां भवितुमर्हति, जगद्व्यापारस्तु नित्यसिद्धस्यैवेश्वरस्य।....पर एवहीश्वरो जगद्व्यापारेऽधिकृतः। ततः परमेश्वराकूततन्त्रत्वमेवेतरेषामिति व्यवतिष्ठते। ब्र० सू० भा० (४–४–१७)

२. अन्तवत्वमैश्वर्यस्य स्यात्—ब्र० सू० भा० (४–४–२१)

३. यत्रहि निरस्तसर्वविशेषसम्बन्धं परं ब्रह्मात्मत्वेनोपदिश्यते तत्रैकरूपमेव फलं मोक्ष इत्यवगम्यते। यत्रतु गुणविशेष-संबंधं प्रतीकविशेषसम्बन्धं वा ब्रह्मोपदिश्यते तत्र संसारगोचराणि उच्चावचानि फलानि दृश्यन्ते।

ब्र० सू० भा० (१-१-२४)

जाता है। यह उपासना सकाम उपासक तथा निष्काम उपासक दोनों के लिए है। किन्तु इस प्रतीक भूत ओंकार अक्षर में ईश्वर का ऊपर विवेचित रूप (सर्वज्ञत्वादि-विशिष्ट नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव आदि) भावित होना अत्यावश्यक है, तभी ओंकारो-पासना फलीभूत हो सकती है। यदि ओंकार-प्रतीक ईश्वर स्वरूप की भावना से भावित नहीं हुआ तो फिर ओंकारोपासना निष्फल होगी। अतः इन प्रतीकोपासनाओं में भी ईश्वर के इन्द्रियातीत स्वरूप ग्रहण करने की कठिनाई पूर्ववत् ही है। किन्तु इससे निराश होने की जरूरत नहीं है। क्योंकि अद्वैत वेदान्त का ईश्वर अपनी विलक्षण शक्ति-योग से अपने भक्तों या साधकों के अनुग्रहार्थं अपने इन्द्रियातीत-स्वरूप को सुगम बनाने में भी समर्थ हो सकता है। ब्र० सू० भाष्य में इस आशंका का कि सर्वाधार एवं सर्वव्यापक आधाररहितस्वमहिमा में प्रतिष्ठित ईश्वर आधेय रूप में तथा प्रदेश विशेष में कैसे स्थित हो सकता है? निराकरण करते हुए शंकर कहते हैं कि सर्वशक्ति-मान् ईश्वर के लिए यह सब संभव है।[1] इससे भी अधिक ईश्वर की सर्वभवनसमर्थता का उदाहरण हमें गीता में प्राप्त है जहाँ भगवान् कृष्ण को ईश्वर के अवतार रूप में मानने का आचार्य शंकर द्वारा समर्थन प्राप्त होता है। आचार्य गीता भाष्य के उपो-द्घात में कहते हैं—

"स च भगवान् ज्ञानैश्वर्यशक्तिबलवीर्यतेजोभिः सदा सम्पन्नः त्रिगुणात्मिकं वैष्णवीं स्वां मायां मूलप्रकृतिं वशीकृत्य अजः अव्ययो भूतानाम् ईश्वरो नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्त-स्वभावः अपि सन्"—स्वमायया देहवान् इव जात इव च लोकानुग्रहं कुर्वन् इव लक्ष्यते।

इस प्रकार अद्वैताभिमत ईश्वर के सगुणरूप की पूर्णता हमें मानवाकार रूप में प्राप्त होती है। यहाँ ईश्वरावताररूप में यह मानवाकार रूप पौराणिक कपोल-कल्पित मात्र न रहकर दार्शनिक रूप में ढल जाता है। मानवाकार रूप में प्राप्त ईश्वर का सगुण स्वरूप भक्तों एवं उपासकों की उपासना के लिए अत्यन्त सुगम बन जाता

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१. यत्तूक्तं हिरण्यश्मश्रुत्वादि रूपश्रवणं परमेश्वरे नोपपद्यत इति, अत्र ब्रूमः—स्यात् परमेश्वरस्याऽपोच्छावशात् मायामयं रूपं साधकानुग्रहार्थम्।

"माया ह्येषा मया सृष्टा यन्मां पश्यसि नारद।
सर्वभूतगुणैर्युक्तं मैवं मां ज्ञातुमर्हसि॥ इति स्मरणात्

ब्र० सू० भा० (१-१-२०)

सर्वगतस्यापि ब्रह्मण उपासनार्थः प्रदेशविशेषपरिग्रहो न विरुध्यते।… निष्प्रदेशस्यापि ब्रह्मण उपाधिविशेषसम्बन्धात् प्रदेशविशेषकल्पनोपपत्तेः।

ब्र० सू० भा० (१-१-२४)

स्वमहिमप्रतिष्ठस्यापि आधारविशेषोपदेश उपासनार्थो भविष्यति, सर्वगतत्वात् ब्रह्मणो व्योमवत् सर्वान्तरत्वोपपत्तेः।

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है। मानवाकार रूप में ईश्वर के स्वरूप की धारणा हमें ऋग्वेद के "पुरुष सूक्त" में ही प्राप्त हो जाती है। यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि इस पुरुषसंज्ञक ईश्वर में भी प्रतीक रूप से सविशेष एवं निर्विशेष दोनों रूप दिखाए गए हैं और सविशेष या सगुण-रूप के साथ जगत् का सम्बन्ध स्थापित किया गया है।

अतः शंकराभिमत अद्वैत का ईश्वर सच्चे अर्थ में अनन्तशक्तिमंत् एवं अनन्त-गुणसम्पन्न है, जो न केवल उपासकों के प्रेय एवं श्रेय का निर्वाहक है अपितु वह लोकानुग्रहार्थ अपनी अचिन्त्य शक्ति से मानवादिरूप धारण करने में शक्त भी है। यहाँ यह आरोप लगाया जा सकता है कि अद्वैत में मानवाकार में स्वीकृत ईश्वर भी तो इयत्ता से परिच्छिन्न हो जायगा किन्तु यहाँ ऐसे दोषों का अवकाश नहीं है क्योंकि यह रूप तो अपारमार्थिक ही है। यदि हम इसे पारमार्थिक रूप मानते तो अवश्य यहाँ इयत्तादि दोष की संभावना होती।

यहाँ पुनः इतर ईश्वरवादियों की ओर से यह आपत्ति उठाई जा सकती है कि अद्वैत में स्वीकृत इस प्रकार के अपारमार्थिक ईश्वर से भक्त या उपासक कहाँ तक संतोष प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। यह कथन ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि जब भक्त मानव विग्रहरूपधारी ईश्वर को तत्व से यह जान लेता है कि उसका पारमार्थिक रूप तो निर्गुण निराकार ही है किन्तु वह अचिन्त्य शक्तियोग से विग्रहवान् बन जाता है तब भक्त की दृष्टि में वह सगुण रूप निर्गुण से भिन्न नहीं रह जाता। इस प्रसंग में यह आक्षेप पुनः उठाया जा सकता है कि शांकर-वेदान्त में ईश्वर का व्यवहारावस्था में महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान स्वीकार कर लेने पर भी परमार्थ तक ईश्वर को घसीटना तो अद्वैत सिद्धान्त के बिलकुल प्रतिकूल है। यहाँ तक कि व्यवहारावस्था में ही ज्ञानमार्गावलम्बी मुमुक्ष अथवा गीतोक्त ज्ञानी भक्त जबकि वह साक्षीभूत ईश्वर को अपनी आत्मा समझकर उसी के साथ अपना तादात्म्य करने का अभ्यास करने लगता है तो उस अवस्था में आत्मभूत ईश्वर के साथ अभेद दृष्टि रखने के कारण उनमें उपास्य उपासक भाव शिथिल हो जाता है। यह ठीक है, किन्तु इससे ईश्वर का महत्त्व नहीं घटता अपितु और अधिक बढ़ जाता है। क्योंकि वह अपने को ईश्वर से भिन्न अपनी सत्ता नहीं समझता। यहाँ महत्त्व तो उसके मिथ्या ज्ञान निमित्तिक देहादि में आत्मभाव अथवा जीवत्व का घटता है। ज्ञानी साधक की ईश्वर के साथ अभेद दृष्टि करने के अभ्यासकाल अथवा साधनावस्था में द्वैत की ही स्थिति में रहती है। इस द्वैतावस्था में पहले की अपेक्षा उपास्य उपासक भाव का महत्व कम हो जाने पर भी अभी वह ईश्वर के ऐश्वर्य से पराधीन ही रहता है परन्तु जब वह साक्षी रूप से स्थित अपनी आत्मा[१] ईश्वर का जो स्वरूपतः निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही है, साक्षात्कार कर लेता है त्योंही ईशितव्य के अभाव में उसके प्रति ईश्वर अपना ईशितृत्व हटा लेता है जिससे उसमें

१. तस्मात् आत्मेत्येवेश्वरे मनो दधीत—ब्र० सू० भा० (४-१-३२)

आरोपित नियन्तृत्वादि धर्म नहीं रह जाते किन्तु[1] उसके स्वरूप में कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता। यह बात तो बारम्बार दुहराई गई है।

अद्वैत वेदान्त में तो सविशेष या सगुण ब्रह्म ही पारिभाषिक रूप में ईश्वर माना गया है। आचार्य शंकर भी सगुण ब्रह्म या ईश्वर का पारमार्थिक अस्तित्व नहीं मानते। ठीक है, हमारी दृष्टि में शंकर के इस कथन में कोई विरोध नहीं है। अतः यहाँ शंकर द्वारा सगुण ब्रह्म के पारमार्थिकत्व निषेध में क्या तात्पर्य है, समझ लेना अत्यंत आवश्यक है। शंकर की दृष्टि में सगुण ब्रह्म का अर्थ है सोपाधिक ब्रह्म। निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही माया-शक्ति उपाधि से सोपाधिक बन जाता है। अब हम आपसे पूछते हैं कि सगुण ब्रह्म के पारमार्थिकत्व निषेध में शंकर का तात्पर्य उपाधिसहित ब्रह्म के निषेध में है या केवल उपाधि के निषेध में? प्रथम विकल्प तो हो नहीं सकता क्योंकि यदि ब्रह्म का भी निषेध माना जायगा तो ब्रह्म के पारमार्थिकत्व का भी निषेध हो जायगा। अतः द्वितीय विकल्प ही ठीक है। शंकर का सगुण ब्रह्म के पारमार्थिकत्व निषेध से उपाधि के पारमार्थिकत्व निषेध से ही तात्पर्य है। अतः सोपाधिक ब्रह्म जो जगत्कारणत्व-नियंतृत्वादि में समर्थ होता है उसमें उपाधि के अतिरिक्त निर्गुण ब्रह्म का भी अस्तित्व रहता है। सोपाधिक ब्रह्म केवल उपाधि नहीं है। उससे भिन्न है। यदि सोपाधिक ब्रह्म को केवल उपाधि ही माना जाय तो वह सांख्य की प्रकृतिमात्र रह जायगा। यही सोपाधिक ब्रह्म ईश्वर कहलाता है क्योंकि व्युत्पत्ति के अनुसार इसका अर्थ शासन या नियन्त्रण करने वाला है। निर्गुण ब्रह्म तो शासनादि नहीं कर सकता। सोपाधिक ब्रह्म ही ईश्वर माना जाता है। अतः ईश्वर केवल उपाधि नहीं है, उपाधि से वह भिन्न है। ईश्वर को तत्व से जानने का अर्थ हुआ कि वह अनौपाधिकरूप में निर्गुण निरंजन ही

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1. तदेवमविद्यात्मकोपाधिपरिच्छेदापेक्षमेवेश्वरस्येश्वरत्वं सर्वज्ञत्वं सर्वशक्तित्वं च न परमार्थतो विद्ययाऽपास्त सर्वोपाधिस्वरूपे आत्मनि ईशित्रीशितव्य सर्वज्ञत्वादि-व्यवहार उपपद्यते एवं परमार्थवस्थायां सर्वव्यवहाराभाव वदन्ति वेदान्ताः सर्वे। परमार्थवस्थायां ईशित्रीशितव्यादि व्यवहाराभावः प्रदर्श्यते। वे० सू० भा० (२-१-१४)

वस्तुतः निर्गुण ब्रह्म तो किसी शब्द से भी नहीं कहा जा सकता क्योंकि वह तो "अशब्द", "अव्यवहार्य है", किन्तु उस परमतत्व के बोधक आत्मा या ब्रह्म शब्द पारिभाषिक रूप में मान लिए गयेहैं, यद्यपि इन शब्दों की व्युत्पत्ति के अनुसार ईश्वर शब्द की तरह इनसे निर्गुणत्व अर्थ नहीं निकलता। इसी प्रकार गीतोक्त विष्णु, नारायण वासुदेव आदि भी अद्वैतियों की दृष्टि में निर्गुण परम तत्व के बोधक हैं।

"न तु ब्रह्म जातिमत् अतो न सदादि शब्दवाच्यं नाऽपि गुणवद् येन गुण-शब्देन उच्यते निर्गुणत्वात्। न च सम्बन्धि एकत्वात् अद्वयत्वात्, अविषयत्वात्, आत्मत्वात् च न केनचित् शब्देन उच्यते इति युक्तम्।" (गीता भाष्य १३-१२)

शंकर के उत्तरकाल में शंकर के इस प्रमुख सिद्धांत का बहुत दुरुपयोग हुआ और व्यवहार को परमार्थ से बिलकुल पृथक् करने की प्रवृत्ति अपनी चरमसीमा को पहुँच गई।

है, उपाधि के योग से वह ईश्वरत्व व्यापार में समर्थ होता है। इसी अभिप्राय से हमारे इस कथन में कि एक ही ईश्वर अपने पारमार्थिक रूप में निर्गुण है, वही व्यवहारावस्था में सगुण है, अद्वैत सिद्धान्त से कोई विरोध नहीं है।

अब आपत्ति ब्रह्म के पारमार्थिक निर्गुण पहलू के लिए केवल ईश्वर शब्द के प्रयोग पर रह जाती है। जबकि निरस्तोपाधि निर्गुण ब्रह्म में नियन्तृत्वादि ईश्वरत्व धर्म नहीं रह जाते तब उस अवस्था में ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग ही क्यों किया जाय ?

इस सम्बन्ध में जैसा कि पहले भी हम कई बार कह चुके हैं, हमारा तर्क यह है कि नियन्तृत्वादि ईश्वरत्व धर्मों से विशिष्ट सोपाधिक अवस्था में भी ईश्वर "नित्यशुद्ध-बुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव" बना रहता है और यह नित्यशुद्धादि निर्गुणत्व बोधक विशेषण पद सगुण ईश्वर के लिए भी आचार्य शंकर द्वारा बहुशः प्रयुक्त होता है अतः औपाधिक धर्म ईश्वरत्व से रहित निर्गुण ब्रह्म के लिए ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग असंगत नहीं है। ईश्वर से सर्वज्ञत्वादि औपाधिक धर्म हट जाने पर भी नित्यशुद्धादि विशेषण पद तो शेष रह ही जाता है। ईश्वर शब्द के प्रयोग में यह तथ्य निहित रहता है कि ईश्वर जो व्यवहारावस्था में नियन्ता रहता है उसकी पारमार्थिक रूप निर्गुण से पृथक् सत्ता नहीं है। सगुण और निर्गुण में इसी एकत्व दृष्टि से निरस्तोपाधि ब्रह्म के लिए भी ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग अनुपपन्न नहीं है। जैसा कि ऊपर कहा जा चुका है आचार्य शंकर अपने सभी भाष्यों में इसी दृष्टि से निर्गुण ब्रह्म के अर्थ में प्रायः ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं।

उपसंहार

शांकर दर्शन का प्रमुख वैशिष्ट्य व्यवहार तथा परमार्थ में पूर्ण सामंजस्य स्थापन करना है और इस सामंजस्य का मुख्य आधार इसका ईश्वरवाद है। 'विश्व' का अन्य कोई भी दर्शन व्यवहार तथा परमार्थ का ऐसा व्यवस्थित सामंजस्य स्थापित करने में समर्थ नहीं हो सका। बहुतेरी दार्शनिक बुद्धियाँ या तो व्यवहार जगत् तक ही क्रीड़ा करती रह गईं और यदि कुछ दार्शनिकों ने परमार्थ तक पहुँचने की चेष्टा भी की तो उन्होंने व्यवहार को परमार्थ से बिलकुल पृथक् छोड़ दिया। शांकर दर्शन में व्यवहार परमार्थ से नितान्त भिन्न नहीं है व्यवहार परमार्थ ही की अभिव्यक्ति मात्र है। यहाँ परमार्थ की अपेक्षा से व्यवहार को मिथ्या मानने का अर्थ उसे शशशृंगवत् असत् ठहराना नहीं है। किन्तु इसका तात्पर्य व्यवहार का परमार्थ से भिन्न अस्तित्व नहीं बताना है। व्यवहार परमार्थ पर ही अधिष्ठित है। परमार्थ तक पहुँचने का व्यावहारिक सत्य ही उपायभूत है। परमार्थदर्शी की दृष्टि में जगत् "मिथ्या", "मायामय" "आपेक्षिक सत्य" अथवा "व्यावहारिक सत्य" होने पर भी उसका अद्वैत वेदान्त में अत्यन्त महत्त्व है। एकत्व की दृष्टि से तो परमार्थदर्शी जगत् को भी सत्य कहता है।

जगत् को इन सभी दृष्टियों से देखने पर शांकर वेदान्त में ईश्वर का अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। ईश्वर यदि एक ओर परमार्थरूप निर्गुण ब्रह्म से सम्बन्धित है तो दूसरी ओर वह कारणात्मना जगत् से सम्बन्धित है। किन्तु इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि ईश्वर निर्गुण ब्रह्म से तत्वतः भिन्न है और निर्गुण ब्रह्म तथा ईश्वर दो भिन्न-भिन्न सत्ताएँ हैं। निर्गुण ब्रह्म ही अनिर्वचनीय मायाशक्ति से युक्त होकर सविशेष ब्रह्म बन जाता है और वही जगत् का स्रष्टा, नियन्ता आदि होने के कारण 'ईश्वर' कहा जाता है क्योंकि ईश्वर शब्द का व्युत्पत्तिजन्य अर्थ ही ऐश्वर्यशक्ति से संपन्न स्वामी या शासक है। एक ही निर्गुण परम तत्व को जब व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से देखते है तब वह सर्वज्ञत्व नियन्तृत्वादि ईश्वर धर्मों से युक्त हो जाता है। एक ही तत्व परमार्थ में निर्गुण है और वही व्यवहार में सगुण अथवा ईश्वर है। अतः ईश्वर का निर्गुण परम तत्त्व से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने का अभिप्राय हुआ सोपाधिक ब्रह्म या ईश्वर को निरस्तोपाधि दृष्टि से देखना। वह सर्वज्ञत्वादि औपाधिक ईश्वरधर्मों से युक्त होने पर भी स्वरूपतः निर्गुण ही बना रहता है उसके परमार्थरूप में कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता। अतः ईश्वर स्वरूपतः "निर्गुण ब्रह्म" ही है। प्रकारान्तर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि ईश्वर सर्वज्ञत्वादि औपाधिक धर्मों से युक्त होने पर भी निरस्तोपाधि अवस्था में वह परमार्थतः निर्गुण निरंजन ही है। यद्यपि अद्वैत-वेदान्त में ईश्वर शब्द सामान्यतः सविशेष ब्रह्म या अपर ब्रह्म ही के लिए प्रचलित है और व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से भी संगत है तथापि निर्गुण एवं सगुण में एकत्व की दृष्टि से ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग निर्गुणपरक भी संगत माना जा सकता है। एक ही ईश्वर जो व्यवहारावस्था में औपाधिकरूप में जगत् का नियन्ता आदि है वही अपने निरुपाधिक रूप में परमार्थावस्था में निर्गुण-निरंजन है। इस प्रकार एकत्व की दृष्टि से एक ही ईश्वर में परमार्थावस्था एवं व्यवहारावस्था में क्रमशः निर्गुण तथा सगुण विविध दृष्टि रखना सर्वथा संगत है। आचार्य शंकर प्रधानतया इन दोनों दृष्टियों से ईश्वर शब्द का प्रयोग ब्रह्म के समकक्ष मानकर करते हैं। उनकी दृष्टि में ईश्वर अपने पारमार्थिकरूप में निर्गुण निरंजन ही है। यहाँ तक कि ईश्वर के सविशेषरूप में भी आचार्य की सदैव निर्गुणत्व दृष्टि रहती है। वे ईश्वर के सविशेषरूप में "नित्यशुद्धमुक्त स्वभाव" निर्गुण बोधक पद का प्रयोग करते हैं। अतः ईश्वर के व्यावहारिक सगुण रूप में भी उसका पारमार्थिक रूप तिरोहित नहीं रहता। वह अपने सगुण व्यावहारिक रूप में जगत् का कारण एवं नियन्ता है तो वही अपने पारमार्थिक निर्गुण रूप में प्राणियों का निःश्रेयस्वरूप है। परमार्थ में वह परम सत्य है और वही परमपुरुषार्थ स्वरूप भी है। परमार्थ में वह अद्वैतरूप है जहाँ ईशितव्य और ईशितृ व्यवहार कुछ भी नहीं रह जाता। किन्तु व्यवहारावस्था में ईश्वर का सविशेषरूप भी पारमार्थिकरूप से नितान्त विभक्त होकर नहीं रहता। क्योंकि उसका सविशेष व्यावहारिक रूप भी तो पारमार्थिक निर्गुण रूप पर ही प्रतिष्ठित है। अतः अद्वैत-वेदान्त में ईश्वर की पारमार्थिक सत्ता नहीं है, कथन का तात्पर्य यह नहीं है कि स्वरूपतः ईश्वर पारमार्थिक नहीं है किन्तु इसका आशय

यही है कि ईश्वर परमार्थावस्था में सर्वज्ञत्वादि औपाधिक धर्मों से रहित अपने "नित्य-शुद्धमुक्त स्वभाव" निर्गुणरूप में रहता है। अतः प्रकारान्तर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि ईश्वर स्वरूपतः तो पारमार्थिक ही है, किन्तु इसमें आरोपित सर्वज्ञत्वादि औपाधिक धर्म ही अपारमार्थिक है। यह ठीक है कि परमार्थावस्था में ईश्वर शासक के रूप में नहीं रह जाता, किन्तु इससे ईश्वर की कोई महत्ता नहीं घटती क्योंकि उस अद्वैतावस्था में ईशितव्य के अभाव में ईश्वर के शासन की कोई आवश्यकता ही नहीं है। वह अवस्था तो निरपेक्ष स्वातन्त्र्य की ही अवस्था है। किन्तु व्यवहारावस्था में शासन की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। इसमें ईश्वर अपने सविशेष रूप से ही सर्वज्ञत्व सर्वशक्तिमत्व आदि अनंतगुणों से युक्त होकर व्यावहारिक जगत् का स्रष्टा और नियन्ता बनता है। ईश्वर के बिना इस प्रत्यक्षगोचर जगत् का अस्तित्व ही सिद्ध नहीं हो सकता। जगत् की व्याख्या ईश्वर के द्वारा ही सम्भव है। बाह्यार्थ एवं आभ्यन्तर दोनों रूपों में जगत् की स्थिर सत्ता है। जगत् क्षणिक नहीं है किन्तु स्थिर है। जगत् की व्यावहारिक सत्ता है वह शशश्रृंगवत् असत् नहीं है। चेतनाचेतनात्मक अनादि जगत् का स्वरूप व्यवस्थित है। यह जगत् "अनेक कर्तृभोक्तृ संयुक्त" है। जीव नित्य चेतन है। उनका चेतनत्व न तो क्षणिक है और न भौतिक है। बिना एक अन्तर्यामी नित्य साक्षी कूटस्थ चेतन के इन चेतन जीवों के जीवत्व का निर्वाह असम्भव है। जगत् का अचेतन-संघात रूप भी बिना चेतन के नियन्त्रण के निर्मित नहीं हो सकता। यह व्यवस्थित जगत् निर्मूल नहीं हो सकता। यह जगत् आकस्मिक नहीं है। जगत् का कारण स्वतन्त्र अचेतन प्रकृति नहीं हो सकती। इसका मूल सर्वज्ञ चेतन ही हो सकता है। सर्वज्ञ, सर्व शक्तिमान्, सर्वव्यापक ईश्वर जगत् का अभिन्न निमित्तोपादान कारण है। वह जगत् की अव्याकृत एवं व्याकृत अवस्थाओं का आधार एवं नियन्ता है। सृष्टि का अर्थ अनादि अव्याकृत जगत् का नाम रूपों से व्याकृत होना है। अव्याकृत नाम रूपों का ईश्वर व्याकर्त्ता है। प्रलयावस्था में जगत् अव्याकृत रूप में ईश्वर में लीन रहता है। यह जगत् निर्निमित्त नहीं है। ईश्वर प्राणियों के धर्माधर्म की अपेक्षा से ही विषम सृष्टि करता है। अतः ईश्वर वैषम्य एवं नैर्घृण्य दोष से दूषित नहीं होता। प्राणियों को अपने शुभाशुभ कर्मों के अनुसार ही फल भोगना पड़ता है। किन्तु ईश्वर ही प्राणियों के कर्मों के फल का प्रदाता है। वह कर्माध्यक्ष है; किन्तु कर्मों के कर्तृत्व में जीवों का पूर्णतः स्वातन्त्र्य सुरक्षित है। ईश्वर जगत् से चेतन और अचेतन पदार्थों में अन्तर्यामी रूप से स्थित है। ईश्वर साक्षी के रूप में जीवों का प्रेरक है। ईश्वर ही सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा है, किन्तु जीव अपने आत्मभूत ईश्वर को न जान कर देहेन्द्रियादि में आत्मभाव कर लेता है। जीव का जीवत्व अविद्या निमित्तक है। परमार्थतः जीव साक्षिभूत ईश्वर से भिन्न नहीं है। किन्तु अविद्या से अपने आत्मभूत ईश्वर से वह अपनी भिन्न सत्ता मान लेता है। यही उसके बन्धन का कारण है। जीव और ईश्वर का सविशेषरूप दोनों ही औपाधिक है—किन्तु प्रथम की उपाधि हीन है दूसरे की सत्वप्रधान उत्कृष्ट है।

सौपाधिक अवस्था में भी ईश्वर "नित्य शुद्धमुक्तस्वभाव" है। जीव जाग्रत् स्वप्न तथा सुषुप्ति तीनों ही अवस्थाओं में ईश्वर से नियन्त्रित रहता है। ईश्वर सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा एवं साक्षी होने पर भी वह जीवों के दुःखों से लिप्त नहीं होता। ईश्वर सर्वव्यापक होने पर भी संसार धर्मों से संस्पृष्ट नहीं होता। प्रलयावस्था में न तो विभिन्न जीवों का सांकर्य होने पाता है और न उनमें बीजभूत कर्म संस्कारों का व्यतिकर होने पाता है। इस प्रकार से ईश्वर के ईश्वरत्व और उसकी अचिन्त्य शक्ति का विलक्षणत्व सिद्ध होता है। शंकराभिमत ईश्वरवाद अनात्मवादी निरीश्वरवादियों के प्रति जगत् को अनेक चेतन कर्तृ भोक्तृ संयुक्त सिद्ध करते हुये ईश्वर की अनिवार्यता सिद्ध करता है और आत्मवादी निरीश्वरवादियों के प्रति चेतनाचेतनात्मक व्यवस्थित जगत् के अस्तित्व के लिए ईश्वर की अनिवार्यता प्रदान करता है। इसी प्रकार वह अन्य ईश्वरवादियों की ईश्वर-कल्पनाओं में अनुपपन्नता दिखाते हुए अद्वैत सिद्धान्तित ईश्वर स्वरूप की सर्वथा उपपन्नता सिद्ध करता है।

अद्वैत वेदान्त में ईश्वर सच्चे अर्थ में "सर्वज्ञ," 'सर्वशक्तिमान,' 'सर्वान्तिर्यामी,' 'सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा' है। ईश्वर सर्वाधार एवं सर्वव्यापक होते हुए भी अपने साधकों के अनुग्रहार्थ अपनी अचिन्त्य एवं अनन्त ऐश्वर्यशक्ति से सर्वभावेन-समर्थ है—यहाँ तक कि वह एक देश स्थित सुगम मानवादि रूप धारण करने में भी समर्थ है। यहां ईश्वर का स्वरूप न केवल उसके जगत्कारणत्व जगन्नियन्तृत्वादि दृष्टियों से ही तर्कसंगत है अपितु मानव-जीवन में उपयोगिता की दृष्टि से भी उसके स्वरूप का अत्यन्त महत्त्व है। यह जिस प्रकार व्यवहारावस्था में अपने अनन्त ऐश्वर्यशक्ति से सम्पन्न होकर अपने यथाधिकारी साधकों के प्रति प्रेयःप्रद एवं श्रेयस् का साधन है उसी प्रकार वह अपने पारमार्थिक निर्गुण निरंजन रूप में साक्षात् श्रेयः-स्वरूप होने से श्रेयःप्रद भी है।

इस प्रकार शांकर वेदान्त में जो ईश्वर व्यवहारावस्था में अनन्त ऐश्वर्यशक्ति से युक्त होकर "ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम्" है, वही अपने पारमार्थिक रूप में निर्गुण निरंजन सच्चिदानन्द स्वरूप "एकमेवाद्वितीयम्" है। वस्तुतः शांकर वेदान्त का ईश्वरवाद ब्रह्मवाद अथवा अद्वैतेश्वरवाद है।

मिथिला तथा तंत्र : एक टिप्पणी

श्रीमन्नारायण द्विवेदी

मिथिला जनपद मीमांसा, न्याय, वेदान्त तथा स्मृति साहित्य में अपने अपूर्व योगदान के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। प्राच्य-विद्या के अनुरागी विद्वानों का ध्यान इसके गवेषणात्मक अनुशीलन की ओर आकृष्ट हुआ है और इस क्षेत्र में महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य भी हुआ है। इसी प्रकार मिथिला जनपद तांत्रिक विचारधारा से भी व्यापक रूप से प्रभावित रहा है और वहाँ तंत्र साहित्य की रचना हुई है जिसके सम्यक् मूल्याङ्कन की अपेक्षा है।

प्रेसिडेंसी कालेज, कलकत्ता के अवकाशप्राप्त प्रोफेसर चिन्ताहरण चक्रवर्ती के तांत्रिक साहित्य तथा विचारधारा से सम्बद्ध कतिपय शोध-प्रबन्ध विभिन्न शोध पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं और तांत्रिक साहित्य के अनुशीलन में उन्होंने वर्षों तक अध्यवसाय किया है। कलकत्ता के पुन्थी पुस्तक' नामक संस्थान ने तांत्रिक साहित्य से सम्बद्ध उनकी एक पुस्तक 'तन्त्राज़ स्टडीज़ आन देयर रेलिजन एण्ड लिटरेचर' का प्रकाशन किया है जिसमें उनके अधिकांश प्रकाशित शोध निबन्धों का संग्रह है। यद्यपि प्रोफेसर चक्रवर्ती ने इस पुस्तक के प्रकाशन में अपना उद्देश्य विषय की एक सामान्य रूपरेखा तांत्रिक वाङ्मय तथा बंगाल में उसके उपयोग के संदर्भ में प्रस्तुत करना मात्र अभिव्यक्त किया है और इसे भूमिका रूप में मानकर व्यापक अध्ययन की पीठिका स्वीकार किया है, फिर भी उनके ग्रन्थ के कतिपय अभावों की ओर ध्यान जाता है जिसकी ओर विद्वानों का ध्यानाकर्षण अपेक्षित प्रतीत होता है।

तंत्र साहित्य का परिचय प्राप्त करने वाले अध्येताओं के लिए पुस्तक उपयोगी है। ग्रन्थकार ने क्रमशः द्वादश अध्यायों में तांत्रिक साधना का उद्देश्य, तांत्रिकमत की प्राचीनता, तंत्रों का युग एवं लेखक, अन्य शास्त्रों में तंत्र का स्थान, तांत्रिक क्रियाओं का आदर्श, तंत्रों का प्रादुर्भाव-प्रक्रिया एवं काल, विभिन्न तांत्रिक मत, तांत्रिक साहित्य, तांत्रिक लेखक एवं उनकी रचनायें, तांत्रिक पूजा पद्धति, तांत्रिक देव परिवार, बंगाल में काली-पूजन, बंगाल में दुर्गा सम्प्रदाय तथा दुर्गापूजन आदि विषयों का उपयोगी अनुशीलन किया है।

तंत्रों के प्रादुर्भाव का विवेचन करते हुए लेखक ने उस प्रचलित संदर्भ को उद्धृत किया है जिसमें तंत्र के बंगाल में प्रकाश, मिथिला में प्राबल्य, महाराष्ट्र में क्वचित् उपलब्धि तथा गुजरात में समाप्ति का उल्लेख है—

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गौड़े प्रकाशिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्र गुर्जरे प्रलयंगता ।।

यह विचारणीय विषय है कि लेखक का ध्यान अपने सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ में मिथिला के तांत्रिक साहित्य तथा विचारधारा के अनुशीलन की ओर आकृष्ट नहीं है, जब वह तंत्र विद्या के मिथिला में प्रबलीकृत रूप को स्वीकृत करता है । ग्रन्थकार ने (Tantric Authors and thier work) 'तांत्रिक लेखक एवं उनकी रचनायें' नामक अध्याय में मिथिला के तांत्रिकों का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया जबकि उसने बंगाल, महाराष्ट्र, कश्मीर, वाराणसी, नेपाल आदि के तांत्रिक कृतिकारों की चर्चा की है । लेखक की मिथिला की तांत्रिक कृतियों एवं विचारधारा से उदासीनता का कारण स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाता है । सम्प्रति मिथिला में तांत्रिक विचारधारा की प्रधानता एवं एतद्विषयक सम्भार पर विचार करना अपेक्षित है ।

मिथिला में साम्प्रदायिकता का अभाव है । वहाँ के निवासी क्रमशः शिव शक्ति एवं विष्णु के उपासक हैं । उनके ललाट पट्ट पर भस्म की तीन समानान्तर रेखायें शिवोपासक, चन्दन की खड़ी रेखायें विष्णु उपासक तथा रोली की बिन्दु शक्ति उपासक होने की प्रतीक हैं । शिव मुक्ति प्रदायक एवं शक्ति सिद्धिदायक हैं । मिथिला में ऐसे शक्तिउपासक साधकों का नाम आदर से स्मरण किया जाता है जिनको सिद्धियाँ सुलभ थीं । देवादित्यवर्धमान, मदन उपाध्याय, धीरेन्द्र उपाध्याय, गोकुलनाथ उपाध्याय एवं राजर्षि मिथिलेश रमेश्वरसिंह का नाम ऐसे साधकों में अग्रणी बताया जाता है ।

तंत्रधारी, तंत्रनाथ, शक्तिनाथ, खड्गधारी, ताराचरण, आद्याचरण सदृश नाम मिथिला जनपद में अधिक लोकप्रिय हैं और यह शाक्त भावना की प्रधानता का बोध कराने वाले हैं । पटादि उत्सव जिसमें कुमारी कन्याओं को खीर खिलाने की परम्परा है, यहाँ प्रचलित है। दशहरे पर दुर्गा की मृत्तिका मूर्ति की पूजा तथा मातृका पूजा यहाँ अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय है । 'गोसाउनिक गीत' जो दुर्गा से सम्बन्धित हैं यहाँ के लोककण्ठ में व्यापक रूप से निवास करते हैं । मत्स्य का भोग एवं देवी पर चढ़ाये गये अन्य भोग के ग्रहण की व्यापक परम्परा यहाँ है । बालकों को पाठारम्भ के समय पढ़ाया जाने वाला छन्द देवी स्मरण से सम्बन्धित है—

"सा ते भवतु सुप्रीता देवी शिखरवासिनी
उग्रेण तपसा लब्धो यथा पशुपतिः पतिः ।।"

मिथिला के लोकाचार में प्रचलित 'ऐपन' यन्त्र तांत्रिक भित्ति रखते हैं । मिथिलाक्षरों के विकास को तांत्रिक यंत्रों से सम्बद्ध बतलाया जाता है । कामधेनु तंत्र एवं वर्णोधार तंत्र की पृष्ठभूमि में मिथिलाक्षरों का विवेचन उसकी तांत्रिक प्रभावान्विति का सूचक है ।

मिथिला से शक्ति में सम्बन्धित कतिपय पीठ अत्यन्त प्रसिद्ध हैं । उच्चैठ, जनकपुर, चामुण्डास्थान एवं उग्रतारा स्थल सिद्धपीठ है । तारा, नील-सरस्वती, त्रिपुर-

सुन्दरी शीतला एवं तारानाथ शाक्त परम्परा के देव परिवार के अंग हैं। महिषी (वनगाँव महिषी जिसे मण्डन का जन्मस्थान होने का गौरव प्राप्त है) एक प्रसिद्ध तांत्रिक केन्द्र समझा जाता है। ताराकुण्ड, ताराकंचुकी कुण्ड, वशिष्ठ कुण्ड, गौतम कुण्ड, अक्षोभ्य कुण्ड, मानसरोवर कुण्ड आदि यहाँ के कुण्ड एवं तीर्थस्थल हैं जिनके चीनाचार तंत्र में वर्णित होने का उल्लेख किया गया है जिसकी एक हस्तलिखित प्रति राज लाइब्रेरी दरभंगा में संरक्षित है––

वशिष्ठकुण्डं पापघ्नं कुण्डं च गौतमाभिधां
अक्षोभ्य कुण्डं सकलं चैतज्जाम्यदिशिस्मिता––
तत् समीपे महेशजि सरोमानस संज्ञकम्
माहिष्मत्याश्चमहात्म शृणु सादिववरानने
वशिष्ठं समन्विता तारणी चीन देशतः।
नारिम्येन जटाशक्ति तथा नील सरस्वती ।।
अक्षोभ्य गरुणायुक्ता स्थापिता यत्र सुन्दरी ।।

शाक्तपीठों की स्थापना के सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित है कि सती की आँखें महिषी में गिरी थीं और तब से यह मिथिला में तांत्रिक पूजा का महान् केन्द्र बन गया। परम्परानुसार यह कहा जाता है कि वशिष्ठ ने यहाँ चीन से शक्ति को लाकर प्रतिष्ठित किया था, जो एक महान् जंगल और असुरों का निवासस्थान था। कुछ लोग इसे महिषासुर की राजधानी बतलाते हैं और उसी के नाम पर इसे 'महिषी' संज्ञा देते हैं। रानी पद्मावती जो खाण्डवाल कुल की अधिपति महाराज नरेन्द्रसिंह की पत्नी थीं, यहीं की थीं। फलतः वर्तमान मन्दिर उन्हीं के द्वारा निर्मित हुआ, ऐसा कहा जाता है।

देवी माहात्म्य में प्रतिपादित शक्ति सम्बन्धित यह अभिमत यहाँ प्रचलितप्राय है कि––शिव की शक्ति मुख, यम की शक्ति बालों, विष्णु शक्ति भुजाओं, चन्द्र शक्ति वक्षस्थल, इन्द्र तेज एवं वरुण गति उनके पैर एवं जंघों में सन्निविष्ट है। महिषी की नील सरस्वती की पहचान तांत्रिक देवी महानील सरस्वती के रूप में करने की चेष्टा की गई है। क्योंकि गया के नयपाल के शिलालेखों में 'उरुनील पद्मा' का उल्लेख सुलभ है।

डा० दिनेशचन्द्र सरकार ने अपने शाक्तपीठ नामक ग्रन्थ में 'त्रिशांतायाम वामपादो भ्रमरी भैरवेश्वर' का पाठ-भेद––'तीरोत्रयाम वाम पाद स्वभारी भैरवो-द माह' देकर तिरहुत का शाक्तपीठ रूप में उल्लेख किया है––'मैथिलायाम वामदेशे उग्रेदवी मन्दोदरी ।।' मैथिल विद्वान् डा० उपेन्द्र ठाकुर ने महिषी के प्रसिद्ध शाक्तपीठ होने का उल्लेख किया है। कुब्जिका तंत्र में महिष्मती के सिद्ध पीठ होने का उल्लेख भी उन्होंने इसी प्रसङ्ग में किया है––

कमला विमला चैवा तथा महिष्मती पुरी
वाराही त्रिपुरा चैव वाग्मनी नील वाहिनी ।।

मिथिला में तारा, भवादित्य एवं वाणेश्वर के त्रिकोणयंत्र पर स्थिति के कारण भी डा० ठाकुर ने महिषी के तांत्रिक केन्द्र की महत्ता स्वीकृत की है। उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय गीत का भी उल्लेख किया है—

भवा भवादिता देवना महेश
वनगाँ [वनगाँव] दुर्गा मिटे कलेश
बलेरी मधुरी वाणी दुर्गा ।।

जयमंगलगढ़ की ऐतिहासिकता पर विचार करते हुए डा० उपेन्द्र ठाकुर ने इसके प्राचीन शक्तिपीठ होने का विवेचन किया है। बंगाल एवं नेपाल के साधकों का भी यह आकर्षण केन्द्र था और पाल काल में तो यह स्थान प्रसिद्ध शाक्तपीठ के रूप में प्रख्यात था। मैथिल दार्शनिक तथा अन्य ग्रन्थों यथा मिथिला माहात्म्य, ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण, देवीभागवत, एवं प्राणतोषिणी में उसके उल्लेख की चर्चा की गई है। विश्वास किया जाता है कि भगवान् शिव ने त्रिपुर राक्षस का वध करने के अनन्तर अपना पीठ यहाँ स्थापित किया था। तांत्रिक साधना का दक्षिणाचार एवं वामाचार मैथिल जन-जीवन में समान रूप से व्यापक प्रतीत होता है। नाना प्रकार के अभिचारों में मैथिल लोगों की अद्भुत आस्था प्रतीत होती है। काली, तारा, भुवनेश्वरी की आराधना यहाँ प्रमुख रूप से होती है। शक्ति के दश महाविद्या रूप की उपासना की प्रधानता का उल्लेख तंत्रकौमुदीकार देवनाथ ठक्कुर ने विश्वसार तंत्र से उल्लिखित किया है—

काली, तारा, महादुर्गा त्वरिता छिन्न मस्तका
वाग्वादिनी चान्नपूर्णा तथा महिषमर्दिनी
कामाख्यावासिनी बाला, मातंगी चण्डिका तथा
इत्याद्याः सकला विद्याः कलौ पूर्णं फलप्रदाः ।।

देवनाथ ठक्कुर ने तंत्र कौमुदी में एक अन्य परम्परा की ओर संकेत करते हुए 'सप्तविंशतिर्महाविद्याः' का उल्लेख भी किया है जिसकी ओर चिन्ताहरण चक्रवर्ती का भी ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ है।

प्रोफेसर चक्रवर्ती ने मिथिला जनपद में प्रचलित शाक्त विचारधारा के इन संदर्भों को प्रसङ्गतः ग्रहण नहीं किया है। सम्भव है बंगाल के संदर्भ में अपने अध्ययन की सीमा के कारण उन्होंने यह किया हो किन्तु तांत्रिक साहित्य और उसकी विशेषताओं के प्रसङ्ग में मिथिला के तांत्रिक साहित्य की सूचना न देना—उनके पूर्वाग्रहपूर्ण दृष्टिकोण अथवा सूचना न होने का परिचायक माना जाय? रीवाँ-नरेश महाराज रघुराजसिंह की तांत्रिक रचनाओं पर उनका ध्यान आकृष्ट हो सका है जो मूलतः एक भक्त थे, किन्तु मिथिला की प्रामाणिक तांत्रिक रचनाओं की ओर ध्यान न देना सम्यक् नहीं प्रतीत होता है। क्योंकि मिथिला में संस्कृत के अनेक तंत्र ग्रन्थों की रचना हुई है।

प्रो० दिनेशचन्द्र भट्टाचार्य ने विद्यापति के तांत्रिक ग्रन्थ 'आगमद्वैत निर्णय' का उल्लेख सर गंगानाथ झा शोध संस्थान के शोध पत्र में प्रकाशित अपने एक लेख में किया है। 'आगमद्वैत निर्णय'—जिसका संरक्षण कलकत्ता संस्कृत कालेज में हुआ है—विद्यापति की रचना है जिसमें ग्रन्थकार ने गोविन्द चरणों की अभ्यर्थना की है।

नत्वा गोविन्दचरणौ श्रीमान् विद्यापतिः कृती।
तनोति विदुषां प्रीत्यै स्वागमै द्वैतिनिर्णयम्॥

ग्रन्थ पुष्पिका से पूजा, पुरश्चरण आदि विषय स्पष्ट होते हैं। ग्रन्थकार ने आगम मार्ग को अपना पैतृक पन्थ बतलाया है—"इत्यस्माकं पैत्रिक पन्थाः।" प्रो० भट्टाचार्य ने भविष्य पुराण से विद्यापति सम्बन्धी कुछ अंश उद्धृत किये हैं जिससे भी मिथिला में आगम परम्परा की व्यापकता का बोध होता है।

आगमभूषण द्विजः कश्चित्षडंग वेद पारगः
वीरभाव समापन्नो वामाचार रतः सदा॥
आद्या देव्याः स्थापनं च करिष्यति हिममंदिरे।
उचित ग्राम लोकानां सदा कल्याणकारिणी॥

इस लेख पर अपना विचार प्रस्तुत करते हुए प्रोफेसर रमानाथ झा ने सर गंगा नाथ झा अनुसन्धान संस्थान के ही शोधपत्रिका में अपना 'तांत्रिक विद्यापति' शीर्षक लेख प्रकाशित कराया है जिसमें मिथिला के विभिन्न विद्यापति नामधारी कवि एवं विद्वानों की चर्चा करते हुए उन्होंने "आगमद्वैत निर्णय" के लेखक विद्यापति को महामहोपाध्याय गोविन्द ठक्कुर का दूसरा पुत्र सिद्ध किया है।

महामहोपाध्याय गोविन्द ठक्कुर घोसउत शाखा के वत्सगोत्रीय मैथिल ब्राह्मण थे। वे तंत्र साहित्य के विद्वान् थे। उनकी लिखी दो रचनायें काव्यप्रकाशदीपिका एवं पूजाप्रदीप उपलब्ध हैं। पूजाप्रदीप एक तांत्रिक ग्रन्थ है जिसकी हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ शोध संस्थानों एवं व्यक्तिगत संग्रहों में संरक्षित हैं। पूजाप्रदीप तंत्र का एक अत्यन्त विशिष्ट ग्रन्थ है जिसका प्रकाशन अपेक्षित है। इसकी एक प्रति प्रो० रमानाथ झा के व्यक्तिगत संग्रह में भी है। महामहोपाध्याय गोविन्द ठक्कुर मैथिल विद्वान् थे किन्तु राज्याश्रय के लिये उन्हें उत्कल जाना पड़ा था, इसका भी प्रमाण उपलब्ध है। ओइनवार वंश के नृपति लक्ष्मीनाथ कंसनारायण के निधन के अनन्तर (१५२६ ई०) सम्भवतः गोविन्द ठक्कुर को भवानन्दपट्टनायक का आश्रय प्राप्त करना पड़ा। भवानन्द-राय को प्रसिद्ध रामानन्द राय के पिता रूप में निरूपित करने की चेष्टा की गई है जो उड़ीसा के अधिपति गजपति रुद्रदेव के प्रधान मंत्री थे।

महामहोपाध्याय गोविन्द ठक्कुर के ८ पुत्र माने जाते हैं, जो न्याय एवं तंत्र के उच्चकोटि के विद्वान् थे। इनके पाँचवें पुत्र आगमाचार्य तर्कपंचानन देवनाथ

उपाध्याय थे जिन्होंने तन्त्र-मन्त्र, स्मृति, सिद्धान्त, अधिकरण, काल, काव्य कौमुदी की रचना की है। देवनाथ ठक्कुर ने अपने ग्रन्थों में अपने पूर्व पुरुषों को सादर स्मृत किया है। वंश के पूर्व पुरुष रविकर को 'सकलागमज्ञः' तथा पिता गोविन्द ठक्कुर को 'सकल तंत्र सरोज सूर्य' कहा है। मन्त्र कौमुदी की प्रस्तावना में उन्होंने अपने पूर्व-पुरुषों रविकर, केशव, गोविन्द को सादर स्मरण किया है।

योऽभूत्पुरा रविकरः सकलागमज्ञ
स्तस्यात्मजो बुधिकरोऽतस्य च केशवस्तु
तस्यात्मजः सकलतन्त्रसरोजभास्वान्
गोविन्द एष भुवने विदितश्चकास्ति ॥

अपने पूज्य पिता गोविन्द द्वारा नाना शास्त्रों में अधीत् होने का उल्लेख स्वतः देवनाथ ने बार-बार किया है। वे अपने पिता के पाण्डित्य से अनुप्राणित थे तथा उनकी कृतियों पर पिता की अद्वितीय विद्वत्ता की छाप स्पष्ट है।

श्रीगोविन्दतनूद्भवेन सकलं तस्मादधीत्यागमं
सिद्धान्तं सरहास्यमस्य बहुशो विज्ञाययत्नादरात
विस्तारेषु समर्थताविरहिणां सिद्धयार्थिना प्रीतये
मन्त्राणामयमत्र साधनविधिः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते ॥

देवनाथ ठक्कुर की तांत्रिक रचनायें मन्त्रकौमुदी एवं तन्त्रकौमुदी हैं। मन्त्रकौमुदी नामक ग्रन्थ का सम्पादन प्रोफेसर रमानाथ झा ने किया है और उसका प्रकाशन मिथिला संस्कृत रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, दरभंगा द्वारा हुआ है। तंत्रकौमुदी का सम्पादन भी उन्होंने ही किया है और वह शीघ्र प्रकाशित होने वाला है। देवनाथ का जन्मकाल श्री झा ने १४९० स्वीकार किया है तथा तन्त्रकौमुदी की रचना उनके द्वारा ७५ वर्ष की अवस्था में १५६४ में सम्पन्न हुआ माना है। तन्त्रकौमुदी के समापन के एक छन्द से देवनाथ के समसामयिक उनके एक आश्रयदाता के सम्बन्ध में भी जानकारी मिलती है।

मीमांसा-स्मृति-तर्क-तन्त्र-कवितालङ्कार-कोषागम
ज्योतिर्वेदपुराणभारतमतिर्यस्तर्कपंचाननः
देवोऽसौ कमतेश्वरः क्षितिपतिस्तं देवनाथं चिरात्
संप्राप्य स्वयमादरेण विदधे विद्वन्मुदे कौमुदीम् ॥

ग्रन्थ की पुष्पिका में महाराजाधिराज श्री मल्लदेव का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है। पं० झा ने मंत्रकौमुदी की भूमिका में इस तथ्य का उल्लेख किया है कि ओइनवार वंश के वैभव की समाप्ति पर देवनाथ ने मिथिला छोड़ कर कमत (कूच-बिहार) के अधिपति

का राज्याश्रय प्राप्त किया था। उन्होंने अपने ग्रन्थों में श्रीमल्लदेव का अधिकाधिक उल्लेख किया है।

तन्त्रकौमुदी के एक छन्द में देवनाथ ने अपने एक दूसरे आश्रयदाता गजपति गोवि ददेव का उल्लेख किया है।

राजा गोविन्द देवो गजपतिरक्षितिस्वर्णसिंहासनार्द्धं
दत्वा मुद्राः सहस्राण्यपि नवदश वाचारुपट्टाम्बराणि
अर्वागिर्वानिमेकं करिवरमयां दुर्लभं भूपतीनां
पल्यङ्कनिष्कलङ्कमणिमुकुटवांतकंपंचाननेपु।

इस गजपति गोविन्द के सम्बन्ध में श्री रमानाथ झा ने अपना अभिमत प्रगट किया है। लगता है देवनाथ ने दूसरे नृपति गजपति गोविन्द देव के राज्याश्रय का उपभोग किया था किन्तु यह कहना कठिन है कि यह गजपति कौन था।

प्रो० दिनेशचन्द्र भट्टाचार्य ने भी अपने ग्रन्थ 'हिस्ट्री आफ नव्य न्याय इन मिथिला' में देवनाथ के संदर्भ में इस राजवंश की पहचान प्रतिष्ठापित करने योग्य कहा है। भारतीय विद्या में प्रकाशित अपने लेख "पूजा प्रदीप आफ गोविन्द ठक्कुर" में एम० एस० भट्ट ने इस राजवंश पर प्रकाश डालने की चेष्टा की है। उन्होंने गजपति गोविन्ददेव की पहचान गोविन्द विद्याधर के रूप में (१५४८-१५५०) किया है और उन्हें गजपति प्रतापरुद्र के (१५३८ ई०) अनन्तर उत्कल का शासक भी सिद्ध किया है। इस प्रकार पूजा प्रदीप के निर्माता गोविन्द ठक्कुर तथा उनके पंचम पुत्र ने मंत्रकौमुदी कार देवनाथ को उत्कल के गजपति वंश के राज्याश्रय में होना सिद्ध करने की चेष्टा की है।

मैथिल तांत्रिक परम्परा का एक अन्य प्रसिद्ध ग्रन्थ 'ताराभक्तिसुधार्णव' है जिसकी रचना १७वीं शताब्दी में नरसिंह ठक्कुर ने अनेक तन्त्र ग्रन्थों का उपयोग कर की थी। गायकवाड़ ओरियण्टल सिरीज बड़ौदा तथा तांत्रिक टेक्स्ट सिरीज़ कलकत्ता में इस ग्रन्थ का प्रकाशन हुआ है। दुर्भाग्यवश अभी भी यह ग्रन्थ अपूर्ण एवं अशुद्ध प्रकाशित रूप में ही सुलभ है। तांत्रिक-टेक्स्ट सिरीज़, कलकत्ता से प्रकाशित 'तारा-भक्ति सुधार्णव' की भूमिका में श्री पंचानन भट्टाचार्य ने नरसिंह ठक्कुर का समय १६६८ ई० माना है और उन्हें उनकी रचना पद्धति से निर्णय सिन्धु (रचनाकाल १६१२ ई०) के लेखक कमलाकर भट्ट के बाद का होना सिद्ध किया है किन्तु रचनागत विशेषताओं की ओर उन्होंने कोई संकेत नहीं किया है। इस ग्रन्थ की कतिपय हस्तलिखित प्रतियों का पता शोधभाण्डारों यथा मिथिला, नेपाल वीर पुस्तकालय तथा रायल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, बंगाल की खोज रिपोर्टों से लगता है। नेपाल वीर पुस्तकालय में ही इस ग्रन्थ की १२ हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ उपलब्ध हैं जो तांत्रिक साहित्य में इस ग्रन्थ की लोकप्रियता का स्पष्ट परिचायक है। ग्रन्थ के १५ तरंगों में

समाप्त होने का उल्लेख है किन्तु तान्त्रिक टेक्स्ट सिरीज में केवल ११ तरंग ही प्रकाशित हैं। ग्रन्थ की प्रस्तावना से ज्ञात होता है कि नरसिंह गदाधर के शिष्य थे और नाना तंत्र ग्रन्थों में निष्णात थे--

नाना तन्त्राणि विज्ञाय गदाधर गुरोर्मुखात् ।
करोति नरसिंहोऽयं ताराभक्तिसुधार्णवम् ।।

ग्रन्थकार ने तान्त्रिक साधना से सम्बद्ध विभिन्न विषयों पर अनेक तांत्रिक ग्रन्थों के संदर्भ में व्यापक विचार किया है जो अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण एवं उपयोगी है।

विद्वदुपाध्याय रचित 'तारिणी-पारिजात' मैथिल तंत्र परम्परा की एक अन्य विशिष्ट रचना है जिसका सम्पादन श्री रमानाथ झा ने किया है। वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय सरस्वती भवन ग्रन्थमाला में इसका प्रकाशन हुआ है। तारिणी पारिजातकार द्वारा नरसिंह ठक्कुर का उल्लेख हुआ है अतः भूमिका भाग में श्री झा ने इनका समय १७वीं शताब्दी अनुमित किया है। मैथिल ब्राह्मण प्रायः शक्ति के उपासक हैं और तारादेवी की उपासना इस जनपद में अपना विशिष्ट महत्त्व रखती है। ग्रन्थकार ने शिष्ट साधकों के तुष्ट्यर्थ तंत्र वचनों का चिन्तन कर इसका लेखन अपना उद्दिष्ट बतलाया है।

सम्प्रदायध्वना तन्त्रवचनानि विचिन्वता—
शिष्टसाधकतुष्ट्यर्थं लिख्यते तारिणीक्रमः ।।

मिथिला के कतिपय आधुनिक विद्वानों ने भी तंत्र साहित्य की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य किया है। मिथिलेश रमेश्वरसिंह के समकालीन राजपण्डित राजनाथ मिश्र ने तन्त्राह्निक में तांत्रिक मत सम्बन्धी विविध ग्रन्थों का उपयोग किया है। उन्होंने तान्त्रिक साधना की साधारण विधि के अतिरिक्त श्यामार्चन चन्द्रिका, तारार्चन चन्द्रिका, भुवनेश्वरी सपर्याविधि तथा त्रिपुरसुन्दरी प्रकरण का उपबृंहण किया। तारार्चन चन्द्रिका के प्रारम्भ में उन्होंने लिखा है—

कर्पूरगौरहरिदम्बरडम्बरस्य
वक्षःस्थले निजतनोरभिवीक्ष्यबिम्बम्
शंका वृताक्षि गलिता विरलाश्रुपाता-
त्संबोधिता नगसुता हसिता वतान्नः ।।

मैथिल तांत्रिकों के दर्शन तथा साहित्य सम्बन्धी सैकड़ों ग्रन्थ अमुद्रित रूप में व्यक्तिगत संग्रहों में भरे पड़े हैं और नष्ट हो रहे हैं। फिर तंत्र तो अभी तक गोपनीय समझा जाता रहा और उसके सम्यक प्रकाशन का कोई प्रश्न ही सम्मुख नहीं रहा। यदि व्यापक सर्वेक्षण की व्यवस्था हो तो महत्त्वपूर्ण तांत्रिक ग्रन्थ मैथिल परम्परा के

उपलब्ध हो सकते हैं। मैथिल तांत्रिकों के ग्रन्थों के मूल्याङ्कन की ओर किसी मैथिल विद्वान् का भी यथेष्ट ध्यान नहीं गया है। महामहोपाध्याय डा० उमेश मिश्र ने महाकाल संहिता के सम्पादन के संदर्भ में कतिपय मैथिल परम्परा के छोटे-बड़े तांत्रिक ग्रन्थों का संग्रह किया था किन्तु इन ग्रन्थों का आलोचनात्मक मूल्याङ्कन कर प्रकाशित नहीं करा पाये और विद्वद्जगत् उनकी गवेषणा से वंचित रह गया। दूसरे विद्वान् पं० रमानाथ झा ने मैथिल परम्परा के तीन तांत्रिक ग्रन्थों मन्त्रकौमुदी, तंत्रकौमुदी तथा तारिणी पारिजात का सम्पादन किया है, किन्तु सम्प्रति वह मैथिलों की सांस्कृतिक एवं सामाजिक व्यवस्था के अनुशीलन में जुटे हैं। मैथिल तांत्रिक ग्रन्थों की गम्भीर गवेषणा फलप्रद हो सकती है और विद्वानों को इस साहित्य का विशिष्ट एवं व्यापक सर्वेक्षण तथा अनुशीलन करना चाहिए।

शोध भाण्डागारों के खोज रिपोर्टों से भी मैथिल परम्परा के तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थों पर प्रकाश पड़ सकता है। इस दृष्टि से नेपाल वीर पुस्तकालय का संग्रहालय महत्त्वपूर्ण केन्द्र है। देवनाथ ठक्कुर कृत तन्त्रकौमुदी की सात प्रतियों, नरसिंह कृत तारा भक्ति सुधार्णव की १२ प्रतियों, विद्यापति कृत दुर्गा भक्ति तरंगिणी की ५ प्रतियों का विवरण वहाँ के सूचीपत्र में उपलब्ध होता है।

कई अन्य महत्त्वपूर्ण तांत्रिक कृतियों की सूचना भी यहाँ से सुलभ है। गोविन्द-तत्वनिर्णय नामक एक तांत्रिक ग्रन्थ का इस विवरण से पता चलता है। शुभङ्कर ठक्कुर कृत हस्तमुक्तावली को विविध आचारों से सम्बद्ध रचना माना जाता है और उसे नृत्य विषय का उपयोगी ग्रन्थ स्वीकार किया जाता है। नेपाल वीर पुस्तकालय में संरक्षित तांत्रिक कृतियों के विवरण में शुभङ्कर कृत 'नृत्येश्वरीरहस्य तंत्रम्', 'नृत्येश्वरी रहस्यम्', 'हस्त मुक्तावली' की कतिपय हस्तलिखित प्रतियों का उल्लेख है जिसके अनुशीलन से मैथिल तांत्रिक परम्परा पर व्यापक प्रभाव पड़ सकता है।

इस प्रकार मिथिला जनपद का तांत्रिक कृतियों के निर्माण में अपना महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान सिद्धप्राय है। मैथिल ब्राह्मणों तथा सामान्य जनजीवन पर शाक्त विचारधारा का प्रभूत प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। तांत्रिक साहित्य के व्यापक सर्वेक्षण एवं अनुशीलन में मिथिला के योगदान को कथमपि विस्मृत नहीं किया जा सकता। मैथिल विद्वानों का ध्यान अपने पूर्वजों की इस महान् धरोहर के प्रति आकृष्ट होना चाहिए और मैथिल स्मृतियों, न्याय, मीमांसा कृतियों के सदृश मैथिल तांत्रिक ग्रन्थों के सम्बन्ध में भी गम्भीर गवेषणा सम्पादित करनी चाहिए।

संदर्भ-संकेत

१. द तन्त्राज़ स्टडी आन देयर रेलिजन एण्ड लिटरेचर—प्रो० चिन्ताहरण चक्रवर्ती, पुन्थीपुस्तक, कलकत्ता
२. हिस्ट्री आफ मैथिली लिटरेचर—डा० जयकान्त मिश्र, प्रयाग

३. कवि-रहस्य--हिन्दुस्तानी अकादमी, प्रयाग
४. स्टडीज इन जैनिज्म एण्ड बुद्धिज्म इन मिथिला--डा० उपेन्द्र ठाकुर, दरभंगा
५. दी जनरल आफ गंगानाथ झा रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, भाग ६ प्रयाग
६. दी जनरल आफ गंगानाथ झा रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, प्रयाग, भाग ८
७. मंत्र कौमुदी--देवनाथकृत--सं० प्रो० रमानाथ झा, दरभंगा
८. हिस्ट्री आफ नव्यन्याय इन मिथिला--प्रो० दिनेशचन्द्र भट्टाचार्य, मिथिला संस्कृत रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, दरभंगा
९. भारतीय विद्या (अंग्रेजी) भाग ३१, बम्बई
१०. ताराभक्ति सुधार्णव—नरसिंह ठक्कुर कृत, तांत्रिक टेक्स्ट सिरीज
११. तारणी पारिजात--विद्वदुपाध्याय, सरस्वतीभवन ग्रन्थमाला, वाराणसी
१२. तन्त्राह्निक--राजनाथ मिश्र, दरभंगा
१३. महाकाल संहिता--सं० डा० उमेश मिश्र, (प्रकाशन क्रम में) सर गंगानाथ झा शोध संस्थान, प्रयाग
१४. वीर पुस्तकालय--वृहत्सूचीपत्रम, भाग ४, तंत्र नैपाल

SECTION III

LAW

(DHARMAŚĀSTRA)

"MOTHER-IN-LAW V. DAUGHTER-IN-LAW" A TRANSLATION OF THE ANONYMOUS *SVAŚRŪ-SNUṢĀ-DHANA-SAṀVĀDA*

By J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT*

The late Dr. Umesha Mishra was very much interested in *dharma-śāstra,* and there is reason to suspect that his ability as a translator of works in that *śāstra* was somewhat higher than that of his great teacher Ganganatha Jha himself. Dr. Umesha Mishra's contributions to our knowledge of the *śāstra* are very considerable and should not be overlooked in the course of encomia of his philosophical work. In tribute to his memory I am happy to supply here a translation of a work which I published in the recent volume of the Adyar Library Bulletin presented to Professor V. Raghavan, and I am glad to acknowledge the help I have had from Pandit K. Parameśvara Aithāl in settling the text (which even so, as will be seen below, was not entirely free from error), and the help I received from Professor T. Burrow with the translation of a very difficult paragraph involving the use of a *mīmāṃsā* argument.

Even so simple and everyday a problem as to how a man's property is to be enjoyed by his relations after his death is one which seems to baffle the legal reformers of the modern world. The basic reason, I suppose, is that quite a number of different methods will work, and that there is no intrinsic advantage in any. When the British started to administer Hindu law and gave it a certainty it had not previously had was a period which turned out to be critical for Hindu legal history, and the way chosen to make family property available (to use no more precise word) for the survivors when their chief earner died was one of the signs of that new method's vitality and decision. When the Hindu law was reformed in 1956 was yet another critical period, and the curious way in which property of a male was, under the Schedule to the Hindu Succession Act of that year, split (if he died intestate or even partially intestate) between a host of relations competing in Class I of that Schedule, astonished many observers. Previously the heirs were ranged in series, a grotesquely long and involved series; now the

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tendency is for relatives to succeed by groups. It is difficult to say what change in social conditions has called for that particular amendment of the ancient law. If Parliament had given the whole estate to the surviving spouse and left the other relatives to bargain with her, that might have been a more modern, and perhaps a more feasible solution.

If we go back to the early nineteenth century we can see some traces of discussions of this problem. Up to the present we have not had a *śāstrī's* opinion in full. We have had only poor reports of early cases, some pandits' replies in very brief terms, and a very interesting Travancore case[1]—and that was all. Recently a *śāstrī's* opinion was rediscovered under the quaint title *Svaśrū-snuṣā-dhana-saṁvāda*. Anyone who wishes to peruse the original will find it (subject to the minor amendments to be noted below) in the Adyar Library Bulletin (otherwise *Brahma-vidyā*), 1968, pp. 538–553. There the citations have been located and the material is accompanied with some comments. It would have been possible to write a little history of the Hindu law, especially the experiences at the hands of the British, around this little text. But there is no point in doing this, seeing that what is really important is the learned *śāstrī's* method, outlook, and recommendations.

The text belongs, so far as we can tell, to about 1815. It could conceivably be a little later. The British methods of administering justice are reflected in the concern for the actual case in hand, and the reference to a Bengal work (which was not available until the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Madras Presidency) makes it plain that the new role of the *śāstra* was already established. There is no sign that the parties to the dispute were actually litigating in a British court. They could have been members of the Tanjore Maharaja's encourage, and might have agreed to submit their problem for the court *śāstrī's* decision. Our work is not a pandit's answer to a problem posed as such by any Zillah court or the High Court, because its tone and the lack of final decisive quality are inconsistent with such a production. And as we can see it was intended to be a substantive contribution to (the then) modern *dharmaśāstra* studies, tricked out, as it is, with little verses, and other embellishments.

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1. *Ramal Koopoo Ammal* v. *Ammani Rukmani Ammal* (1887) 5 Trav. L. R. 45, Full Bench, is so much better in quality than the leading case in British India, viz. *Peddamuttu Viramani* v. *Appu Rau* (1864) 2 M.H.C.R. 117.

The translation which follows is intended to interest and amuse students of the vicissitudes of Hindu law, as a warning to those who would too hastily take the hammer once again to the personal law, and as proof that the *śāstrī-s* of 150 years ago were not the rigid obscurantists they are sometimes imagined to have been. They used their archaic techniques, but by no means always in order to achieve entirely predictable ends. The author (who, as so often, remains anonymous) had his *Mitākṣarā,* his *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* (because of the Maratha element in Tanjore?), and his *Smṛti-candrikā* in front of him : but as we can see he did not merely copy what they said, and regarded himself as quite free to offer a new solution. His concern to keep within reach of customary practices is important, especially when we remember how Mr. Nelson, not so long after this period, argued that the population of Madras, by and large, was innocent of knowledge of the *śāstra* and by no means apt to be subjected to it. I think our Madrassi author's attitute to custom is interesting, and could conceivably be utilised even today.[2]

"A Debate about Property between a Mother-in-law and her Daughter-in-law"

Obeisance to Lord Gaṇeśa !

The Lord Nṛsiṃha's compassion has filled my vision with its essence and I have attained from it an everlastingly spotless composure of mind. I pay homage to my teachers and, according to my humble opinion, set out here what will enlighten the darkness of the dispute about property between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law.[1]

A particular problem in the chapter of law called "Dāya-

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2. It is interesting that Dr. A. C. Burnell, who was a judge in the Madras Presidency and a well-known (if somewhat eccentric) author on Hindu-law matters, made the following comment on our present work in his catalogue of the library in which it is preserved in three copies: "This is a curious example (almost the only one I know) of a Hindu decision on a point of law" (*A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore,* London, 1880, p. 143). He may not have read the work very attentively. It is not a decision, but an elaborate *vyavasthā*, what in Europe would be called a *sententia,* or "opinion". It was entitled to the greatest respect, but was not a decision, which last lay always within the jurisdiction of the judge, and the judge alone. In so far as this present work is a *vyavasthā* it is not different in kind from the large number of *vyavasthā-s* which we possess in full or in cummary.

vibhāga" (Partition of Heritage) is handled here: for it unfortunately happened that a man died separated and unreunited—[2]

—and there survive his mother and his childless widow who is in need of property, and a great dispute broke out between the two of them due to a desire for gain.[3]

This must be resolved by good men who are skilled in the way of the world and in the *śāstra* (*kuśalair loka-śāstrayoḥ*).[4]

For the present we must discuss certain texts which are well known to support the argument on behalf of the daughter-in-law.[5]

L. 1. Yājñavalkya says who shall be the heirs in the absence of the twelve types of sons commencing with the *aurasa* (II. 135-6):

"The wife, the daughters also, the two parents and likewise the brothers, their sons, members of the *gotra*, a *bandhu*, a pupil, and fellow students, in the absence of the previous of these each successively is entitled to the estate of a sonless man who has gone to heaven. This is the law in all *varṇa-s*.

Vṛddha Manu likewise:

"Sonless, preserving the bed of her husband, firm in her vow (of chastity), the wife alone shall give his *piṇḍa* and take his entire share."

Bṛhaspati likewise (really Viṣṇu XVII. 4—7):

"The property of a sonless man goes to his wife. In her absence to his daughter. In her absence to the father. In his absence to the mother."

Kātyāyana likewise (v. 926):

"The wife is successor to her husband if she is free from misconduct. But in her absence the daughter, provided she be unmarried."

In another *smṛti* (Kāty. 927):

"(The heirs) of a sonless man are proclaimed to be his wife born in the family (*kula-jā*), or even his daughters; in their absence the father, brothers, and brothers' sons."

Bṛhaspati likewise says (XXVI. 94):

"Even when there are members of the family, such as the father and full brothers, it is the wife of a deceased sonless man takes his share."

From these and other texts it is understood that even in the presence of the deceased's mother the widow alone takes the property. So indeed it is said in the *Mitākṣarā* (II. i, 39, Colebrooke's trans.), "therefore the married wife, provided she is chaste, takes the entire property of an unmarried sonless man who has died, and that is the conclusion." And in the *Candrikā* (Setlur, p. 275: XI. 1, 3 ff), it is concluded that the widow alone takes the estate, relying upon the text of Bṛhaspati (XXVI. 92) which says,

"In the tradition and the system of the smṛti and in the custom of the world the wife has been declared by the wise to be a half of the body, equal in the fruit of that which is auspicious and that which is inauspicious"—

a text which clarifies the propinquity of the wife in comparison with all others on account of her connection with her husband in point of serving him in "seen" and in "unseen" contexts; and also upon the text of Prajāpati,[2a] which says,

"A wife who dies before her husband takes away his *agnihotra;* but when her husband predeceases she takes his property if she is faithful to him: this is eternal *dharma.*"

And in the Mayūkha these same texts are cited and the same conclusion is arrived at, namely that the chaste widow takes the estate. The same is the case with the work of Varadarāja. Consequently this much is certain, after reviewing the opinions of many digest-writers, that the wife alone takes the estate of a son who is unreunited and separated.

However, it appears from the following text of Nārada (XVI. 25-6) —

2a. Really Bṛhaspati (G. O. Ser.), XXVI. 95. It is the *Smṛti-candrikā* which attributes it to Prajāpati.

"If among brothers one childless should die or become a wandering ascetic, the others should divide his property, excepting the *strīdhana*."

"And they must provide a maintenance for his women until they die, if they keep the bed of their husband. In the case of others they must cut that off."

—that even in the presence of the wife the brothers take the estate but the wives take only maintenance. Likewise one gathers from the text of Manu (IX. 195), "The father shou'd take the estate of a sonless man, or even his brothers," that the estate belongs to the father or the brothers. Lekewise there is another text of Manu (IX. 217)—

"The mother should obtain the dāya of a chi:dless son, and if the mother has died the mother of the father should take the property."

which teaches us that the mother has the first right to the inheritance and in her absence the paternal grandmother. Likewise Kātyāyana says,[3]

"Assets go to the bro'her when a sonless man goes to heaven, in his absence the two parents may take it, or the senior wife,"

from which it appears that the brothers, the parents, and the senior wife in order are entitled to the property. There is a verse of Kātyāyana,

"When a separated man dies the father should take his assets in the absence of a son, or the brother, or the mother or the mother of his father, in order."

This shows that the property is inherited in order by father, brother, mother, and paternal grandmother.

2. Therefore, since a number of texts are repugnant to it, how can one establish the proposition we have already propounded? One

3. The *Mitākṣarā* attributes this prose passage to Śaṅkha. It does not seem to belong to Kātyāyana?

might hazard the proposition that property should be recognised optionally in favour of whichever of the two, the wife or the brothers, might happen to have possession (or not as the case may be) of the estate, relying upon the texts of both sorts! But this would be wrong, because such an option would be subject to the eight faults,[4] and because in a matter of mere fact there can be no alternative.

3. One might suggest that, though property is no action, property may well be subject to an option by way of the fact that there is an option whether or not to make a partition, which has the form of an action of a mental character giving rise to property, just as the greater part of its effect lies in possession of the assets. But this is not true, for property is created by birth and therefore it cannot be produced by partition. Consequently we cannot have recourse to an option (i.e. the conflict between the texts cannot be side-stepped): It is necessary to state some resolution of the difficulty.

4. What pronouncement can we make? We should commence by stating the resolution which previous teachers offered. Thus:— the next "The wife, the daughters also..." relates to the wife of a brother who was divided and unreunited; but the text "If among brothers" relates to one amongst a number of brothers who are undivided or reunited.[5] Thus Bṛhaspati says (XXVI. 99):

> "Whatever divided asset of any kind, even pledges or other various assets are traditionally known, these, excluding immovables, the wife, whose husband has died, should take."

The author of the *Candrikā* says that this in the clearest manner shows that the wife takes the assets of a divided brother, while the brothers and the rest take the assets of an undivided brother. The word "divided" is intended to imply also the assets of one who is unreunited. Similarly the text "Among brothers" relates to undivided or reunited brothers; and the case before us relates to a

4. The eight faults of a *vikalpa* (option) are that one accepts one to the exclusion of the other, accepts the other whilst denying what one has already accepted, and so forth (see Ganganath Jha, *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā in its Sources,* 1st edn., 1942 pp. 353 ff.).

5. This is the solution adopted originally in Anglo-Hindu law, modified as a result of the Second Shivagunga case.

brother who was divided and unreunited. The text of Yājñavalkya makes it clear that in the absence of each preceding claimant each succeeding claimant takes the assets, and in that text the wife has the first place: consequently the *prima facie* view must be that while the wife is present she alone is entitled to take the estate, and not the deceased's mother.

II. 1. We proceed to our conclusion.

Such being the situation we make a statement—may the learned listen to it removing envy and all partiality afar off![6]

Is it true that when two texts are in conflict an authority settling the matter is necessary?[6] When it was uncertain which of the cups was to be used first among those dedicated to Indra-Vāyu, etc., which are mentioned in that section of the *Śrauta-sūtra,* an authority was available to make it certain which was to be used first. Just as in the sentence (*Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* XII. 14. 1-2), "If the Some (—sacrifice) has the Rathantara as its Sāma he should take first the cups dedicated to Indra-Vāyu; if it has the Bṛhat as its Sāma he should take first those dedicated to Śukra; if it has both as its Sāma he should first take the *manthi*-vessels first," if there is some qualification (*anubandha*), this can be, but not otherwise. If when the whole of that section is carefully examined no such statement is obtained, then there should be the difficulty of having to supply something as in the statement, "If the sacrificer has no desire he should pour out the water with a cup, if he is desirous of cattle he should pour it with the milking-pot."[7] But in this section (of the *śāstra*) such a statement (i.e. such a text) does exist, as Kātyāyana says (v. 923):

6. For the translation of this paragraph I am indebted to Prof. T. Burrow (as noted above).

7. This text requires to be supplemented, but it is not clear to me exactly why. It is a paraphrase of *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* I. 16.3, and it may be that the supplementation is included in the paraphrase. The general point is that many rules which appear at first sight to be straightforward options are in fact parallel rules, because a condition has to be imported (as was not necessary in the case of the immediately previous quotation which was complete with its conditions), under which, if the condition was present one rule would apply, but if not then the other. Our author's point is that we cannot read the texts without the condition which is stated in another *smṛti* in the same chapter of the law.

"She should enjoy the share allotted to her, devoted to obedience to her senior; but if she does not perform obedience he should order food and raiment for her."

And this is explained in the Candrikā and the Mayūkha. The "senior" is the father-in-law, etc., and she may enjoy her share at his pleasure. Otherwise she has maintenance, that is the meaning. "Share allotted," we have to understand that she takes it, because the words "he shou!d order food and raiment" have laid down an allotment of trifiling assets sufficient to secure her mere subsistence. How little this amounts to is explained by Nārada:

"Yearly the faithful wife whose husband is dead should take 34 *āḍhaka-s* and 40 *paṇa-s*."

"*Āḍhaka*" means a heap of grain amounting to 192 handfuls, the *paṇa* is the *kārṣāpaṇa*. In a certain region this is current in place of eightieth part of a current *niṣka;* therefore where the *paṇa* is not current the eightieth part of a current *niṣka* is taken in lieu of it. Thus the Mayūkha says as follows:—The text of Kātyāyana is quoted,

"When her lord has gone to heaven the woman takes maintenance, where he was undivided, and she takes a share of the assets until her death."

Then he says that the word "undivided" implies also reunited, and the word "and" must be taken in the sense of "or." Thus there are two alternatives. The conclusion adopted by Madana (see *Madana-ratna-pradīpa,* ed. Kane, p. 362) is quoted, which explains these alternatives as follows: the gift of a share app!ies to the wedded wife, but the awarding of maintenance applies to kept concubines. The author (Nīlakaṇṭha) then considers the basis of this conclusion and rejects the latter, and himself gives the correct conclusion, basing it upon the text "She should enjoy the share..." Thus his conclusion is that a wife may take the estate provided certain conditions are fulfil!ed, and not otherwise; and these are (1) that she is devoted to obedience to her seniors, namely her mother-in-law and father-in-law and so on, (ii) that she has their permission, (iii) that she is chaste; and (iv) that she desires to inherit.

However it may be objected that this conclusion, depending as it does upon obedience to the mother—or father-in-law, or its

absence, or upon her desire, or its absence, is improper. The reason alleged is that in the books written under the name of Mādhava, in the *Candrikā*, the *Mayūkha*, the *Mitākṣarā*, and the work of Varadarāja a conclusion has been propounded upon the footing that the texts "Whatever divided asset of any kind," "If among brothers . . ." and so on, when carefully considered, relate solely to the alternatives of a divided or undivided decendent, and that one must conclude accordingly. But this objection cannot be accepted, because the point being based, as it is, upon texts there is no room for deciding the question by human ingenuity, and because of the unanimity which we find amongst the digest-writers.

2. In order that all the texts should speak with one voice, and that all texts should be in harmony, the wife who is qualified with every one of these qualifications may take the estate but not a wife who is lacking in any single one of them! Indeed that is so! This is what is actually accepted by the authors of the *Candrikā* and the *Mayūkha*, and others. The following is what is said in the work of Varadarāja (p. 450), though in another section:

> "2,000 *paṇa-s* must be given to the woman as *dāya* out of the assets, and whatever was given to her by her husband she may obtain at her option."

This is a text of Vyāsa. It is explained as saying that where nothing was given by the husband the widow may take 2,000 *paṇa-s*, but not more. Thus where at the time of his death the husband gave *all* his property to his wife she has a right in all the property. Otherwise, the author's intention emerges, one should give her 2,000 *paṇa-s*.

3. Therefore in this instant case there is no possible way in which the daughter-in-law can be entitled to all the property, even though she be equipped with the various qualities of being the devoted widow of a divided and unreunited man, (i) because a daughter-in-law can inherit only when she is obedient to her mother-in-law as every secular and śāstric consideration confirms, her mother-in-law being her "senior", and competition with her mother-in-law in that case would be a hare's horn (i.e. "mare's nest"), and because (ii) at the time of his death her late husband did not convey his share to her. In the second rank stands the daughter: but there is no daughter in our instant case. In the third rank stands the mother. It is more correct to give her the whole share, and so let us make an end of the discussion!

Let the learned, who are oceans of compassion pay attention: there is a distinction to be noticed in this context which has the approval of all.[7]

4. Your violent objection to the mother's inheriting—in this case is it to her taking *all* the property, or is it only to her taking a mother's share? If the latter one must point out that that alternative is not in question because no mother's share has been set aside for her according to the rule established in several texts of Yājña-valkya and other, that—

"If he makes the shares equal his wives must be made equal sharers (Yājñ. II. 115); and

"After the death of the father, if the brothers divide the property the mother too should take a share" (Yājñ. II. 123), such a share would be available at a partition whether in the father's lifetime or after his death.

5. You may object that though the mother's share is established under the *śāstra*, the mother has no property in such a share because no share was given to her at the partition. That might well be true, if property were to be produced by partition. However, it is not, but it ought to arise from birth, according to the text of Gautama (see *Mitākṣarā* I. i. 23), "Ownership in wealth is taken by birth alone, so the teachers say."

6. You may object that property cannot arise from birth, since it is non-secular,[8] like the sacrificial post and the *āhavanīya* fire though they be qualified by a combination of numerous seen and unseen "perfections" (*saṁskāra-s*) such as the felling of the timber, carpentry, and the fire-laying ceremony. For it is not by birth alone that the *khadira* or other wood or the ignited fire acquires the character of being a sacrificial post or an *āhavanīya*. Nevertheless even prior to the completion of the series of the "perfections" one finds the wooden object and the ignited fire called by the actual names of "sacrificial post" and "*āhavanīya*". Consequently the śāstric writers are in the habit of dealing with matters on the footing that these things bear the names appropriate to that perfection, because the completed series of perfections is the real cause of the currency of those names. Gautama indeed (see *Mitākṣarā* I. i. 8, 12) says "An owner is by inheritance, purchase, partition, occupation, and finding; for a Brahmin acquisition is an additional mode, for

the Kṣatriya conquest, and wages for the Vaiśya and Śūdra." He shows that property is ascertainable only from the *śāstra,* and therefore makes it abundantly clear that property is non-secular. Moreover, if property were established by wor!dly knowledge, like gold and silver,[9] there could never be any doubt as to whether something was this man's or another's.

7. If one claims "therefore property is non-secular, and so how could it be obtained by birth" we state the answer, that it is solely secular.[8]

> Because it is the cause of actions which serve secular purposes, like rice, barley, etc., the capacity to achieve cooking, etc., arises from the function of being ignited, and not from the fire's unseen function: and consequently there is no embarrassment left.[9]
>
> For that which achieves purchases and so forth[10] is the nature of gold as one's own, consequently one must insist that property is secular only.[10]
>
> When there is a doubt about purchase and so on[11] which have property as their cause there is a doubt about property—therefore property is obtained by birth and is not produced by partition.[11]
>
> Therefore, when a partition does not take place property is not destroyed, and so the mother's share survives, and that option certainly remains valid.[12]

8. The MS. actually reads *alaukikatvāt,* which was in error transcribed and printed at p. 548 as *laukikatvāt.*

9. This seems to be a misunderstanding of the *Mitākṣarā's* argument, which seems to have that even in the world a science is needed for the identification of metals—one does not rely upon mere appearances. See *Mitākṣarā* (Colebrooke's trans.) I. i. 8, and Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India* (London, 1968), 142.

10. The MS. reads *kriyādīn,* i.e. "actions", 'transactions", etc. But apparently this is a corruption for *krayādīn,* "purchases", etc.

11. See the remark in the last footnote.

12. This is the *Mitākṣarā* position, ably argued in that book on the basis of the fundamental argument that property is not ascertained solely from the Śāstra (which does not list "birth" in the basic texts) and with the aid of the collateral argument that one partitions what is already one's own. The mother's right by her re-birth at her marriage (infers our present author) is not extinguished by any partition ignoring her rights.

III. 1. Now the wife's right in any ritual characterised by the relinquishment of assets is established in the section (of the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra-s*) which commences (VI. 1. 6. 3), "On account of the use of the particular gender, only men are entitled—so says Aitiśāyana...." The text which says "The wife, the son and the slave (have no property)" (Manu VIII. 416) is directed only to their want of independence.[13] However, your first alternative does not arise, because the mother does not wish to possess herself of the entire estate.

2. Although it is understood from the *Candrikā,* the *Mayūkha,* and others, with reference to the text of Kātyāyana, "She should enjoy the share allotted to her, that the mother is entitled to the whole estate when the daughter-in-law is excluded from entitlement to the whole property by reason of her not being obedient to her mother-in-law and father-in-law; nevertheless, whether because public opinion would blame her, or for some other reason the mother does not want the whole estate, but only her own share—and that is why the first alternative does not arise.

3. Nor does the second arise, because there is no authority for excluding the mother from her share.[13a]

4. There is no basis for suspecting that her share has perished either because her son enjoyed it, or because he has died subsequently, for there would be no end to the inconvenience which would result if it could be supposed that when one person's clothes or ornaments are merely enjoyed by another through affection or other-

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The popular notion that property: arises at partition for the first time, when the taker was previously a non-managing member of a joint family, is based on the common notion that one has property only when one can do absolutely as one likes with the asset in question--and manifestly in a joint family only he who keeps the keys has independence with regard to the money in the chest. The concept arises in Madhātithi's comment on Manu V. 10 (Jha's translation p. 136)—a comment on which, in fact, Vijñāneśvara's argument in the *Mitākṣarā* is actually based historically.

13. The Mīmāṃsā establishes that the wife has a right of property in her husband's wealth for religious purposes. The text of Manu often relied upon to prove that the wife has no property in her husband's lifetime, in fact means only that she is dependant. So the *Mitākṣarā* II. i. 16, and also Jīmūtavāhana in his *Dāyabhāga,* I. i. 16.

13a. You cannot object to her taking a share, because the mother is entitled to a share (a partition having occurred) according to the *śāstra.*

wise they thereupon become the latter's property ! This is what the Saṁgrahakāra says in the *Candrikā* :

> "A man is not owner of that which happens to be in his hand: surely the property of one man may be in the hands of another through theft or other means !"

The word "other" implies affection. The author goes on to say "therefore ownership is according to the *śāstra* and not derived from enjoyment"—indeed saying that property is to be ascertained only from the *śāstra,* yet he does not contend that it is produced by partition and so does not conflict with what was said before. For the author of the book is certain that property is not capable of being produced by partition, nor would it be proper for the share to be lost because her son died. Such an idea would conflict both with actual usage and with the *śāstra.* Therefore there is no means whereby the mother's share can be annulled.

5. You may object that there seems to be a custom *not* to give mothers their shares. No. Such a custom would have no authority, because it is repugnant to the *smṛti.*

6. It may be objected that the *śāstra* dealing with litigation is, like that of grammar, founded upon popular custom, and that it cannot be authoritative in any context where it is opposed to custom, especially where it offends against people's livelihoods. But this is incorrect, because the *śāstra* is, in that book, founded upon majority customs, and the custom of a single locality cannot have that degree of authority.

7. Nor is the authority of a custom determined with reference to distinctions between localities, for that would conflict with the principle first mentioned.[14]

8. One may well ask why this mother's share, which is established according to popular practice and the *śāstra* has not been

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14. The text says *prāthamika-nyāya-virodhāt,* the meaning of which is not entirely clear to me. Apparently our author says that if the opposition to *smṛti* comes from the side of customs, on the ground that after all *smṛti* itself is founded on custom, the effect would be that *smṛti* would never have any authority more than its local coincidence with custom would allow—which would remove the authority of *smṛti* totally in these secular (*vyavahāra*) contexts.

furnished at the time of the partition! We suppose it happened (i) because of the mother's abundant affection for her son (or sons), or (ii) because (at that time) she did not want a share, or (iii) because the family followed the custom of low people (*pāmarāṇa-s*). The *śāstra-s* recognise that a share may not be taken where she is not desirous of having one. A text says (Yājñ. II. 116),

> "To one who is able and does not desire (a share) something may be given and his separation can be effected."

And so, now, her son having died, while she herself *is* desirous of a share it is impossible to annul her rights whether from the point of view of popular usage or the *śāstra*.

IV. 1. Nor would it be so absurd for her to have a share equal to a son out of the estate which was owned by the sons of her co-wife and her own son (jointly), on the alleged ground that would be less than a half-share in the property owned by her own son (alone). There is no harm in this if it is what she wants. And, on the facts of the case, there is no evidence that she wants this at all.[15]

2. There is no question of setting aside the partition which took place originally, because the sons of her co-wife are members of her own family and are responsible for the welfare of the line. Therefore she wants to please them and does not want to insist on her rights (*tad-anujighṛkṣayā anicchāyā upapatteś ca*).

V. 1. Therefore in respect of the disputed property the mother-in-law is owner by reason of her being the mother of the deceased male owned and the daughter-in-law is owner by reason of her having been his wife. According to the maxim, "It should

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15. What seems to have happened was this: a partition took place between her son, B3, and the sons of her (deceased) co-wife, Bi and B2. Since there were three sons the property was divided into thirds. In the Tamil country the mother's share is generally ignored. Had she had her rights under the Benares school of Hindu law she would have shared equally with the sons, and taken one -fourth of the whole. Now she is entitled to (so we are told) one half of the deceased son's share, i.e. one-sixth of the whole. Thus she claims less than her due. What harm is there in that, our author asks? We cannot take the view that either she asks for her rights upto the limit, or she must keep quiet!

be equal where revelation is silent,"[16] both of them should take equal shares, a proposition in which the customs of all localities and all the *śāstra-s* are agreed.

2. Now Manu says (IX. 217):

> "The mother should obtain the *dāya* of her son who left no issue, but after the death of the mother the father's mother should take the property."

And this is explained in (Rāghvānanda's) *Manvartha-candrikā*: "He has mentioned the mother's property in the case of a son who died without issue: 'who left no issue'. The mother should take because as between the two parents the mother is more worthy, due to her having carried him in the womb and nourished him. But if the mother is dead the father's mother should take the estate." After giving this explanation he doubts whether there is a conflict between this explanation and the texts of Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu which we have already cited; he shows how there is no conflict in the explanation provided in the commentary made by the commentator on the *Manu-smṛti* called Kullūka, viz. "the mother and the father should both take, sharing the property between them;" nevertheless he is not satisfied with the result and reveals another method of removing the difficulty with his own suggestion, which is as follows: "The member of the disjoined couple, mother and father, arises even in a case where the wife is involved.[17] Therefore when all three are present the triad is entitled to the property, for there is no choice between those who are (equally) associated (with each other) in the absence of another (i.e. the deceased's son)."

VI. 1. Now the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* reveals the sin involved in not delivering the share which the *śāstra* has prescribed.[18] "He

16. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. 5, 1330-1, 1350. *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya II. 265.

17. This curious way of putting it conceals the meaning, which is that Manu has singled out the mother in his anomalous way because he has a competition with the wife in mind. All these texts give different claimants the right of claim when no son survives: hence all should share!

18. This interesting quotation from the *Brāhmaṇa* is used by the *Mitākṣarā* in a different connection (I. ix. 6-7) along with a commentary which Colebrooke does not translate quite adequately. It is a commentary or explanation which agrees substantially with that of Mādhava, and one wonders whether

who extrudes a sharer from his share destroys him or if he does not destroy him he destroys his son or he destroys his son's son." The meaning of this is explained by Vidyāraṇya (i.e. Mādhavācārya) in his *Vedārthaprakāśikā*: "He who, i.e. the man who, extrudes, i.e. cuts off, a sharer, i.e. a person entitled to a share, from his share, i.e. from his own share, he is destroyed. Him, i.e. the extruder, he destroys, i.e. ruins. If he does not ruin him he ruins his son or son's son—that is what is meant.

2. Consequently that argument which claims an equal share in the inheritance for both claimants, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, is the better. This is the answer which the learned ought to consider with their subtle percipience. This is how the matter should be dealt with.

> After considering the *dharmaśāstra-s* and extracting their essence attentively, this is the conclusion which is plainly reported for the delight of the good.[13]

Thus the explanation of the equal sharing of the property between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is finished.

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they used a common source. The point is that the extruder or usurper is destroyed, infected with sin, by the deprived person, and if the wrongdoer himself is not affected his descendant will be. Thus it is spiritually dangerous to usurp the shares of others.

STATE OF CRIMINAL LAW IN MANUSMṚTI

By R. S. BETAI*

Introduction

In the Manusmṛti, we have no clear cut division of the sociological topics into three, *Ācāra, Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścittam,* as we have it in the Smṛti known after Yājñavalkya. Similarly prominence is not given to the topic of *vyavahāra* as we have it in the Smṛti of Nārada. Still however, the topics on court-law are treated in two very long separate Adhyāyas 8th and the 9th and the total number of verses in these two Adhyāyas is 756; far larger than the number of verses in the *Vyavahāra* Adhyāya of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, where the total number of verses is just less than half, 307. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya have allotted more verses to Civil Law than Criminal Law. There is also a tendency to give greater or lesser importance to one or the other title, probably due to advance in the sphere of law and the increasing or lessening importance of one or the other title, greater systematisation, a tendency to become more liberal and the gradual lessening of the importance of the moral and social side of Law that Manu has conceived. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya give eighteen titles of Law, but the names differ here and there a little. The following is a comparative list:—

Manusmṛti	*Yājñavalkyasmṛti*
(१) ऋणादान	(१) ऋणादान
(२) निक्षेप	(२) दायविभाग
(३) अस्वामिविक्रय	(३) सीमाविवाद
(४) संभूय समुत्थान	(४) स्वामिपालायपाद
(५) दत्तस्यानपकर्म	(५) अस्वामिविक्रय
(६) वेतनस्य अदानम्	(६) दत्ताप्रदानिक
(७) संविदः व्यतिक्रमः	(७) क्रीतानुशय
(८) क्रयविक्रयानुशय	(८) अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा
(९) स्वामिपालविवाद	(९) संविद्व्यतिक्रम

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(१०) सीमाविवाद	(१०) वेतनादान
(११) दण्डपारुष्य	(११) द्यूतसमाह्वय
(१२) वाक्पारुष्य	(१२) वाक्पारुष्य
(१३) स्तेय	(१३) दण्डपारुष्य
(१४) साहस	(१४) साहस
(१५) स्त्रीसंग्रहण	(१५) विक्रीयासम्प्रदानम् ।
(१७) स्त्रीपुँधर्म	(१७) स्तेय
(१७) दायभाग	(१७) स्त्रीसंग्रहण
(१८) द्यूतमाह्वय	(१८) प्रकीर्णक

The order in which the titles are discussed in the two Smṛtis is as above and it is clear that neither of the two separates the eighteen titles into Civil and Criminal, even though both are conscious of the positive distinction between the two. Both lay down far more severe punishments for criminal offences, both expect speed in the disposal of criminal titles, the competence of witnesses is not very much stressed in case of the criminal titles, Manu stresses the importance of finding out of truth in Criminal offence all the more and so on. Still, except for *Dāya,* Manu has kept the Civil and Criminal titles separately and he specifically mentions criminal titles as *Kaṇṭakasodhana.*[1] The last eight in Manu enumerate the Criminal titles except for *Dāya,* which is a purely Civil Title. The first ten in Yājñavalkya are Civil, the next four are criminal, the next two are important criminal titles and the last, the miscellaneous contains most of the minor criminal offences. It is not clear either in Manu or in Yājñavalkya why they take to a certain order and the order in either case is not scientific, there is probably no scientific vision at the root.

In Manu again, it is interesting that there are some probable reasons of a marked distinction between the two. Manu has often laid down jail, fine and similar punishments for civil offences also. To illustrate, he even punishes a plaintiff who raises a false plaint, a witness who gives false evidence, he lays down punishment of fine for persons who do not pay in time their debts and do not pay inspite of warning, in case of the second title of *Aswāmivikraya,* he wants to punish persons who falsely dispose of or sell the property deposited with them. Similar are the punishments laid down for

1. M.S. 9. 253.

Samvidvyatikrama, and so tn. Still, he is very much less severe in these and the criminal intentions only as included in the Civil titles are punished. He is therefore clearly conscious of the clear distinction between the two, though he has not specifically named the two or either, even though, as we have already seen, he knows the word *Kaṇṭakasodhana*. He again seems to believe that there should of necessity be harsh punishments in those plaints in which physical and mental injury to a person is involved as also the self-respect and protection of men and women. Here, he is prepared to accept even women and children as witnesses, incompetent witnesses, witnesses even without testing their legal status and competence.[2] This is inspite of the fact that he looks upon women as incompetent witnesses[3] and permits them as witnesses only when the plaint in question involves a woman,[4] he takes old men and children as useless witnesses and therefore unreliable.[5] and so on. The offences in question are all what we call criminal offences to-day. They are separately mentioned with reference to examining competence of witnesses in verse 8. 72 :—

साहसेषु च सर्वेषु स्तेयसंग्रहणेषुच।
वाग्दण्डयोश्च पारुष्ये न परीक्षेत साक्षिण:॥

"The competence of the witnesses shall not be examined in case of all *Sāhasas,* theft, crimes regarding women and Defamation and Assault."

There are again, a few more things to be noted before we now proceed to study the outstanding traits of the treatment of Criminal Law in the Manusmṛti. We will study these as follows:—

Ideal at the Root of Law

Manu states that the king or in his absense, a Brāhmaṇa judge shall try cases and give judgment.[6] Manu all the while expects the king to resort to eternal traditional Law.[7] Established tradition

2. M.S. 8. 72.
3. M.S. 8. 68, 77.
4. M.S. 8. 68.
5. M.S. 8. 71.
6. M.S. 1 and 9.
7. M.S. 8. 8.

F. 36

thus is a very important factor in Manu's Law. The court in which the king takes his seat with three learned Brāhmaṇas who are experts in the interpretation of Law and therefore who constantly guide the king or the judge, is known as the court of the four-faced Lord Brahman.[8] This will naturally establish that when the king is sitting in person as a judge, there is finality and there can be no appeal against his verdict. Truth shall always prevail in court, Dharma and Satya shall ever be victorious and grievous sin falls on the king, the *Sabhyas* and the *Sabhāsadas* if truth and Dharma fail in a court of law.[9] It is primarily necessary for any one who enters a court to speak truth and therefore if one does not intend to reveal truth, he shall not enter a court of law.[10] It is the prime duty of the king and his assistants in court to see that in their court, only truth prevails. Then only are they free from spiritual debt. It is expected to be ever the care of the king and all who enter the court that only truth is discovered and that too under proper legal methods. Details of these legal methods are given by Manu in several verses. Manu has laid down strict qualifications of witnesses who are competent[11] to give evidence and being practical again, he has laid down that the competence of witnesses shall be strictly examined and that they shall be given a strict vow of truth and also that they will be informed of the spiritual consequences of speaking falsehood.[12] When he refuses to stress the importance of examining the competence of witnesses in criminal pleas and wants to welcome anyone as a witness,[13] we see his anxiety to find out truth and he is fully conscious of the difficulty of finding out truth in criminal cases, involving as they do so, many factors. These are the most important statements with reference to the importance of truth in a court of law. Manu lays down as the first ideal of court-proceedings the finding out of truth at all costs. He has gone to the extent of stating that there shall be a re-trial in a case where it is found later that truth has not won.[14] Manu has written so many verses on the great importance of truth just to stress this ideal as none else does.

8. M.S. 8. 11
9. M.S. 8. 14, 15, 16, 16, 17, 18, 19.
10. M.S. 8. 13.
11. M.S. 8. 62.
12. M.S. 8. 74 and onward.
13. M.S. 8. 72.
14. M.S. 8. 117.

The next important stress is on justice for its sake, as a matter of Dharma. Justice is very important merely as justice because only justice is expected of an ideal king, only justice will create confidence in the king and his royal power. That is precisely the reason why justice is known as *Dharma*, as a duty and righteousness.[15] The dignity of Justice conceived as Dharma is inviolable and consequences of failure of justice are very grave for all including the king.[16] The seat of judgment is so glorious that normally it is expected to inspire the person sitting on it to find out only truth and justice. This also stresses the importance of law in the governance of the subjects by the king.

We can also find clear indications of the fact that to Manu, justice is important as a matter of morality, both social and individual. If an individual violates the certain fixed moral standards inherited from conventions, it is bound to affect social morality. Thus, so many minor and major individual lapses come under individual morality. Thus, if a man has sex relations with a spinster or a widow, may be for a very short time or only occasionally, there is punishment for either.[17] The king is positively asked to keep all individuals within moral limits.[18] When Manu prohibits *Dyūta* and *Āhvaya*,[19] Gambling and Betting even if they do not affect society, the illegality of the two is necessary for the sake of individual morals. The social side of it is of course there, when very harsh punishments are laid down for Rape and Adultery and both men and women offenders are expected to suffer.[20] The terms Rape and Adultery are very clear, and their definition is glaringly different from what we get in the Indian Penal Code. All cases of connection with a maiden, willing or unwilling, come under Rape and in case of unwillingness of woman there are lighter punishments or no punishment for the woman while the man in question is severely punished. All cases of connection with a married woman whether willing or unwilling, are cases of adultery. But, when the woman in question is also to suffer harsh punishment according to

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15. M.S. 8. 16, 17 and onwards.
16. As in F. N. 15.
17. M.S. 8. 368.
18. Spread over Adhyāyas 7 and 8.
19. M.S. 9. 224.
20. M.S. 9. 371 and 372.

Manu, it is clear that adultery is not merely *Vyabhicāra* of the marital rights of the husband, but also it has a moral side, individual and social both. Instances can be multiplied, but suffice here to state that to Manu, Law is an integral part of the preservation of individual and social morality, which will ultimately keep the social standards high.

Protection of individual and social safety both physical and mental as also protection of the safety of property is naturally stressed as an important purpose of criminal Law and legal provisions thereof by Manu. Thus, he states that 'The wives of all the four castes deserve the best protection,'[21] 'the king is to look after the safety of the property of minors,'[22] 'the king shall always protect his subjects from his corrupt sevants,'[23] 'punishment of death is ordained for stealing valuable and rare metals like gold etc.'[24] and so on point to this aspect of Law Criminal.

That law is for vengence on the offending party so that the offending party get their due revenge, a provision of law found in almost all countries in the world is found in the criminal law of Manu also. That clearly explains the harsh and ruthless punishments and also the punishment of the mutilation of limbs and also the insistence that

येन केनचिदंगेन हिंस्याच्चेच्छ्रेष्ठमन्त्यजः ।
छेत्तव्यं तत्तदेवास्य तन्मनोरनुशासनम् ।।[25]

"It is the ordinance of Manu that in case of the offender that limb by which he commits violence on the body of the person of the higher caste, shall suffer the mutilation of the same limb." The verses that follow (8. 280 to 283) give the deails of these. Again the punishment of mutilation of limb is ordained in case of all the castes except the Brahmana. This punishment creates a sort of satisfaction on the part of the offended party and this conduces to creating a sort of social environment in which there will be better-

21. M.S. 8. 359.
22. M.S. 8. 27.
23. M.S. 7. 123.
24. M.S. 8. 323.
25. M.S. 8. 334 and 8. 279.

ment of individual and social morals. This provision is thus important.

Thus, the purposes of criminal trials and punishments as per the views of Manu are, (i) Preservation of Truth, (ii) Preservation of Dharma, (iii) Justice for its own sake, (iv) Protection of individual and social morality, (v) Protection of and safety of individuals and society, physically and in otherways, (vi) The necessary satisfaction of revenge to be had to the offended party. Of all these to Manu, Preservation of truth and Dharma are most important probably because the other purposes are naturally to follow. Thus in Manu, a court of Law becomes a sacred place where pure justice followed by truth shall be dispensed.[26] Finding out truth at all costs and dispensing justice accordingly are thus the two principal ideals of a court of Law. Manu's very great emphasis on this is very clear. When again he describes the moral and spiritual advantages and disadvantages, of this, it is this anxiety that is working at its root.[27] To Manu thus, law and justice are divine missions and truth is at its basis. He very much anxiously stresses that no offence Civil or Criminal shall escape the eyes of Law, represented by the sceptre that symbolises Royal Power. The King's sceptre has a black colour and red open eyes. Manu states,

यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा।
प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति।[28]

That kingdom in which the Sceptre, black in colour and having red eyes moves all the while destroying sins, the subjects in this state are not deluded, the condition being that the king shall distinguish between right and wrong correctly."

The black colour of the sceptre represents the extreme impartiality of the kingly power in all matters including those of Law. It is to suggest that only inpartiality can be had from the person who wields this sceptre. The ample proof of this is that in the opinion of Manu even the relatives of the king including his sons are punishable if they have committed an offence.[29] The red colour

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26. M.S. 8. 11, 14, 18, 19, etc.
27. M.S. 8. 19, 110, 128 etc.
28. M.S. 7. 25.
29. M.S. 8. 335. Vide also Kir. 1.

of the eyes suggests strictness and firmness in the implementation of Law and the dispensation of jutice as it also suggests full security to the law-abiding from the offenders in whose case the sceptre is alert. The eyes of this sceptre are wide open and this represents the fact that no offence of any kind shall escape law and trial and royal power. Even the crimes committed in secret shall be exposed. That is the main reason why Manu states that—

दण्ड : शास्ति प्रजा: सर्वा : दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।
दण्ड: सुप्तेषु जागर्तिदण्डं धर्मं विदुर्बुधा: ।[30]

"*Daṇḍa* rules over all subjects and at the same time protects them. *Daṇḍa* is awake when the subjects are asleep. *Daṇḍa* is therefore called *Dharma*."

Yet one more thing shall be noted in the understanding of the theory of Law and punishment in Manu. It is that as in everything else, so in Law, prevention of offence is better than cure after an offence is already committed. Royal power and Royal Law shall be so very alert that the subjects fear it and through fear most of the crimes are averted.[31] If the wielder of this *Daṇḍa* is an able hand and a man with fore-sight, he will wield it well and the result will be that most of the offences will be averted as it happened in the kingdom of Duṣyanta[32] and Duryodhana.[33] The description of the power of *Daṇḍa* in the seventh Adhyāya is just with reference to this.[34] Manu, as a good student of psychology knows that no law will be obeyed if it fails to create fear in the heart of the probable offenders and confidence in the heart of law-avoiding citizens. That is the reason why he states that

सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नर: ।
दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते ।[35]

"The whole world with all individuals is under the spell of *Daṇḍa* because it is difficult to come across a man perfectly pure. That is the reason why the world enjoys all its joys under the spell of the

30. M.S. 7. 18.
31 M.S. 7. 20, 22, 24 etc.
32. Śākuntalam 5.
33. Kir. 1.
34. M.S. 7. 14 to 32.
35. M.S. 7. 22.

fear of *Daṇḍa*." He naturally wants to avert crime even before it is committed.

Punishments are thus, first of all, preventive in Manu. The punishments are corrective also in so far as for the future, criminals are bound to take a lesson. Punishments are the social revenge for the criminal acts committed against some other individuals or against the whole society in fact. This is to keep the social order in tact society free and safe as far as possible from offenders and to keep the individual and social moral fabric high. The punishments are also protective and as such will create a keen sense of safety and protection in the heart of law-abiding citizens and a severe fright in the heart of likely offenders and ultimately a confidence will be created in the hearts of the subjects about the power of kingship and state and they will naturally feel secure physically, mentally and emotionally. The rather severe punishments and small corrective punishments even for minor offences have thus a specific all-sided purpose in view. Society, comprising of mutually dependent individuals must remain high in culture, morals decency, nobility, progress, safety and health, and that explains the peculiar nature of these punishments. To Manu, the punishments that he lays down are not harsh or inhuman, or even if they are harsh, they are a necessity. This is because no man on earth is perfectly pure or perfect and Manu is also inclined that there will be certain persons in the society who are habitually offenders and they might not be corrected inspite of all efforts. Very harsh punishments must be laid down for such habitual offenders who are beyond any correction.[36] With his supreme faith in the ultimate goodness of man and with full faith in the inherent potentialities of man and with his universal sympathy for man and with his unique optimism, Manu grants the fact that there are some persons in the society who are under the full control of the *Tamas* and since such men are beyond correction, and also since no man is perfect on earth and as a result all are prone to commit offences, harsh punishments must of necessity be laid down. This does not mean that Manu is revengeful on offenders. In fact he has sympathy for them as will be clear from the fact that in certain offences he gives an opportunity to the offender to improve. He states that—

वाग्दण्डं प्रथमं कुर्याद्धिग्दण्डं तदनन्तरम् ।
तृतीयं धनदण्डं तु वधदण्डमतः परम् ॥

36. For a similar idea, Vide Salmond.

37. M.S. 8. 129.

Punishments and Penances

"To suffer punishment is to pay a debt due to the Law that has been violated. Guilt plus punishment is innocence." (Salmond)[38]

The view of the Hindu Jurists, of Manu in particular, is worth a comparison with the above statement of Salmond. Even though Manu has not, consciously and specifically laid down any reformatory Theory and he sincerely believes in very harsh punishments, he knows that suffering punishment is essential not only for the revenge of the society or for upholding social morals but also for the ultimate good of the criminal, because, if he suffers punishment for his offence, he becomes pure. The author of he Smṛti therefore states that

राजा स्तेनेन गन्तव्यो मुक्तकेशेन धावता।
आचक्षाणेन तत्स्तेयमेवंकर्मास्मि शाधि माम्।
स्कन्धेनादाय मुसलं लगुडं वापि खादिरम्।
शक्तिं चोभयतस्तीक्ष्णामायसं दण्डमेव वा।। [9]

"The thief, with his hair untied should approach the king running and should narrate the case of theft and state 'I have done this, save me." "He should lift a *Musala* on his shoulder or some sharp weapon or a weapon of iron and he shall approach the king."

With this submission, the king shall be approached and then it is left to the king either to punish him or to free him. The thief shall be free from the guilt only when he is either punished by the king or freed,[40] and of course the king will not fail to punish him if he so deserves. This naturally means what a serious offence it will be to run away after theft and similar offences. Manu goes to the extent of stating that if a king punishes the criminal and he is sentenced to death, he will go to *Svarga* on suffering that punishment.[41] This all establishes the fact that to Manu, suffering of the punishment by the criminal is unavoidably necessary. Actually punishment is to reform him. Hindu jurists also opine that expiation or penances wash away sin."[42] But when B. S. Singh makes

38. Jurisprudence, p. 119.
39. M.S. 8. 314 and 315.
40. M.S. 8. 316.
41. M.S. 8. 318. Also M.S. 11. 100.
42. B. S. Sinha in 'Principles of Criminal Law,' p. 33.

this statement, it should not be forgotten that for the criminals who have offended the society through offence to some individual and have violated established Law, penances or expiations are no option to the legal punishments that they were invariably to suffer. First, the legal puishments were to be suffered and then will follow the penances to purify the mind and heart of the offender and to make him repent as also to make him take a firm vow never to repeat the crime and suffer sin. The famous verse of Manu in this regard is—

प्रायो माम तपः प्रोक्तं चित्तं निश्चयमुच्यते ।
तपोनिश्चयसंयुक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं विदुर्बुधाः ।।[43]

"*Prāyas* is a *Tapas* and *Cittam* means determination. *Prāyaścittam* is that which consists of mental suffering for what has already been committed and decision (not to repeat the crime in life).

Of course, on very serious offences where the offender has to suffer capital punishment, no *Prāyaścitta* in this life is possible, though he may be made to repent for what he has done. Then, in that case, he will be pure and will not repeat the offence in his next life. Here also an attempt is made to create an atmosphere in which these offenders were asked and advised to repent and undergo penances just with the idea that they may be got back to the social fold, they might not be forsaken and required to live like outcastes after undergoing punishment. The state in which the hero of Le Miserables of Victor Hugo was placed after he was freed from jail is an ample proof of the probable grave results of the life of the criminals. Manu knows that society might not accept them in their fold or if they had committed serious offences. He therefore in his own way lays down these expiations accompanied by repentance so that it is an advantage to the offender and the society feels no hesitation in taking back the man in its fold. This is the sort of reformatory Theory of Manu. He so contrives that the offender suffers due punishment, he then is repentant, the purity and status of the society are kept intact and at the same time the offender is brought back to the social fold as a better man, as a man who in all probability will not repeat his offence. On one side thus Manu lays down very harsh punishments and establishes the full necessity of the offender undergoing the same and on the other side he so tries

43. M.S. 11. 47a.

to contrive that society should not multiply in habitual criminals. This is of course the best that Manu could think of under the conditions he was placed in. Important fact to be but noted is that Manu is fully conscious of the necessity of rehabilitation of the criminals and their due dignity. He knows that reformation of the criminals is a grave necessity in the interest of the criminal as also in the interest of the Society as a whole. This is the best that he could think of as a remedy of the very serious problem. In the modern days we might not agree with this as method and feel that it fails to do anything substantial in so far as it is solely dependent upon the human appeal to the criminal's heart and punishment remains as it is. On the other side it is an appeal to the society to permit his due place to the man in the society and this too he might find difficult to obtain. We get no proofs of how the criminals were treated in jail and whether they had a chance to improve and so on. Thus, penances and expiations coupled with punishment might no doubt obtain a few crimina's as better citizens, but this will not possibly apply to all and definitely not to habitual criminals. We accept Manu's sincerity in the matter and also accept that he was conscious of the after effects of the life of the criminal on the individual and the society and that he wanted no group of habitual criminals and that he also wanted that all offenders should repent and become better men and better citizens.

B. S. Sinha states "The Hindu Law books clearly show that the chief purpose for which punishment is awarded is the protection and maintenance of the individual's interests in the society by deterring the evil-minded persons." Manu says, "First, let him punish by gentle admonition, afterwards by harsh reproof, thirdly by deprivation of property, after that by corporeal pain. But even when by corporal punishment he cannot restrain such offenders, let him apply to them all the four modes with vigour."[44] After all the discussion that we have so far, it is clear to understand that this is true only of minor offences, in which even if minor punishments are not awarded, the ends of law would be well served by admonition, reproof etc. We have also seen above that "Protection and maintenance of the individual's interests in the society"[45] is only one of the many purposes of punishment as laid down by Manu.

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44. 'Principles of Criminal Law,' p. 34.

45. Vide verses spread over Adh. 8.

Are Punishments Primitive?

It is alleged by many that the punishments laid down by Manu are rather too harsh, heartless and ruthless and as such we could have found these in a primitive society only. Yājñavalkya and Nārada more or less follow Manu even though their vehemence has lessened and is gradually lessening further, because they were in all probability against these too harsh punishments and yet they had not the courage to go against the verdict of Manu since Manu was accepted as the final authority on law in their days and as the first authority. It is too well-known that in the list of legal authorites enumerated in the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Manu is accepted as the first.[46] Some would even feel that these very harsh punishments would not reform the criminals and every man who commits some offence would become a soul lost to the society. Criminals get no chance or atmosphere of improvement. Some modern jurists are against the death penalty, which is laid down in case of several offences by Manu. 'Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth' is the common rule as we will be able to derive from verse 8.334.[47] Verse 8.279[48] and the verses that follow drive at the same even though the latter are with reference to the offences committed by a Sudra on the members of the higher castes.

Before we give a hurried conclusion or some view like this, before we make a sweeping remark on the basis of a verse from here or a verse from there without reference to the context, we must make a note of certain very important points.

From the details of how a plea is to be admitted,[49] how the judges shall work,[50] what shall be the procedure in case of criminal

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46. Y.S. 1. 4 and 5.
47. The verse is येंन येन यथांगेन स्तेनो नृषु विचेष्टते ।
तत्तदेव हस्तेस्य प्रत्यादेशाय पार्थिवः ॥
48. The verse is येन केनचिदंगेन हिंस्याच्चेच्छ्रेष्ठमन्त्यजः ।
छेत्तव्यं तत्तदेवास्य तन्मनोरनुशासनम् ॥

Also Y.S. 2. 215. N.S.
49. 8. 2 to 8.
50. 8. 9 to 26.

offences,[51] who are the witnesses,[52] how are they to be examined,[53] what are the other modes of proof,[54] and what is the relative value of each as we have seen above and also from the details that we will find in each title and the details of punishments and the reason and convention at their root, we will come to the conclusion that Manu's criminal Law is well-developed, mature and having a long convention and established usage at its root. It is clear that law has developed far and wide. His anxiety for the prevalence and finding out of truth, his keenness to preserve the individual and social morality and as a result the social fabric and high morals, his theory of punishment that is not merely retributive or expiatory but also deterrent and reformistic etc. shows that Manu's ideas on law, criminal dealings and consequent punishments, are clear and quite advanced. The society of the days of Manu is highly cultured, complex, advanced and even rational. His stress on penances and the reasons thereof[55] also supports our contention.

Now the question that we have to deal with is this. When Manu lays down very harsh punishments even for some offences conceived of as minor in the present day, what is his view? His first and clear view is that prevention is better than cure. If a king expects that there shall be as few offences as possible, punishments laid down should be so very severe that they should normally prevent offenders from committing any offences as far as possible. His next anxiety, in case of the actual offences is that the wrong done to a member of society by one should necessarily be avenged and should be avenged according to the seriousness of the crime in question. We have not to give our opinion about the seriousness or otherwise of the crime from our own modern angle of vision but from the point of view of Manu. To illustrate, if Manu lays down the penalty of death for an offender who has stolen precious metals like gold,[56] the offence in question is very grave in so far as gold was a rare thing and valued very highly in his society. This will therefore on one side set an example for other likely offenders and also create confidence in law in the hearts of all and on the other side,

51. M.S. 8. 72 to 78.

52. M.S. 8. 61 to 71.

53. M.S. 8. 79 to 117.

54. M.S. 8. 52, 60. Also Y.S. 2. 22. N.S. 1.

55. Vide my chapter on 'Criminal Law in Manu'

56. M.S. 8. 323.

the social fabric and morality will continue to be of a high standard and healthy. If Manu were to be told in case of the death penalties that he has laid down that 'no one has a right to take another's life,' he would naturally retort in the same words 'no one has a right to take another's life' and this time apply the words to the person offended. It might also be agreed that severe physical punishments may prevent more or less permanently some crimes in some cases. It is too well-known that in Saudi-Arabia to-day, mutilation of limbs and similar very harsh punishments are laid down for offences of theft, the theory of social revenge is predominant. But the result is that instances of cases of theft are very few in that society. On the other side, jurists have accepted that the number of crimes and their repetition have not decreased in the societies where punishments are made less harsh and the death penalty has been ousted.[57] Of course it may also be argued that there is an economic side of the question and very often man might commit a theft through sheer necessity. The reply to this is that Manu is not unconscious of this and therefore he has laid down that it is the prime duty of the king to make his subjects happy and secure,[58] and also that when punishments are levied, the position of the offender shall also be one of the factors.[59] One more thing to be noted is that Manu sincerely and honestly believes that even if man is essentially and basically good and even though he has extreme faith in the ultimate goodness of man, he honestly believes that in any society some men are bound to be habitual criminals and offenders and they are almost incorrigible. He has laid down expiations and repentances for them, but that is the only thing he finds possible. And, with all the human sympathy that has arisen to-day, the question whether or

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57. Vide in this connection "The confinement, the deprivation of social intercuourse and other sort of subjection to rigid discipline will never allow him to develop his character. The possibly to reform the criminal in the atmosphere of suppression seems too remote. This theory also fails in case of the habitual and professional criminals who cannot be reformed. Oppenheimer criticises this theory in the following words, "It robs punishment of its siting. The criminal is looked upon as an object of pity, not of hatred and punishment becomes the work of charity." B. S. Sinha in Principles of Criminal Law, p. 37.

58. Looking to their welfare and security and keeping all in their proper order of castes and their professions, proteting all against bribery and corruption, ever seeing that Brahmins and others do not starve in the kingdom, seeing also that all get their due bread and living, etc. are some of the details. But this is a sociological topic and again it would require a separate chapter.

59. M.S. 8. 388, 391 etc. Also Y.S. 2. 26. etc.

not there are some men who are habitual criminals and a grave danger to society remains unsolved. Society and its individuals must be saved from them and if that is to be done, the penalty of death and mutilation of limbs and harsh punishments have no alternative. To-day, India leans towards making the punishments less harsh and even towards the abolition of death penalty, but it is too well-known that most of the cases of murder and adultery and rape are not proved in our courts and the number of crimes is increasing day by day. To Manu, an ideal is not good and worth attaining to for its own sake, he accepts only those ideals which are for the ultimate good of mankind.

With all this, the climax comes in that Manu is anxious (i) not to allow criminals to become habitual, and (ii) not to allow them to become socially unsettled, uprooted and outcastes after they have undergone the fixed punishments. That explains as we have noted Manu's insistence on the punishments being followed by penances and real repentance. Manu therefore does not stick to one particular theory or view because in his analysis of society and its needs, he finds various views necessary for the ultimate good both of the individual and the society. And as he tries to lay down all these views in their proper order, Manu finds no alternative to harsh punishments and also to not permitting minor offences like the sex contact between a spinster and a man or that between a man and a widow to go without punishment. Modern law has done nothing better than Manu by lessening the intensity of punishments laying down the sentence of death only as a rare one and even talking of doing away with the penalty of death. It will be accepted by almost all modern jurists that fear of law and punishments has more or less disappeared from the minds of offenders and the result is not only multiplication of offences but also constant repetition of these and every time poverty and acute necessity is not the reason. The problem should be dealt with scientifically, and with reason and with the proper understanding of the nature of man and not merely from a sentimental point of view and with too much of a talk on humanity, which surely the ancient Jurist Manu did not lack in.

Punishments vary according to caste

A peculiar trait of the Laws and the legal punishments of Manu is that punishments vary according to caste and of all, the Brāhmaṇa

caste has got so many concessions in and escapes from punishments and their intensity. On the other side, very much more severe punishments are laid down for criminal offences against the Brāhmaṇas. If we were to refer to the various references, he has referred to the predominance of Brāhmaṇa judges[60] and Brāhmaṇa advisers of the judge who interpret Law for him;[61] calling of a Brāhmaṇa as a witness in a court of law as little as possible[62] and when he is called, treating him with special privileges; taking for granted that a Brāhmaṇa will invariably speak truth and so the witness being told only 'speak' if he is a Brāhmaṇa;[63] and so on. If the Brahmin has committed a murder or some hienous offence and mutilation of limbs or death is the penalty, he is not to be killed but to be banished with all his wealth intact;[64] if a Brāhmaṇa has committed a criminal offence on a person of the lower caste the punishment of fine etc. are much less and they grow lesser with every lower caste;[65] if a Sūdra has offended a member of the higher caste his punishment grows more severe with the higher status of the caste of the offended position.[66] Again, when a Brahmin comes across some hidden wea'th, he is not expected to give a share to the king[67] while if a king himself comes across such wealth he gives half of it to the Brāhmaṇas.[68] Murder of a Brahmin is one of the most hienous offences, a *Mahāpātaka*.[69] The Brāhmana has thus no physical punishment and definitely no death sentence and if the crime of the Brāhmaṇa is so severe that it ordains death penalty, his head is to be shaved off[70] and he is to be banished.[71] If a man other than a Brāhmaṇa kidnaps a married woman, he deserved death, evidently thus laying down that for a similar sin, a Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed.[72] If a Brāhmaṇa rapes

60. M.S. 8. 9 and 20.
61. M.S. 8. 1, 11 etc.
62. M.S. 8. 65.
63. M.S. 8. 88, option shown in 8. 113.
64. M.S. 8. 379, 380, 381.
65. In M. S. Vide discussion on *Vakparushya* and *Dandaparushya* in Adh. 8.
66. As in 65.
67. M.S. 8. 37.
68. M.S. 8. 38.
69. M.S. 11. 54.
70. M.S. 8. 379.
71. M.S. 8. 380.
72. M.S. 8. 359.

a Brāhmaṇa girl he is only to pay a fine. A Brāhmaṇa shall not be killed inspite of the severest offences and under no circumstance[73] shall there be a Sudra as a judge.[74] These are some of the outstanding references in which Manu has laid down a favourable treatment for the Brahmin class as a whole and for the learned Brāhmaṇa in particular. This is all in addition to the statement that even sink ing financially, a king shall not collect taxes from learned Brāhmaṇas because, if learned Brāhmaṇas starve in the state, the whole state someday will suffer starvation.[75] We have similar specific statements in the Śākuntalam of Kālidāsa, a junior contemporary of Manu which states that–

यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम् ।
तपः षड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः ।।[76]

"The fruit that accrues to the king from other castes is destructive, while the foresters give to the sixth part of their austerites which is indestructible." This will naturally suggest to us that in the days of Kālidāsa, even learned Brāhmins must have also been free from any taxation.

At the very first glance, the following facts become clear from the abovementioned statements and it is remarkable that these are being diluted by Yājñavalkya and Nārada[77] and the later writers:–

(i) The society and the state of the days of Manu is dominated by the Brāhmaṇas. Even when the Brāhmaṇas do not rule, they show a society in which they are very prominent in the society and their power is great and feared.

(ii) The Brāhmaṇa class was the uppermost class in so far as most of the education and learning was dominated by the Brāhmaṇas, who were the real custodians of most of the lores in society.

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73. M.S. 8. 380.
74. M.S. 8. 20, 21, 22.
75. M.S. 7. 134.
76. Śākuntalam 2.
77. N.S. 14. 9.

(iii) The learned Brāhmaṇas dominated at the courts of kings and occupied the highest positions in the state and government including those of the ministers and judges.

(iv) All social culture, religion, morality etc. depended upon this class.

(v) The Kshatriya rulers paid their due respect to these Brāhmaṇas and they were dependent upon them for many things.

(vi) The very ideal of the life of the Brāhmaṇa was plain living and high thinking. They materially suffered and gave the best of what they had to society.

(vii) Society as a whole looked with keen respect and a sense of sanctity towards this caste and accepted that the Brāhmaṇas, by their very learning and culture, religion and morality, occupation and status, control and steadiness were the purest of all castes and were therefore the least likely to commit sins. Respect of the Brāhmaṇa as a caste was therefore originally the respect of his learning, culture, religion and morality.

(viii) And actually it happened that most of our writers of Śāstras were Brāhmaṇas and it was natural therefore for them to see that their domination of the society remained intact.

The position continued to remain the same for a considerable time and even when the later Smṛtikaras were not so vehement and emphatic about this very high status and so many concessions to the Brāhmaṇas, these continue to lurk for a considerable time and Manu is followed though perhaps half-heartedly by Yājñavalkya[78] and others.

78. This is evidenced in the brief references about the special position of the Brāhmaṇa and no details and repetitions as found in the manusmṛti. The vehemence is lost and casual references occur. It is clear that the authors have started realising the injustice in this undue special privilege of the Brāhmaṇa class, the learned Brahmins in particular. They accept that the attitude of the king shall be absolutely impartial and equal towards all. Then the special rights are too much. We however add that the society in the days of Manu respected the learning, character, life, culture and leadership of the Brāhmaṇa so sighly that if a Brāhmaṇa ever committed a heinous offence, even if he was not put to death, socially he was as good as dead and so, death was better for him than this extreme humiliation resulting from life plus the shaving off of the head or banishment for the offence committed. But this is a problem to be dealt with by sociology, for which vide my Thesis on 'Interpretation of the Manusmṛti.'

With due respect to Manu and the proclamations that he has laid down, it must be stated that at least in the eyes of Law, these special concessions and privileges cannot be defended. Manu accepts the greatness and absolute impartiality of Law and yet lays down these and this is a contradiction. The learning of the Brāhmaṇa may be regarded in many ways, but surely in a court of Law all must be equal, irrespective of caste and creed and station in life and so on. This would have added lots to his very fine, detailed systematic treatment. Social concessions are different from legal ones and respecti and dignity of Law demands absolute equality of all in its eyes.

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Abbreviations

Maha. Mahābhārata
Rama. Rāmāyaṇa
M.S. Manusmṛti
Y.S. Yājñavalkyasmṛti
N.S. Nāradasmṛti
Sak. Śākuntalam
Kir. Kirātārjunīyam
Ragh. Raghuvaṁśam

धर्म के हिन्दू सिद्धांत की उत्पत्ति एवं विकास

डॉ० रणजीत सिंह*

भारतीय विचारधारा एवं जीवन-विधि में धर्म का विशेष महत्त्व रहा है। धर्म शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति संस्कृत-धातु 'dhr धृ' से है जिसका प्रयोग धारण के अर्थ में किया जाता है।[1] ऋग्वेद में धर्म और धर्मन् का उल्लेख मिलता है।[2] परन्तु इस ग्रन्थ में ऋत का विशेष महत्त्व दृष्टिगत होता है, जिसका कालान्तर में धर्म की अवधारणा के विकास में बड़ा योगदान रहा है।

ऋत—

ऋग्वेद में प्रयुक्त ऋत के समानार्थक शब्दों का प्रयोग ईरानी धर्मग्रन्थ 'अवेस्ता' में भी मिलता है।[3] डा० लारेन्स मिल्स का मत है "अवेस्ता में अर्श शब्द का प्रयोग ऋत की भाँति सृष्टि सम्बन्धी अपरिवर्तनीय व्यवस्था एवं दैवी नियमों के लिये किया गया है।[4] लुई रेनु का यह विचार है कि आर्यों के भारतवर्ष में प्रवेश के पूर्व ही उनमें ऋत सम्बन्धी विचार विद्यमान थे जिसका प्रमाण अवेस्ता में प्रयुक्त 'अर्श' शब्द है, ठीक प्रतीत होता है"।[5] कतिपय अन्य विद्वानों[6] का मत है कि आदि काल में ऋग्वैदिक ऋत का तात्पर्य प्रकृति में निहित शाश्वत नियमों से था। कालान्तर में यज्ञों से सम्बन्धित नियमों को भी इसके अन्तर्गत स्वीकार किया गया। समय की गति के साथ इसका क्षेत्र व्यापक होता गया और कालान्तर में ऋत में नैतिक नियमों का भी समावेश कर लिया गया।

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१. डा० राधाकृष्णन, द हिन्दू व्यू आव लाइफ, पृ० ५६। जी० एच० मीज महोदय का मत है कि धर्म शब्द की उत्पत्ति संस्कृत शब्द धर से है। जी० एच० मीज, धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० ६। परन्तु संस्कृत साहित्य के धातु-पाठ में यह शब्द नहीं मिलता। धर तो 'धृ' धातु की विकृति मात्र है।

२. वैदिक इण्डेक्स, (हिन्दी संस्करण) भाग १, पृ० ४३७।

३. अवेस्ता, यस्न, ९/६/१।

४. डा० लारेन्स मिल्स द्वारा सम्पादित, अवेस्ता, यस्न, १।

५. लुई रेनु–वैदिक इण्डिया, पृ० ५६।

६. ए० ए० मैकडोनल, हिस्ट्री आव संस्कृत लिटरेचर, पृ० ६७। ब्लूमफील्ड, रिलिजन आव द वेदाज़, पृ० १३५। हिरियान्ना, आउटलाइन्स आव इण्डियन फिलासोफी, पृ० ३३।

ऋग्वेद में ऋत को ब्रह्माण्ड-व्यवस्था से सम्बद्ध एवं प्राकृतिक घटनाओं को सुसंचालित करने वाले एक शाश्वत आधार के रूप में मान्यता दी गयी है। ऐसा विचार मिलता है कि ऋत के पद-चिह्नों में उषायें प्रातःकाल उदित होती हैं, इसी के अनुसार पितरों ने सूर्य को स्वर्ग में स्तम्भित किया है, सूर्य ऋत का भ्राजमान प्रतीक है और वर्ष इसका ही द्वादश अरों वाला चक्र है।[1]

जल और पौधों में अन्तर्निहित तत्वाग्नि जिसे जलती हुई अरणियों से मनुष्य के लिये उत्पन्न किया जाता है, ऋतजात होकर ऋत-गर्भ बन जाती है।[2] जल के स्रोत ऋत के अनुसार प्रवहणशील बताये गये हैं।[3] इसमें एक अन्य स्थल पर सूर्य को निरन्तर रहने वाला ऋत का रूप कहा गया है।[4] ऋत, जड़ एवं चेतन सब में परिव्याप्त बताया गया है। ऋत की अखण्डता देश और काल के परे है, दूरी और समय का कोई भी व्यवधान ऋत के नियमों में परिवर्तन नहीं कर सकता है।[5] इससे स्पष्ट रूप से परिलक्षित होता है कि ऋग्वेद में विश्व के अनन्त रूप को एक सूत्र में पिरो देने वाले तत्त्व को ऋत की संज्ञा दी गयी है।

ऋत का यज्ञ से सम्बन्ध—ऋग्वेद में ऋत के कारण यज्ञों का सम्पादन होना बतलाया गया है।[6] जिससे सभी की सुरक्षा सम्भव है।[7] यज्ञों में सोमपान करते समय भी ऋत के प्रभाव का वर्णन मिलता है।[8] ऋत के दंड से अग्नि को प्रज्वलित

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१. द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य। ऋ० वे० १/१६४/११। द्रष्टव्य, ए० बी० कीथ, रिलिजन एण्ड फिलासोफी आव द वेद एण्ड उपनिषद्स, पृ० ८४। ब्लूमफील्ड, रिलिजन आव द वेदाज़, पृ० १२७।

२. ऋग्वेद, १/६८/५।

३. वही, १/२४/३; २/२७/८।

४. वही, ५/६३/१। वही, ५/६३/७। वही, ५/५१/१।

५. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, वेद-विद्या, पृ० १८६-१८७।

इस प्रकार के तत्व विश्व की कुछ अन्य प्राचीन सभ्यताओं में प्राप्त होते हैं, किन्तु उनका सम्बन्ध ब्रह्माण्ड-व्यवस्था से न होकर शक्ति के रूप में किया गया था। ऐसा विचार प्राचीन साहित्य में वर्णित ताओ में मिलता है। द्रष्टव्य, ई० डबल्यू हापकिन्स एथिक्स आव इंडिया, पृ० ३। प्राचीन हिब्रू जाति में भी प्रचलित तोरा का तात्पर्य केवल देवताओं तक ही सीमित रह गया था। द्रष्टव्य, जी० एच० मीज—धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० ३९। उपर्युक्त ताओ और तोरा का तात्पर्य विश्व को संचालित करने वाले तत्त्व से नहीं था। इसके विपरीत भारत में ऋग्वेदिक ऋत की परिकल्पना में सृष्टि को संचालित करने वाले तत्त्व की भी प्रधानता थी।

६. ऋग्वेद, ६/१५/१४; ७/३५/१५।

७. वही, १०/६७/२।

८. वही, ७/६५/३

करने का वर्णन किया गया है।[1] इससे स्पष्ट है कि ऋत और यज्ञ का विशेष सम्बन्ध था।

यज्ञ से विशेष सम्बन्ध होने के कारण ऋग्वेद में ऋत का सम्बन्ध देवताओं से भी बताया गया है। अग्नि को ऋत का अंश, ऋत से उत्पन्न तथा स्वकार्यों को ऋत के अनुसार करने वाला बताया गया है।[2] अग्नि-विषयक यह धारणा स्वाभाविक एवं सुव्यक्त है कि वह आहुतियों को देवताओं तक ले जाने या देवताओं को आहुतियों तक ले आने का कार्य ऋत की पावन शक्ति से प्रेरित एवं नियमित होकर करते हैं।[3] इससे वरुण को ऋत का देवता[4] तथा स्वामी[5] कहा गया है। सोम को इसका संरक्षक, सहायक और देवताओं को ऋतावन्[6] बताया गया है। मित्र और वरुण ऋत एव प्रकाश के स्वामी हैं; वे ऋत के ही सहारे ऋत को धारण करते हुए कहे गये हैं।[7] ऋतावृध् विशेषण सबसे अधिक उनके तथा अन्य आदित्यों के और फिर सामान्य देवताओं के लिये प्रयुक्त हुआ है।

वरुण ऋत के गोप्ता कहे गये हैं; किन्तु इस विशेषण का प्रयोग अग्नि और सोम के लिये भी किया गया है। प्रमुख रूप से अग्नि के लिये प्रयुक्त ऋतावन विशेषण अनेक बार मित्र और वरुण के लिये भी आया है।[8]

यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि उषायें न केवल ऋत का अपितु वरुण के भी नियम का पालन करती हैं। आकाश के तारे वरुण के इंगित पर दिन में छिप जाते हैं। नैतिकता के क्षेत्र में भावमय ऋत की अपेक्षा देवगण अधिक महत्त्वशाली हैं। विख्यात यम-यमी-सूक्त के अन्तर्गत मानवजाति की उत्पत्ति के निमित्त अपनी बहन यमी के द्वारा की गयी प्रणय-याचना को अस्वीकार करते हुए यम ने न केवल ऋत का ही, अपितु

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१. वही, ९/७५/२; ७/३४/८।
द्रष्टव्य, ब्लूमफील्ड-रिलिजन आव द वेदाज, पृ० १२८।
द्रष्टव्य, ए० बी० कीथ—रिलिजन एण्ड फिलासोफी आव द वेद एण्ड उपनिषद्स, पृ० ८३।

२. ऋग्वेद, ७/३४/८; ९/७५/२।

३. वही, ३/४/११; ३/६/९।

४. वही, १/१/८; १/८/५।

५. वही, ३/१०/२; १०/११/८।

६. वही, ३/२/१३; ३/५५/१४।

७ ऋग्वेद, १/२३/५।

८ वही, ९/४८/४, गोपऋतस्य विर्भरत्।
वही, ९/७३/८, ऋतस्यगोपा न दभाय सुक्रतु।
वही, ९/९७/२४।
द्रष्टव्य,—ए० ए० मैक्डानल कृत वैदिक माइथालोजी का हिन्दी रूपान्तर वैदिक देवशास्त्र, पृ० ५२।

मित्र एवं वरुण के विधानों का भी नाम लिया है।[१] इस वेद में हमें केवल ऐसे ही स्थल नहीं मिलते जहाँ ऋत एक स्वतन्त्र सत्ता के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया गया है, अपितु ऐसे भी स्थल प्राप्त होते हैं, जहाँ पर यह किसी एक देव की सम्पत्ति बनकर सामने आया है। किन्तु जहाँ पर ऋत किसी देवता की विशेष सम्पत्ति या गुण के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया गया है, वहाँ देवताओं का महत्व कम और गौण हो जाता है, क्योंकि वे ऋत के रथी, ऋत को बढ़ाने वाले और ऋत के संरक्षक कहे गए हैं[२]। इस अवस्था में उनसे परे ऋत की स्वतंत्र सत्ता सिद्ध हो जाती है किन्तु फिर भी ऋत के साथ अन्य देवताओं और वरुण का सम्बन्ध सदा घनिष्ट एवं व्यक्त बना रहता है।[३] यही कारण है कि देवता ऋतज्ञ (ऋत के ज्ञाता), ऋतद्रष्टा, ऋतप्रेमी तथा ऋतावृध् बताये गये हैं।

ऋत का नैतिक स्वरूप--

ऋग्वेद में ऋत का नैतिक स्वरूप भी दृष्टिगोचर होता है। ऋत शब्द विश्व की नैतिक व्यवस्था का भी बोधक है। इसको निषेध एवं यथार्थ कार्य का विधान करने वाला कहा गया है।[४] प्रोफेसर कीथ के अनुसार[५] "ऋत केवल सत्य मात्र नहीं है। सत्य का अर्थ कथन की यथार्थता है। ऋत और सत्य का वर्णन इस वेद में अलग-अलग किया गया है।" इसके विपरीत कतिपय विद्वानों का मत[६] है कि इन दोनों का विवेचन साथ-साथ और पर्यायवाची के रूप में किया गया है।

ऋग्वेद तथा कालान्तर में प्रणीत धार्मिक ग्रंथों में ऋत तथा सत्य का अभिन्न सम्बन्ध बताया गया है। इससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि सत्य के लिये ऋत और असत्य के लिये अनृत शब्द का व्यवहार किया गया है। यज्ञार्थ ऋत का प्रयोग अनेक बार

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१ ऋग्वेद, १०/१०/१-१४।

२. ऋ० वे० ३/२/१३।

३. ३/५५/१४।

४. ऋग्वेद, ४/२३/८ : १०/१०४।

५. ए० बी० कीथ, रिलिजन एण्ड फिलासोफी आव वेद एण्ड उपनिषद्स पृ० ४३७।

६. सारस्वती सुषमा, पृ० ९९, म० गिरधर शर्मा चतुर्वेदी का लेख, ऋतं च सत्यं च। ए० बी० ओ० आर० आई०, भाग २२, १९२२, वी० एम० आप्टे का 'ऋतं और सत्यं' नामक लेख।

ब्लूमफील्ड, रिलिजन आव वेदाज, पृ० १२८।

मैक्समूलर, इन्डिया, व्हाट इट कैन टीच अस, पृ० ६०-६१।

हिरियान्ना, आउट लाइन्स आव इन्डियन फिलासोफी, पृ० ३३।

सत्य के अर्थ में किया हुआ मिलता है।[१] बार्थ तथा रगोजिन के अनुसार ऋग्वेद में ऋत और सत्य को सौरजगत का धर्म बताया गया है।[२] स्पष्ट है कि सत्य और ऋत का विशेष सम्बन्ध है और सत्य एक नैतिक गुण है।[३] इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकालना सहज है कि ऋत के सहारे ही सत्यादि कुछ नैतिक गुणों का भी विकास हुआ। अतः यह मानने में कि नैतिकता सत्य के द्वारा विकसित हुई है कोई विशेष हानि नहीं।[४] वैदिक विचारधारा के अनुसार हम जीवन-यज्ञ में अनृत से सत्य की ओर बढ़ते हैं, सत्य को व्रत के रूप में देवता धारण करते हैं।[५]

तैत्तिरीयसंहिता और वाजसनेयिसंहिता में भी ऋत का उल्लेख सत्य के लिए मिलता है।[६] तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण[७] में बताया गया है कि ऋत सत्य में स्थित रहता है और सत्य ऋत में। शतपथ-ब्राह्मण में कहा गया है कि ऋत ही सत्य है और सत्य ही ऋत है।[८] यहाँ ऋत और सत्य समानार्थक माने गये हैं। कई स्थलों पर सत्य और ऋत का प्रयोग साथ-साथ किया गया है।[९] संहिताओं के पश्चात् ऋत के स्थान पर सत्य का महत्व बढ़ जाता है। उपनिषदों में ऋत के स्थान पर सत्य का विवेचन प्राप्त होता है। बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् में सत्य और धर्म एक दूसरे के परिपूरक बतलाए गये हैं।[१०]

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१. ऋग्वेद, १/४३/९, १/१३७/२; ७/४९/३; १०/८/५। तैत्ति० स० ३/३/५, बौध० ध० सू० ३/४/२ ऋतं च सत्य च। द्रष्टव्य, सारस्वती सुषमा, पृ० ९८-९९ में म० गिरधर शर्मा चतुर्वेदी का लेख—'ऋतं च सत्यं च'।

२. बार्थ ए०, रिलिजन्स आव इंडिया, पृ० ४२, ४३, १७७। रगोजिन, जेड, ए० वैदिक इंडिया, पृ० १४६, १४७।

३. ऋग्वेद, १/१४५/५ : १०/१९०/१।

४. अलबर्ट स्वेटजर, इंडियन थाट एण्ड इट्स डेवलपमेंट, पृ० ४५।
नैतिकता का विकास सत्य से हुआ है। मानव ने निम्नस्तरीय नैतिकता से श्रेष्ठ नैतिकता की ओर बढ़ने का प्रयास किया है, जिसकी उत्पत्ति पड़ोसी या अपने समीप में स्थित व्यक्ति के प्रति दया-भाव के कारण नहीं, अपितु असत्य के प्रति घृणा के दृष्टिकोण से हुई है।

५. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, वेद-विद्या पृ० १९७।

६. तै० सं०—३/३/५ वाज० सं०—११/४३।

७. तैत्ति० ब्रा०—ऋतं सत्येऽधायि, सत्यमृते अधायि, ऋतं च मे सत्यं चाभूताम्। ३/७/७/४।

८. श० ब्रा०, एस० बी० ई०, जिल्द ४४, पृ० ४०, ६।४। ४१; ६/७/७/११, ११/२/७/९।

९. एगर्लिंग, एस० बी० ई० जिल्द ४१, पृ० २२६। ऋग्वेद, १०/१९०/१ पर सायण-भाष्य।

१०. बृ० उ०—१/४/१४।

उपनिषदों के पश्चात् धर्म का महत्व बढ़ने लगा और कालांतर में ऋत की धारणा में समाहित हो गयी ।[1] यही कारण है कि उपनिषदों एवं उनके बाद लिखे गये साहित्य में ऋत का बहुत ही कम उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है ।

धर्म और धर्मन्—ऋग्वेद में धर्म और धर्मन् शब्द भी मिलते हैं । वैदिक इण्डेक्स के लेखकों के अनुसार इनमें से प्रथम इस वेद में और दोनों ही बाद में विधान अथवा प्रचलन के लिए व्यवहृत शब्द हैं ।[2]

ऋवेद में कहीं-कहीं व्रत[3] और यज्ञ धर्म के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए मिलते हैं । यज्ञ-सम्बन्धी कृत्य पूर्वकाल में धर्म के रूप में थे । धर्म यज्ञ रूप में था । इसलिए देवताओं ने यज्ञ सम्पादित कर धर्म किया था, ऐसा इसी वेद में कहा गया है ।[4]

डा० राजेन्द्र चन्द्र हाजरा तथा डा० पाण्डुरंग वामन काणे के मतानुसार ऋवेद में धर्मन् शब्द का प्रयोग प्रायः नपुंसकलिंग में किया गया है जिसका अर्थ पहले तो आदेश[5] और धार्मिक कृत्यों से है किन्तु पुल्लिग में प्रयोग किये जाने पर इस शब्द को अवधारक के अर्थ में ग्रहण किया जाता है । इसके विपरीत डा० हाजरा का मत है, "पुल्लिग का प्रयोग ऋवेद की अपेक्षा बाद की संहिताओं और ब्राह्मणों में अधिक मिलता है ।[6] डा० काणे का मत[7] है कि यह शब्द चाहे पुल्लिग में हो या नपुंसकलिंग में किन्तु इसका प्रयोग अवधाता के अर्थ में किया गया है । ए० बी० कीथ के अनुसार नियम का बोधक शब्द धर्मन् है जिसका अर्थ धारक और धार्य दोनों हैं, ऋत की तरह यह भी सृष्टि के सभी पक्षों के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है । पुरुष-सूक्त में बताया गया है कि देवताओं ने यज्ञ के द्वारा यज्ञ किया और यही प्रथम-आदेश धर्म थे । धर्मन् के ही अनुसार यज्ञाग्नि को प्रज्वलित किया जाता है और धार्मिक नर-नारी अपत्यों के द्वारा अपनी वृद्धि करते हैं ।[8]

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१. द्रष्टव्य जी० एच० मीज, धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० ९-११ ।

२. वैदिक इन्डेक्स, (हिंदी संस्करण), भाग १, पृ० ४३७ ।

३. ऋग्वेद १/१०१/३, यस्य व्रते वरुणो । वही, १/१३६/५; १/३६/५; व्रता ध्रुवा । वही, २/२८/८; ५/८३/५; १०/१६५/११ ।

४. वही, १/१६४/४३—तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । वही, १०/९०/१६ यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त ।

५. ऋग्वेद, १/१८/१ । वही, १०/२१।३ ।

६. आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० १६-१७ पर डा० आर० सी० हाजरा का पूर्वोक्त लेख ।

७. डा० काणे, हिस्ट्री आफ धर्मशास्त्र, जिल्द १, पृ० १-२ ।

८. ए० बी० कीथ, रिलीजन एण्ड फिलोसोफी आव द वेद एण्ड उपनिषद्स, पृ० २४९ ।

ऋग्वेद में धर्म[१], धर्मणा[२], धर्मणाम्[३] और धर्मणि[४] रूप मिलते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त धर्मन्'[५], धर्मा[६], धर्माणः[७], धर्माः[८], धर्माणम्[९], तथा धर्माणि[१०] रूप भी हैं। इसी वेद में धर्मऽभि[११] और धर्मेच्छु के लिए धर्मऽवन्ता[१२] शब्द भी मिलता है।

ऋग्वेद की भाँति यजुर्वेद में भी धर्म[१३], धर्मण[१४], धर्मणा[१५] और धर्माय[१६] रूप प्राप्त होते हैं। अथर्ववेद में भी धर्म का प्रयोग धारण के अर्थ में किया गया है[१७]। इस

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१. ऋग्वेद, ३/१७/१; ३/१७/५; ७/८९/५; १०/५६/३; १०/१४९/३।

२. वही, १/१३४/५; १/१६०/१; २/१३/७; ५/६७/७।
वही, १/५५/३; ८/४३/२४—धर्मणामिम्।

३. वही, १/१/५९; ३।३८।२; ९/९७/२२।

४. वही, १०/१६७/३ तथा ४/५३।३; १०/५०/६; १०/८८/१।

५. ऋग्वेद, ५/१५/२; ९/७/१; ९,११०/४; १०/२०/२।

६. वही, ९/९७/१२।

७. वही, १०/२१/३।

८. वही, ९/९७/२३।

९. वही, १/१८७/१; १०/९२/२।

१०. वही, १/२२/१८; १/१६४/४३; १/१६४/५०; ३/३/३। वही, ५/२६/६; ९/६४/१; ९/९७/२।

११. वही, ३/६०/६; ५/८१/४;/५२/३।

१२. वही, ९/१०७/२४-मित्रावरुण्वन्ता उत धर्मवन्ता।

इसमें धामन्, धाम और धामानि शब्द भी मिलते हैं जिसका अर्थ निवास-स्थान से ग्रहण किया जाता है। धामन् के लिये ऋग्वेद, ५/२/४ तैत्ति० सं ५/२/३/४ और ए० बी० कीथ, रिलिजन एण्ड फिलासौफी आव द वेदाज़ एण्ड उपनिषद्स, पृ० ४८७। तथा धाम के लिये, ऋग्वेद, १/५७/३; १/९१/३; १/९५/९; १/१२२/१२; १,१२१/६; ३/७/६; ४/५/४; ६/२/९; ६/६७/९; १०/१०/६ और धामानि के लिये ऋग्वेद—२।३/२; ३/३/१०, ४/५५/२। धामानि मित्रावरुणा युवानुः। ७/६०/३। धामानि दिव्यानि १/१३/१।

१३. यजुर्वेद, सविता धर्म साविषत्। ९/५; १८/३०।

१४. वही, पृथुधर्मणस्पतिराज्यस्य वेतु स्वाहा। १०/२९।

१५. वही, मिनोतु, मित्रावरुणो ध्रुवेण धर्मणा। ५/२७।

१६. वही, धर्माय सभाचर······। ३०/६।

१७. अथर्व वेद, ध्रुवा भूमिं पृथ्वीं धर्मणा धृतम्।

वेद में धर्म[1] धर्मः[2], धर्मणा[3], धर्माणि[4], धर्मम्[5], धर्मऽधृतः[6], धर्मऽभि[7], धर्मऽकृते[8] आदि रूप मिलते हैं। इसमें भी परम्परा से प्राप्त आचार को धर्म बताया गया है। मृतक पति के चिता पर रूढ़ स्त्री के लिये कहा गया है कि वह प्राचीन धर्म का पालन कर रही है।[9] इससे स्पष्ट है कि इस वेद में भी ऋग्वैदिक धर्म की अवधारणा को ही मान्यता प्रदान की गयी थी।

ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में धर्म शब्द का प्रयोग धार्मिक अनुष्ठान तथा व्यवहार दोनों के लिये किया गया है। ऐतरेय-ब्राह्मण[10] के अनुसार यज्ञ करना ही धर्म है। यहाँ ऋग्वैदिक विचारधारा का पालन किया गया है। भाष्यकार आचार्य सायण का मत है कि इसमें वर्णित ज्योतिष्टोमादि यज्ञों का तात्पर्य धर्म से है[11]। वार्थ के मतानुसार ब्राह्मणकालीन धर्म भी ऋग्वैदिक यज्ञ-यागादि कार्यों से सम्बन्धित था।[12] किन्तु इन धर्मों में यज्ञ को ही सभी वस्तुओं का उत्पत्ति केन्द्र कहा गया है। यज्ञ प्रकृति सम्बन्धी कार्यों का उत्पत्ति क्षेत्र तथा प्रतीकों की प्रक्रिया का केन्द्र बिन्दु हो गया था।

यागीय कृत्यों को ऋत से सम्बन्धित कर देवताओं को संसार सम्बन्धी भौतिक कार्यों का संरक्षक एवं निरीक्षक स्वीकार किया गया है। वाजसनेयिसंहिता और तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण में पुरुषमेध वर्णन के प्रसंग में उपहार और देवताओं का विवेचन मिलता है। इनमें सभाचर को धर्म के लिये बलि होते हुये प्रदर्शित किया गया है[13]।

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१. अथर्व० वेद, अचित्या। च। इत। तव। धर्म। ६/५१/३।

२. वही, ११/९/१७: १२/६/१।

३. वही, ६/१३२/१; २ : ३।

४. वही, ५/१/२; ७/५/१।

५. वही १८/३/२।

६. वही, १/२५/१।

७. वही, १८/२/७।

८. वही, २०/६२/५।

९. वही, धर्म पुराणमनुपालयन्ती।१८/३/१।

१०. ऐ० ब्रा०, ३/५ यज्ञेन वै तद् देवा यज्ञमयजन्त...
तानि धर्माणि प्रथमानि आसन्...।

११. ऐ० ब्रा० ३/५ पर सायणभाष्य; यानि ज्योतिष्टोमादीनि कर्मण्य अनुष्ठितानि (तानि) सर्वाणि प्रथमानि धर्माण्यादि-सृष्टि-कालीनानि सुकृतसाधनानि। आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० १७ पर डा० आर० सी० हाजरा का लेख।

१२. वार्थ० ए०, रिलिजन्स आव इंडिया, पृ० ३७७।

१३. वाजसनेयि सं० ३०/६। तै० ब्रा०, ७/३/४/२/१ धर्मस्य सभाचरम्... ७/३/४/२/१ पर सायण भाष्य। आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० १८ पर डॉ० आर० सी० हाजरा का पूर्वोक्त लेख।

ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण में राजा को धर्मरक्षक और धर्माध्यक्ष कहा गया है[१]। शतपथ-ब्राह्मण के अनुसार राजा धर्मज्ञाता, धारणकर्ता तथा धर्म का पालन करानेवाला है।[२] इसमें वरुण देवता को राज-धर्म का नियामक बतलाया गया है।[३] किन्तु राजा धर्म से श्रेष्ठ नहीं है।[४] इन ब्राह्मणों में निरूपित धर्म का तात्पर्य विधि (law) से है।[५] हम पहले देख चुके हैं कि वरुण ऋत के देवता हैं और धर्म तथा ऋत के अन्योन्याश्रित होने के कारण वे धर्म के भी देवता स्वीकार किये जा सकते हैं। ऋत की भावना में सत्यपरक नैतिकता का भी समावेश हम पहले देख चुके हैं। अतएव यहाँ भी हमें नैतिक भावना का आभास प्राप्त होता है।[६]

इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि इन ग्रन्थों के समय में धर्म यज्ञ-यागादि रूप में प्रचलित था। इसके अतिरिक्त धर्म का सम्बन्ध अब राज्य से भी हो गया था।

तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक में सत्य, तपस्, यज्ञ और सम्पूर्ण न्यास के द्वारा अमृतत्व प्राप्त करने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[७] इसी आरण्यक में यह संकेत भी है कि धर्म जगत्-प्रतिष्ठा एवं स्थायित्व का कारण है, सभी कुछ धर्म में स्थित रहता है। इसलिये धर्म को सभी से श्रेष्ठ बताया गया है।[८] इन दोनों गद्यांशों पर सायण ने भाष्य करते हुये यह मत प्रकट किया है कि यहाँ धर्म का तात्पर्य सद्कार्यों तथा दानपरक कार्यों से है। इस प्रकार के कार्यों के अन्तर्गत, कुयें, सरोवर एवं उद्यानादि का निर्माण और आरोपण समाविष्ट हैं, जिनका अपेक्षाकृत अधिक विशद विवेचन परवर्ती पौराणिक साहित्य में प्राप्त होता है। पर सायण की यह व्याख्या धर्म के पूर्ण रूप को नहीं स्पष्ट करती।

धर्म का वैदिक अर्थ प्राय: शीलपरक था। कुछ स्थलों पर शील के शाश्वत

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१. ऐ० ब्रा०, ३८/१। वही, ३९।३....धर्मस्य गोप्ता।

२. श० ब्रा०, ५/४/४/५।

३. वही, ५/३/३/११।

४. वही, ५/४/४/४।

५. डा० यू० एन० घोषाल, ए हिस्ट्री आव हिन्दू पब्लिक लाइफ, भाग १, पृ० ६४।

६. बी के० सरकार, हिन्दू पोलिटिकल इन्सटीच्यूशन्स, पृ० २०८ तथा डा० वी० पी० वर्मा, हिन्दू पोलिटिकल थाट एण्ड इट्स मेटाफिजिकल फाउन्डेशन, पृ० ११०।

७. तै० आ०, १०/६२/१।

८. वही, १०/६३/१।

तै० आ० १०/६२/१, एवं १०/६३/१ पर सायण-भाष्यं।

तु० की०—आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० १९ पर डा० आर० सी० हाजरा का पूर्वोक्त लेख।

आधार को धर्म कहा है, यथा बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् के अनुसार जहाँ से सूर्य उदित होता है और जहाँ अस्त होता है, उसे देवताओं ने धर्म बताया। वही आज है, वही कल। उसने कल्याण रूप धर्म को बताया, धर्म ही राजा का राजा कहा गया है। धर्म के ऊपर कोई अन्य सत्य नहीं है ठीक उसी प्रकार जैसे कोई व्यक्ति राजा की सहायता से किसी को पराभूत कर सकता है वैसे ही धर्म के माध्यम से कोई निर्बल व्यक्ति बलवान को अभिभूत करने की आशा करता है[१]। इन सन्दर्भों में धर्म को शाश्वत नियामक माना गया है जिस पर प्रकृति के व्यापार तथा सामाजिक-कल्याण एवं न्याय आश्रित[२] है।

अन्य उपनिषदों में भी धर्म के नैतिक स्वरूप पर विशेष बल दिया गया है। ईश उपनिषद् में सत्य को धर्म बताते हुये उसके माध्यम से ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति होना बतलाया गया है।[३] तैत्तिरीय उपनिषद् के अनुसार सत्य-भाषण ही धर्म है।[४] श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद् में धर्म से ब्रह्म प्राप्ति सम्भव बतायी गयी है।[५] छान्दोग्य उपनिषद में[६] धर्म की तीन शाखाओं का उल्लेख मिलता है, यज्ञ, अध्ययन और दान को प्रथम शाखा, तपस्या को द्वितीय, तथा आचार को तृतीय शाखा के अन्तर्गत रखा गया है। इसमें आचार को अधिक महत्त्व दिया गया है।

समाज के विकास के साथ-साथ धर्म के स्वरूप का भी विकास हुआ है। पूर्व वैदिक काल में जैसा कि ऋग्वेद से ज्ञात होता है – कई कबीलों के होते हुये भी समाज के तीन प्रमुख वर्ग ब्रह्म, क्षत्र और विशः थे।[७] उस समय यज्ञों की पद्धति अपेक्षाकृत सरल थी और जैसा कि यूनानी सभ्यता[८] के आधार पर अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है, उनमें सभी लोग भाग लेते रहे होंगे। पर ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में श्रम-विभाजन तथा अन्य कारणों से समाज का चार वर्गों यथा–ब्राह्मण, राजन्य या क्षत्रिय, वैश्य और शूद्र में

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१. बृ० उ०, १/४/१४। द्रष्टव्य, डा० राधाकृष्णन, द प्रिन्सिपल्स उपनिषद्स, पृ० १७०।

२. द्रष्टव्य, डा० गोविन्दचन्द्र पाण्डेय, बौद्धधर्म के विकास का इतिहास पृ० ७०।

३. ईश उ० १/१५।

४. तैत्ति० उ०, १/१५।

५. श्वेत० उ०, ६/६।

६. छा० उ०, ४/१५/५।

७. द्रष्टव्य–जायके० ओ० हर्जलर, द सोशल थाट आव द ऐन्शेयेण्ट सिविलिजेशन, पृ० १८५।

८. जे० ई० हैरिसन, प्रोलेगोमेना टु द स्टडी आव ग्रीक रिलिजन, पृ० १२।

स्पष्ट वर्गीकरण मिलता है।[१] वर्णों के कर्तव्य और अधिकार स्थिर किये गये एव कालान्तर में ऊँच-नीच की भावना का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। इस युग में यज्ञों का विधान भी बड़ा जटिल हो गया तथा उनमें प्रायः प्रत्येक दृष्टि से अधिकार विभेद होने लगा।[२]

किन्तु ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों के पश्चात् हमें धर्म के दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन के चिह्न मिलते हैं। यज्ञों की परम्परा के विरुद्ध उपनिषदों में एक प्रतिक्रिया प्रारम्भ होती है।[३] मुण्डक उपनिषद्[४] में यज्ञ को ऐसी नौका के सदृश बतलाया गया है जिसमें दृढ़ता नहीं है। इस मनोवृत्ति के परिणामस्वरूप धर्म का यज्ञ से विशिष्ट सम्बन्ध समाप्त होने लगा और धर्म के अन्तर्गत यज्ञ की अपेक्षा नैतिक गुणों पर उपनिषदों में अधिक बल दिया गया है[५] उपनिषदों में धर्म के अन्तर्गत नैतिक गुणों का समावेश एवं विवेचन अपेक्षाकृत सामाजिक स्थिरता एवं शान्ति का परिचायक है[६]।

इसके अतिरिक्त बहुत कुछ सम्भव है कि इन नैतिक गुणों पर विशेष बल देने के मूल में अवैदिक श्रमण-धारा[७] का भी कुछ प्रभाव रहा हो, क्योंकि उस युग में वैदिक और अवैदिक विचारधाराओं का सम्मिश्रण हो रहा था।[८]

सर्वप्रथम उपनिषदों में हमें कर्म एवं पुनर्जन्म के विचार का स्पष्ट उल्लेख मिलता है।[९] कुछ विद्वानों का मत है कि ये सिद्धान्त वैदिक विचारधारा के विकास के साथ ही उत्पन्न हुये। परन्तु कुछ अन्य विद्वान् इन्हें अवैदिक[१०] धारा का प्रभाव मानते हैं और उनका यह मत बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् के अन्तर्साक्ष्य से मेल खाता है।[११]

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१. डा० आर० एस० शर्मा का इकनामिक लाइफ एण्ड आर्गनाइजेशन इन ऐन्शेयण्ट इण्डिया, नामक लेख, स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री आव इण्डिया, पृ० ३१; ३४; ३५, पर सम्पादित द्वारा डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार।

२. ओ० एस० टी० जिल्द १, पृ० १६, म्योर।

३. बृ० उ०, १/४/२-३।
छा० उ०, १/१२/५।

४. मुण्डक उपनिषद् द्वारा डा० राधाकृष्णन्, प्रिंसिपल्स उपनिषद्स, पृ० ३५८।

५. द्रष्टव्य—एल० टी० हाबहाउस, मारल्स इन इवाल्यूशन, पृ० ५७-५९।

६. एल० टी० हाबहाउस का भी यह मत है कि "समाज में शान्ति रहने पर इन नैतिक गुणों का स्वाभाविक रूप से विकास होता है। वही, पृ० ५८।

७. डा० गोविन्द्रचन्द्र पाण्डेय, बौद्ध धर्म के विकास का इतिहास पृ० ४ व ९।

८. वही।

९. कठ० उ०, १/१।
वही १/१/५।

१०. डा० जी० सी० पाण्डेय, स्टडीज इन द ओरिजिन्स आव बुद्धिज्म, पृ० २८७-२८७।

११. बृ० उ० १/३/२ व १३।

कर्म एवं मोक्ष के भी आदर्श का स्पष्ट रूप हमें उपनिषदों में मिलता है। पुनर्जन्म के विचारों का भी विशेष प्रभाव धर्म की अवधारणा पर पड़ा। वर्णधर्म को इन विचारों ने एक युक्ति-संगत आधार एवं आदर्श प्रदान किये। कालान्तर में यह धारणा बद्धमूल हो गई कि मनुष्य अपने पूर्वजन्म के कारण ही किसी विशेष वर्ण में जन्म पाता है और निम्न वर्ण का मनुष्य अपने वर्ण के विहित कर्त्तव्यों का पालन करके मृत्यु के पश्चात् उच्चवर्ण में जन्म पा सकता है।[१]

आश्रमधर्म एवं चतुर्वर्ग की अवधारणा के पीछे भी कर्म, पुनर्जन्म एवं मोक्ष सम्बन्धी विचारों का प्रभाव था। आश्रमधर्म की व्यवस्था के अनुसार द्विज को चारों आश्रमों के लिये विहित कार्य-व्यापारों का पालन करते हुये चरम लक्ष्य मोक्ष प्राप्ति की ओर अग्रसर होना चाहिये। चतुराश्रम-व्यवस्था का रूप हमें सूत्रों से मिलने लगता है। चतुर्वर्ग के आदर्श के अनुसार धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष मानव जीवन एवं क्रियाओं के लक्ष्य माने गये हैं जिनमें मोक्ष चरम लक्ष्य था।[२] कर्म एवं पुनर्जन्म के सिद्धान्तों के विकास के साथ-साथ यह भावना बलवती होती गयी कि सामान्यतः प्रत्येक सकाम कर्म के फल सांसारिक बन्धन उत्पन्न करते हैं और जन्म-मरण के चक्र में फंसाते हैं। अतः गीता एवं अन्य ग्रन्थों में निष्काम-कर्म[३] का आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया गया है। मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के विभिन्न साधनों को प्रतिपादित करनेवाले अनेक धार्मिक एवं दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों की उत्पत्ति कालान्तर में हुई। कर्म, पुनर्जन्म एवं मोक्ष सम्बन्धी विचारों का प्रभाव नैतिकता के विकास एवं धर्म के अन्य सभी अन्तर्भूत तत्वों और पहलुओ पर देखा जा सकता है।

गृह्यसूत्रों में भी धर्म का विवेचन मिलता है, किन्तु इनमें संस्कारों और गृह्य यज्ञों की व्याख्या की गई है। उदाहरणस्वरूप शांख्यायन गृह्यसूत्र में ब्राह्मण-भोजन, कन्या लक्षण विवाह, एवं जातकर्म, नामकरण, चूड़ाकर्म आदि संस्कारों की गणना की गयी है।[४] इसी प्रकार पारस्कर गृह्य[५] और मानवगृह्य सूत्रों[६] में भी समस्त संस्कारों, श्राद्ध और तर्पण क्रिया का वर्णन किया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त इन गृह्यसूत्रों में पंचमहायज्ञों, वृक्षारोपण, जलाशय, गृह एवं कूप के निर्माण आदि नैमित्तिक विधि-विधानों का विवेचन किया गया है।[७]

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१. बृ० उ०, ४/४/२; ४/४/३-५।
२. महा० वन पर्व, २१३/५०–५३।
३. गीता, २/४८।
४. सां० गृ० सू०, अध्याय १, २ व ५।
५. पार० गृ० सू०, अध्याय १, २।
६. मानव गृ० सू०, अध्याय १,२।
७. द वैदिक एज, पृ० ४७४।

हिरण्यकेशी गृह्यसूत्र[1] में त्रिवर्ग (धर्म, अर्थ तथा काम) का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। यह विचारणीय है कि गृह्यसूत्रों में चतुर्वर्गों का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है। गृह्यसूत्रों के वर्ण्य-विषय से यह स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है कि इनका मुख्य उद्देश्य मानव के लौकिक जीवन को नियमों एवं विधि के माध्यम से सुख तथा शान्तिपूर्ण बनाना था।

कात्यायन, शांख्यायन, बौधायन, आपस्तम्ब आदि श्रौत-सूत्रों में यज्ञों का क्रम-बद्ध वर्णन और उनके विविध प्रकारों का विवेचन किया गया है।[2] इनमें श्रौत यज्ञों (हविर्यज्ञों) का विस्तृत विधान मिलता है। यहाँ हमें धर्म का यज्ञ-यागीय पक्ष प्राप्त होता है। श्रौत-सूत्र श्रौतधर्म का तथा गृह्यसूत्र एवं धर्मसूत्र परम्पराओं के ऊपर आधारित धर्म का विवेचन करते हैं।[3]

धर्मसूत्रों में गौतम, आपस्तम्ब, बौधायन विष्णु आदि के धर्मसूत्र प्रमुख हैं जिनमें गौतम धर्मसूत्र सबसे अधिक प्राचीन माना जाता है।[4] इन धर्मसूत्रों की तिथि सातवीं या छठीं सदी ईसा पूर्व से लेकर द्वितीय सदी ईसा पूर्व तक स्वीकार की जाती है।[5] वर्णाश्रमधर्म, राजधर्म, स्त्रीधर्म, जातिधर्म एवं कुल धर्म, प्रायश्चित तथा दाय-भाग इनके वर्ण्य-विषय हैं।[6] इन सूत्रों में यद्यपि श्रेणी, पूग तथा गण धर्म का स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।[7] इसके अतिरिक्त इनमें सत्य, अहिंसा तथा श्रद्धा आदि नैतिक सद्गुणों के पालन का भी आदेश मिलता है। गौतमधर्मसूत्र में दया, क्षान्ति, अनसूया, शौच (कायिक एवं भावना सम्बन्धी शुद्धता), मङ्गल (विहित कार्य करना), आकार्पण्य एवं अस्पृहा (दूसरों से सुखयोग की इच्छा न होना) आत्मा के गुण बताये गये हैं। इन गुणों से युक्त व्यक्ति ब्रह्मलोक को प्राप्त करनेवाला कहा गया है, चाहे वह चालीस संस्कारों से रहित ही क्यों न हो ? इसके विपरीत व्यक्ति भले ही चालीस संस्कारों से युक्त रहे, किन्तु उपर्युक्त गुणों से रहित हो तब उसे ब्रह्मलोक का अधिकारी नहीं बताया गया है।[8] यहाँ पर भी नैतिक गुणों के पालन पर विशेष बल दिया गया है। वशिष्ठधर्मसूत्र में कहा गया है कि ईर्ष्या, गर्व, अज्ञान, अविश्वास, आत्मप्रशंसा, माया, क्रोध आदि का त्याग सभी आश्रमों के सदस्यों के अनुपालनीय धर्म हैं।[9] इसी धर्मसूत्र

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१. हि० के० गृ० सू०, २/१८/६।
२. कात्या० श्रौ० सू०, अध्याय, १-२६। सां० श्रौ० सू०, अध्याय १, २ व ३।
३. द वैदिक एज, पृ० ४७४।
४. कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, जिल्द १, पृ० २०२-२०३।
५. वही, पृ० २०३।
६. गौ० ध० सू० १-२८, बौधायन एवं वशिष्ठ धर्मसूत्र पृ० १-२।
७. गौ० ध० सू० ११/२१।
८. वही ८/२४–२६।
९. वशिष्ठ, ध० सू० १०/३० वौधायन ध० सू० १/१०/६, ३/१/१७।

में धर्म और सत्य के अनुकूल आचरण करने का आदेश मिलता है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि इन धर्मसूत्रों में यज्ञ, यागादिक तथा अन्य धार्मिक कृत्यों की अपेक्षा नैतिक सद्गुणों को अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्वीकार किया गया है।

धर्मसूत्रों में हम वर्णाश्रमधर्म का सर्वप्रथम क्रमबद्ध विवेचन पाते हैं। इनमें धर्म की भावना न्यायिक रूप में भी प्राप्त होती है, जिसका सम्बन्ध मानव के विस्तृत कर्तव्यों से है।[१] इस प्रकार हमें विधि के साथ धर्म का संबंध भी स्पष्ट रूप से सर्वप्रथम इन्हीं ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। भूमि तथा सम्पत्ति के उत्तराधिकार सम्बन्धी नियमों का विधान हमें सर्वप्रथम इन्हीं ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। किन्तु यह उल्लेखनीय है कि उत्तराधिकार सम्बन्धी नियमों का क्रमबद्ध विवेचन हमें इनमें नहीं प्राप्त होता है।[२] ऐसा ज्ञात होता है कि वे विभिन्न वर्गों और क्षेत्रों में अलग-अलग रूप में प्रचलित थे। इस विषय में कोई सर्वमान्य नियम नहीं रहे होंगे। सम्पत्ति के विभाजन तथा खोई हुई सम्पत्ति को उसके वास्तविक स्वामी को प्रदान करने के नियम भी मिलते हैं। सूद के दर का उल्लेख किया गया है जो मोटे तौर पर पन्द्रह प्रतिशत बतायी गयी है। वैश्य ही कुसीद कार्य कर सकता था।[३] न्यायिक विधि के अन्तर्गत लेख, साक्षी तथा वास्तविक अधिकार के आधार पर सम्पत्ति का स्वामित्व निश्चित करने की विधि बतायी गयी है।[४] इनके अन्तर्गत नागरिक और न्यायिक विधियों के अतिरिक्त अन्य सामाजिक नियम भी प्राप्त होते हैं।[५]

वैदिक ग्रन्थों में राजा को न्यायिक अधिकार नहीं दिया गया था यद्यपि राजा का सम्बन्ध दंड से था।[६] धर्मसूत्रों में हमें विधि के रूप में धर्म का विवरण मिलता है।[७] इसके पूर्ववर्ती साहित्य में न्यायिक-व्यवस्था तथा प्रचलित विधि के रूप में धर्म के बहुत कम प्रमाण उपलब्ध होते हैं।[८]

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१. गौ० ध० सू०, २८/३६-४०। द वैदिक एज, पृ० ४७५।

२. गौ० ध० सू०, २/३/१०, डा० रामगोपाल, इंडिया आव वैदिक कल्पसूत्राज, पृ० १९६।

३ गौ० ध० सू०, २८/२१-२२, २८/४१। आप० ध० सू०, २/६/१४-१५। वशिष्ठ ध० सू० १७/५३-५४।

४. गौ० ध० सू० १३/२६। वही, १३/३१। वशिष्ठ ध० सू०, १६/२। आप० ध० सू०, २/११/२९/६

५. ए० बी० कीथ, रिलीजन एण्ड फिलासोफी आव द वेद एण्ड उपनिषद्स, पृ० ४७९।

६. स्टडीज इन कल्चरल हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, पृ० ६५ पर एस० सी० गुप्त का कम्परेटिव व्यु आव ला इन ऐन्शेयेण्ट इंडिया, नामक लेख।

७. वैदिक इण्डेक्स (हिन्दी संस्करण, भाग १, पृ० ४३७)।

८. वही, पृ० ४७३।

धर्मसूत्रों में गौतम धर्मसूत्र का प्रमुख स्थान माना जाता है। जिसके बारहवें अध्याय में वाद-सम्बन्धी नियम मिलते हैं। अन्य धर्मसूत्रों में भी प्रहार और आघात, अपमान, परस्त्री-गमन तथा स्तेय सम्बन्धी वादों के निर्णय के लिए दंड का विधान किया गया है।[१] धर्मसूत्रों में हमें नागरिक या व्यावहारिक तथा आपराधिक विधियों का प्रारंम्भिक रूप मिलता है, परन्तु इन धर्मसूत्रों का स्वरूप आजकल राजसत्ता अथवा धारा-सभाओं द्वारा निर्मित विधि-संहिताओं जैसा नहीं था। वेद, परम्परा-विधि तथा वेदज्ञों के आचारों को ही धर्म का स्रोत बताया गया है। गौतम का कथन है कि समान स्रोतों में विरोध होने पर दोनों में से किसी एक का अपनी इच्छानुसार पालन किया जा सकता है। गौतम धर्मसूत्र[२] से स्पष्ट है कि बहुत कुछ बातों का निश्चय व्यवहार, प्रथा और रीति-रिवाजों के द्वारा हो हो सकता था। विभिन्न वर्गों, परिवारों एवं क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित रीति-रिवाजों को विधि के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। कृषकों, व्यापारियों, पशुपालकों तथा कारीगरों को अपने-अपने नियम बनाने के अधिकार को भी मान्यता प्रदान की गई है।[३] यह एक अतीव महत्त्व का विषय है कि धर्मसूत्रों में वर्णभेद के आधार पर दंडविधान करने की व्यवस्था की गयी है।

विधि के समक्ष सभी वर्णों के लिये एक समान दंड-व्यवस्था नहीं थी, यह तथ्य इस साक्ष्य के आधार पर पूर्णरूपेण स्थापित किया जा सकता है। यह उल्लेखनीय है कि इन धर्मसूत्रों में कुछ सामाजिक ओर धार्मिक कार्यों का भी समावेश किया गया है जो आधुनिक विधि के अन्तर्गत नहीं माने जाते। प्रायश्चित तथा जाति-बहिष्कार दंड के रूप में माने गये हैं। चोरी, मनुष्य-वध तथा पर-स्त्रीगमन इत्यादि जघन्य अपराध स्वीकार किये गये हैं।[४]

आपराधिक विधि (Criminal law) के अन्तर्गत प्रहार एवं आघात मिलता है।[५] चोरी, पर-स्त्रीगमन आदि प्रधान विषय हैं जिनका उल्लेख धर्मसूत्रों में चोरी के लिये कठोर दंडविधान और कभी-कभी मृत्युदंड का भी विधान किया गया है।[६] शारीरिक दंड एवं देश-निष्कासन भी अपराधों के दंडरूप में वर्णित है।

इस काल में पहले की अपेक्षा सामाजिक जीवन का और अधिक विकास हुआ था। गृह्यसूत्रों के व्यवस्था की आधारशिला ग्रामीण जीवन है। परन्तु उत्तरकालीन

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१. एस० बी० ई०—जिल्द २, पृ० २८३ और आगे।

२. गौ० ध० सू०, १/१/४।

३. वही २०/२२। वशिष्ठ ध०, सू०, १/१७।

४. गौ० ध० सू०, ८/१३ : १२/१। आप० ध० सू०, १/९/२५/४-५।

५. गौ० ध० सू० ८/१३।

६. गौ० ध० सू०, २/१/१/१५–१६।
तु० की०, डा० रामगोपाल, इंडिया आव वैदिक कल्पसूत्राज, पृ० १९३।

धर्मसूत्र मानव जीवन के अपेक्षाकृत अधिक व्यापक क्षेत्र से सम्बन्धित है। इनमें पुर और नगर का भी उल्लेख मिलता है। वाणिज्य एवं व्यवसाय के विकास एवं मुद्राओं के प्रचलन के साथ-साथ नगरों और नगर जीवन का प्रगतिशील विकास छठीं शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व में दृष्टिगोचर होता है। इस समय समाज में व्यापारियों एवं कारीगरों के विशिष्ट वर्ग बन गये थे।[१] सम्पूर्ण बौद्ध साहित्य समृद्ध एवं वैभवशाली व्यापारियों के प्रचुर वर्णनों से ओतप्रोत हैं।

गौतम धर्मसूत्र में कहा गया है कि व्यापारी एवं दस्तकार अपने बीच हुए वादों का आपस में ही निर्णय करते थे और राजा के पास नहीं जाते थे।[२] इससे प्रकट होता है कि व्यापारियों और दस्तकारों की संस्थाओं के अपने नियम और परम्परायें थीं जिनको कालान्तर में उनके धर्म के रूप में मान्यता मिल गयी। श्रेणी धर्म का उल्लेख परवर्ती ग्रन्थों में मिलता है। किन्तु इन धर्मसूत्रों में नागरिक जीवन की अपेक्षा ग्रामीण दृष्टिकोण की ही प्रधानता है।[३]

धर्मसूत्रों के लेखकों का भौगोलिक ज्ञान भी इस युग में अधिक विस्तृत प्रतीत होता है। बौधायनधर्मसूत्र में कलिंग, वंग, बिहार आदि का उल्लेख मिलता है।[४] इसके परिणामस्वरूप विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के रीति-रिवाजों और प्रथाओं में विद्यमान विषमता के कारण धर्मसूत्रों में देशधर्म का महत्त्व दृष्टिगत होता है।[५]

यद्यपि चातुर्वर्ण्य-व्यवस्था का सूत्रपात उत्तर वैदिक काल में ही हो गया था और विभिन्न वर्णों के कर्तव्य भी निश्चित हो गये थे किन्तु कुछ समय के पश्चात् यह व्यवस्था पूर्णतः स्थिर हो गयी जिसके फलस्वरूप हमें सूत्रों में वर्ण धर्म का क्रमबद्ध विवेचन मिलता है। पूर्व वैदिककालीन प्रवृत्तिपरक मान्यताओं, अवैदिक श्रमण-विचारधारा तथा उपनिषदों की निवृत्तिपरक धारा के समन्वय के प्रभाव स्वरूप चतुराश्रम-व्यवस्था धर्मसूत्रों के काल में प्रतिष्ठा लाभ ही कर रही थी। आश्रम-धर्म अर्थात् चारों आश्रमों के कर्तव्यों का विवेचन इन ग्रन्थों में मिलता है।

इस युग के विकासशील समाज में अनेक प्रकार की जातियों का अस्तित्व परिलक्षित होता है। धर्मसूत्रों में विभिन्न जातियों का उल्लेख मिलता है जिनके अपने भिन्न-भिन्न नियम एवं रीति-रिवाज रहे होंगे। इसके फलस्वरूप जातिधर्म को भी

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१. जातक ४,८७—८८; जातक, ३५१; जा० ५, ३८४।
२. गौ० ध० सू०, १/२१।
३. हापकिन्स, कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, जिल्द १, पृ० २१५।
४. बौ० ध० सू० २९/१, वही पृ० २१६।
५. गौ० ध० सू०, ११/२२।

मान्यता प्रदान की गई।[1] इन धर्मसूत्रों में त्रिवर्ग (धर्म, अर्थ तथा काम) के साथ-साथ चतुर्वर्ग[2] मोक्ष का आदर्श सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन का महत्त्वपूर्ण संकेत है।

विद्वानों के मतानुसार[3] अर्थशास्त्र में नीति सम्बन्धी व्यावहारिक विषयों का विवेचन किया गया है जिसका विशेष सम्बन्ध राजाओं एवं पुरोहितों से था। इस प्रकार की परम्परा[4] पहले से ही चली आ रही थी। कुछ हद तक स्मृतियों में उसी पूर्वकालीन परम्परा से व्यवहार को ग्रहण किया गया है, जिनका दृष्टिकोण अधिक नैतिकतापूर्ण है। अर्थशास्त्र में भी धर्म का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। इसमें वर्णाश्रमधर्म आर्य-मर्यादा अर्थात् साधारण धर्म तथा श्रुतिविहित नियमों के द्वारा संसार के सुखी होने का आदर्श मिलता है।[5] कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में प्रशासकीय विधि पर विशेष बल देते हुये उसका सम्बन्ध राजा और उसकी शक्ति, दंड से बताया गया है। अतएव इसमें राजा के धर्मपरायण होने का आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया गया है क्योंकि वह धर्म का रक्षक है।[6] धर्म की रक्षा करना राजा का परमधर्म कहा गया है।[7]

धर्मसूत्रों में निरूपित धर्म की विशद व्याख्या स्मृतियों में की गई है। स्मृतियों में मनुस्मृति सब में प्राचीन मानी जाती है। इसमें चारों वर्णों के धर्म और आचार आश्रमधर्म, विवाह तथा अन्य संस्कार, पंचमहायज्ञ, श्राद्ध, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य-विचार, द्रव्य-शुद्धि, स्त्री-धर्म, राजधर्म, आपद्धर्म, प्रायश्चित, विधि एवं कर्मों के गुण-दोष आदि का विवेचन मिलता है। इसके अतिरिक्त इसमें देश, जाति, श्रेणी, कुल, गुण और पाखंडियों के धर्मों का भी उल्लेख किया गया है।[8] डा० आर० सी० हाजरा का मत[9] है कि प्राचीन स्मृतियों के वर्ण विषय आचार (जिसमें वर्णाश्रम धर्म आदि समाविष्ट हैं) व्यवहार तथा प्रायश्चित (अशौच) है। याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति[10] की अपेक्षा वैधानिक विषयों

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१. वही, ११/ २२, देश जाति कुलधर्माश्च……प्रमाणम्।

२. वही, २९/१।

३. आर० पी० कॉंगेले, कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र, जिल्द ३, आवर हेरिटेज १२–भाग १।

४. आर० पी० कॉंगले, कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र, जिल्द ३, पृ० १५।

५. व्यवस्थित आर्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः। त्रैय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति। कौ० अर्थशास्त्र, १/३/४।

६. वही, ३/१; ४/१।

७. वही, १/३/३।

८. मनु-स्मृति, १/१०७-११८।

९. आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० १६, डा० हाजरा का लेख, सोर्सेज आव धर्म।

१०. हापकिन्स, कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, जिल्द १, पृ० २४९।

पर अधिक ध्यान दिया गया है। इसमें पुरुषों की भाँति स्त्रियों को भी दाय-सम्बन्धी अधिकार दिये गये हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त सत्यान्वेषणार्थ कतिपय नवीन शपथों और सत्य परीक्षाओं (Ordeals) का भी उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।

स्मृतियों में पूर्वकालीन साहित्य में वर्णित नैतिक सद्गुणों का समेकन करके इनको सामासिक, साधारण एवं सामान्यधर्म की संज्ञा प्रदान की गई है।[1]

डा० पांडुरंगवामन काणे के मतानुसार[2] "धर्म-शास्त्रों में धर्म का तात्पर्य किसी सम्प्रदाय अथवा मत से नहीं, अपितु जीवन की विशिष्ट आचार पद्धति से है, जिसके द्वारा मनुष्य वैयक्तिक एवं समाज के सदस्य के रूप में अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करता हुआ अभीप्सित लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सके। स्मृतियों में भी निःश्रेयस धर्म को कहीं-कहीं प्रधानता दी गई है।[3]

विधि रूप में धर्म का विस्तार के साथ क्रमबद्ध विवेचन भी हमें स्मृतियों में प्राप्त होता है। गौतम, आपस्तम्ब, बौधायन और वशिष्ठ के धर्मसूत्रों में व्यवहार के अन्तर्गत बहुत ही कम विषयों का वर्णन किया गया है।[4] किन्तु मनुस्मृति जिसे सबसे अधिक प्राचीन स्मृति ग्रन्थ होने का गौरव प्राप्त है सर्वप्रथम हमें वाद-सम्बन्धी विषयों का अठारह वर्गों के अन्तर्गत क्रमबद्ध विभाजन मिलता है[5]। ये निम्न-लिखित हैं :—

ऋण, अनधिकृत क्रय-विक्रय, साझेदारी या भागिता, दान, उपहार, सेवा-वृत्ति की मज़दूरी श्रेणी आदि के प्रति हिंसक कार्य, क्रय-विक्रय संबंधी चरवाहों तथा अन्य वादों, अपशब्द, हिंसा, साहस, स्त्री-संग्रहण, स्तेय, मातृक सम्बन्ध-विभाग, दायाधिकार, तथा द्यूतक्रीड़ा।

जैसा कि हॉपकिन्स महोदय का मत है यहाँ पर नागरिक या व्यवहारिक (civil) और आपराधिक (criminal) विधियों में कोई स्पष्ट विभाजन नहीं किया गया है, परन्तु परवर्ती स्मृतियों में इनमें स्पष्ट विभाजन मिलता है। आपराधिक-

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१. मनु० ६/९२/ याज्ञ० १/२२२।

२. डा० काणे, हिस्ट्री आव धर्मशास्त्र, जिल्द २, भाग १, पृ० ७।

३. आवर हेरिटेज, जिल्द ७, भाग १, पृ० २३-२४ पर डा० आर० सी० हाजरा का पूर्वोक्त लेख।

४. डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार द्वारा सम्पादित, स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री ऑव इण्डिया, पृ० ७२ पर, एस० सी० सेनगुप्त का लेख "कम्परेटिव व्यु आव लॉ इन ऐन्शेयेण्ट इंडिया।"

५. मनु० ७/३-७। वही, पृ० ७२-७३। पी० एन० सेन, हिन्दू ज्यूरिस-प्रूडेन्स, पृ० ३२। डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार, द एज आव इम्पीरियल यूनिटी, पृ० ३३७।

विधि के अन्तर्गत उपर्युक्त ग्यारह से पन्द्रह तक और अठारहवाँ विषय आ सकते हैं। ये अठारहों विषय बहुत ही महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं, क्योंकि इनमें हम विभिन्न प्रकार के वादों के पूर्णतः पृथक् वर्गीकरण का प्रथम प्रयास पाते हैं।[१] नागरिक विधि (civil) के स्वरूप में परवर्ती स्मृतियों में पर्याप्त विकास मिलता है। उदाहरण के लिये व्यापार सम्बन्धी विधियों को लिया जा सकता है। सूत्रों में हम व्यापार सम्बन्धी भागिता का कोई उल्लेख नहीं पाते हैं।[२] किन्तु मनुस्मृति[३] में भागिता का उल्लेख है। यद्यपि मनुस्मृति में भागिता का उल्लेख किया गया है किन्तु उस भागिता का सम्बन्ध व्यापारिक क्षेत्र से न होकर केवल पुरोहितों के मध्य दक्षिणा-ग्रहण करने तक ही सीमित है। याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति[४] (लगभग १०० से ३०० ई०) में व्यापारियों एवं कृषकों की भागिता का भी समावेश किया गया है। देशी एवं विदेशी व्यापार की उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि के साथ ही व्यापारियों एवं कारीगरों की भागिता को अनुशासित करने के लिये समाज में नूतन नियमों एवं विधानों की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई। निश्चय ही इस आवश्यकता की सम्पूर्ति के लिये परवर्ती स्मृतियों—यथा नारद एवं बृहस्पति में व्यापारियों एवं कुशल कारीगरों के भागिता सम्बन्धी विधानों का विशद वर्णन प्राप्त होता है।[५]

इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि आर्थिक व्यवस्था तथा व्यापार की उन्नति के साथ-साथ इस प्रकार के नियमों में भी विस्तार हुआ। इस बात के सबल साक्ष्य हैं कि दूसरी सदी ईसा पूर्व और द्वितीय सदी ईसवी के मध्य ग्रैकोरोमन साम्राज्य एवं गुप्तकाल में वाइजेन्टाइन साम्राज्य और दक्षिणी-पूर्व एशिया के साथ भारत का व्यापक स्तर पर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध था। डा० आर० एस० शर्मा का मत है कि "गुप्तकाल में आर्थिक कार्य करनेवाली सहकारी संस्थाओं का संगठन हो चुका था जिनके क्षेत्र में न्याय तथा शासन-सम्बन्धी कार्य भी समाविष्ट थे[६]।

वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रय से सम्बन्धित विधि का स्पष्ट उल्लेख मनु और याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतियों में मिलता है किन्तु नारद और बृहस्पति स्मृतियों में इन पर विस्तार से विचार किया गया है।[७] नारद (५वीं सदी ई०) प्रथम स्मृतिकार हैं जिन्होंने कुछ

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१. हापकिन्स, कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, जिल्द १, पृ० २५१।

२. वही, पृ० २५५-२५६।

३. मनु० ८/२०६-२११।

४. नारद०—बृहस्पति, १०,२१; १६,१।

५. डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार द्वारा सम्पादित, स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री आव इंडिया, पृ० ५१ व ६० पर डा० आर० एस० शर्मा का "इकनामिक लाइफ एण्ड आर्गनाइजेशन इन ऐंश्येन्ट इण्डिया" नामक लेख।

६. वही, पृ० ५६।

७. मनु०, ८/२२२। याज्ञ०, २/१७७।

हद तक धर्म के विशुद्ध व्यावहारिक दृष्टिकोण (Pure pragmatic view of Dharm) को प्रस्तुत किया है।[1]

प्रक्रिया विधि—इस विधि का धर्मसूत्रों में बहुत ही कम उल्लेख किया गया है। याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति में इसका विस्तृत विवेचन प्राप्त होता है जिसके अन्तर्गत प्रमाण बहस, विभिन्न साक्ष्यों तथा शपथ-ग्रहण करने का विधान प्रस्तुत किया गया है।[2] इसके पूर्वयुगीन ग्रन्थों में इस विधि का अधिक विवेचन प्राप्त होता है। इस विधि का सम्यक् निरूपण बृहस्पति, नारद, कात्यायन और यम आदि की परवर्ती स्मृतियों में विवाद-निर्णय के लिये किया गया है।[3]

स्मृतियों मे वादों की सुनवायी के लिये वादी को मौखिक रूप से निवेदन करना पड़ता था। उसके पश्चात् प्रतिवादो को निर्णायक के लिखित आदेश या आह्वान के माध्यम से बुलाया जाता था। मनुस्मृति में वादी द्वारा ही वाद प्रारम्भ करने का नियम बताया गया[4] है। पूर्व कालीन स्मृतियो में केवल प्रत्याभियोगी के पिता तथा सहोदर भ्राता भी उसके लिखित आवेदन को राजा से निवेदन कर सकते थे।[5] स्थगित या विचाराधीन वादों के लिये निवेदन या प्रतिवेदन वर्जित किया गया है।[6] न्यायालय में प्रतिवादी के न उपस्थित होने पर उसे दंड का पात्र बताया गया है।[7]

न्यायालय में प्रतिवादी के उपस्थित होने पर वादी द्वारा वाद का पूरा विवरण देने की विधि याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति में निरूपित की गयी है।[8] उचित निर्णय न होने पर वादी को उच्चतर न्यायालय में अपील करने की आज्ञा दी गयी है।[9] वादी और प्रतिवादी के उपस्थित होने पर वादी के निर्णय तथा दंड आदि का विवेचन स्मृतियों में मिलता है।[10] साक्ष्य-विधि (Law of evidence) और साक्ष्य-विधि में प्रमाणों का उल्लेख गौतम तथा आपस्तम्ब के धर्मसूत्र में सन्दर्भ के रूप में ही मिलता है।[11]

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१. नारद स्मृ०, अध्याय ९।

२. याज्ञ० स्मृ०, २/१।

३. तु० की०, डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार द्वारा सम्पादित, स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री ऑव इण्डिया, पृ० ८७-८८ पर एस० सी० सेन गुप्त का "कम्परेटिव व्यू आव ला इन ऐन्शेयेण्ट इंडिया" नामक लेख।

४. मनु० ७/४३।

५ व ६. बृह० स्मृ० १/७१, एस० बी० ई० जिल्द ३५, पृ० २७। नारद स्मृ० १/५५, एस० बी० ई०, जिल्द ३३, पृ० १९।

७. नारद स्मृ० १/४७-५१। एस० बी० ई० जिल्द ३३, पृ० १७।

८. याज्ञ० २/६; २/१२।

९. नारद स्मृ० २/६२।

१०. याज्ञ० स्मृ० २/१०, १८। कात्यायन श्लोक संख्या ४७४, पृ० २०९।

११. श्री एस० सी० सेन गुप्त का पूर्वोक्त लेख, पृ० ७० पर।

इसके अतिरिक्त वृत्त-विधि (Service Law) तथा उपजीव्य विधि (Maintenance Law) का भी विवेचन है। इनमें जाति ही दंड-व्यवस्था का आधार था। पूर्वकालीन धर्मसूत्रों और स्मृतियों में परस्त्रीगमन के अपराध के लिये उच्चवर्ग की तुलना में निम्नवर्ग के व्यक्ति के लिए अधिक कठोर दंड का विधान प्रस्तुत किया गया है। नारद-स्मृति में केवल नपुन्सक की पत्नी के साथ परस्त्रीगमन की स्थिति में दंड-विधान शिथिल कर दिया गया है।[१]

रामायण और महाभारत में भी धर्म का निरूपण है जिनकी तिथि के विषय में मतभेद है। रामायण में धर्म का निरूपण संक्षेप में पात्रों के सम्वादों के द्वारा किया गया है। इसमें हमें धर्म का फलवादी रूप प्राप्त होता है। रामायण में वर्णाश्रम और राजधर्म निरूपित है।[२]

रामायण के अनुसार प्रत्येक परिस्थिति में मनुष्य का स्वधर्म के पालन द्वारा मानव कल्याण करना ही उसका आदर्श बताया गया है।[३] इसमें भी धर्म शब्द का प्रयोग अनेक अर्थों में किया गया है।[४] नैतिक गुणों के पालन पर भी विशेष बल दिया गया है।[५] नियतिवाद की आलोचना करते हुये मनुष्य को स्वयं उसके भाग्य का निर्माता कहा गया है, नियतिवाद के स्थान पर कर्मवाद के सिद्धान्त की स्थापना रामायण में की गई है। लक्ष्मण के व्यक्तित्व में बाल्मीकि ने यथार्थवादी दृष्टिकोण प्रस्तुत किया है। परम्परानुगत धर्म के पालन का आदर्श हमें यहाँ भी प्राप्त होता है।[६] रामायण में स्त्री,[७] भ्रातृ, पुत्र[८] और मित्र के धर्म[९] का निरूपण किया गया है। इसमें धर्म साक्षात देवता रूप में वर्णित है। राम को शरीरधर्म कहा गया है।[१०]

महाभारत में धर्म-स्वरूप के इस विवेचन के लिये अनेक विचारक उत्तरदायी रहे हैं; जिनमें महर्षि व्यास, युधिष्ठिर, कृष्ण, भीष्म-पितामह एवं अनेक

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१. श्री० एस० सी० सेन गुप्त का पूर्वोक्त लेख, पृ० ८५ पर।

२. रामा० अयो० का०, १०६/१९-२४।

३. डा० बेनजामिन खान, द कान्सेप्ट आव धर्म इन वाल्मीकि रामायण, पृ० ७६।

४. वही, पृ० १००।

५. रामा० कि० का०, १७/१७। वही आर० का० ६५/१०; १६।

६. रामा० अयो० का० २१/३६।

७. डा० काणे, हिस्ट्री आव धर्मशास्त्र, जिल्द १, पृ० १६०।

८. रामा० अयो० का० ९७/३; ६; ८।

९. रामा० यु० का० १/७९।

१०. "रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः" उद्धृत द्वारा डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल कला और संस्कृति, पृ० १८१।

भृगुवंशीय ऋषियों की गणना की जा सकती है ।[१] वास्तव में इसमें इन मनीषियों द्वारा अभिव्यंजित धर्म का एक समन्वित स्वरूप उभर सका है जो न केवल भारत का ही वरन् मानव मात्र का आदर्श होने के लिये स्व पर्याप्त है ।

महाभारत का यह मूल वाक्य है—'यतोक्कृष्णस्ततो धर्मः यतोधर्मस्ततो जयः' । व्यास ने तो यहाँ तक कह डाला है—'उर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चितच्छृणोति मे, धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च धर्मं किं न तु सेव्यते ।'

महाभारत में धर्म के विभिन्न स्वरूप बताये गये हैं । इसमें राजधर्म, प्रजाधर्म, जातिधर्म और कुलधर्म, वर्णाश्रमधर्म, आपद्धर्म, मोक्षधर्म, स्त्रीधर्म आदि का वर्णन किया गया है ।[२] महाभारत में धर्म को मानवमात्र के पूर्ण एवं सर्वाङ्गीण उत्कर्ष का साधन बताया गया है ।[३] इसलिये धर्म का एक सापेक्ष स्वरूप इसमें देखने को मिलता है । सम्यक् धर्म वही है जो युग सत्य के अनुकूल एवं उत्कर्षकारी हो । इसीलिये महाभारत में धर्म का स्वरूप गत्यात्मक है ।[४] योग्य समय और योग्य स्थान में जो आचरणीय धर्म है वहीं अयोग्य समय और अनुपयुक्त स्थान में अधर्म बन जाता है ।[५] आपत्तिकाल में कभी-कभी अधर्म को ही धर्म का स्वरूप और धर्म को अधर्म का स्वरूप प्राप्त हो जाता है । प्राचीन ग्रन्थों के अनुरूप ही महाभारत में भी आपद्धर्म नाम का एक बड़ा अध्याय है । आपत्तिकाल के आने पर समाज द्वारा लगाये गये सामाजिक, नैतिक आदि बन्धन शिथिल होने वाले बताये गये हैं । आपत्तिकाल में उस व्यवस्था में भी परिवर्तन करना अयुक्त नहीं माना गया । वर्ण-सम्बन्धी परिवर्तन के विचार भी इसमें दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं ।

वध के लिये समुद्यत अर्जुन से कर्ण ने कहा था "निःशस्त्र शत्रु का वध करना धर्म नहीं है । इस पर कृष्ण ने 'क्व ते धर्मस्तदागतः' प्रश्न में धर्म की व्याख्या की है और अन्त में बताया है जो इस प्रकार अधर्म करे उसके साथ उसी तरह का व्यवहार

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१. ए० बी० ओ० आर० आई भाग १८ में बी० एस० सुकथंकर का लेख एपिक स्टडीज; डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, भारत सावित्री, पृ० ८-१४ । सुकथंकर, मेमोरियल वाल्यूम, भाग १, पृ० २७८-३३७ ।

२. डा० वी० एस० सुकथंकर, आन द मीनिङ्ग आव द महाभारत, पृ० ८२ ।

३. महा० शा० प० १०९ अध्याय ।

४. स एव धर्मः सोऽधर्मो देशकाले प्रतिष्ठितः ।
का दानमनृत हिंसा धर्मो ह्यावस्थिकः ॥ महा० शा० प० ३६/११ ।

५. महा० अरण्य पर्व २०९ ।
,, कर्ण पर्व ६९,
शा० प० ३३ ।

करना ही उसके लिये उचित दंड[1] है। यहाँ धर्म का न्यायपरक स्वरूप प्रतिभासित होता है। एक स्थल पर कहा गया है कि आहार, निद्रा, भय आदि स्वाभाविक आचरण सभी के लिये आवश्यक है। स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्तियों का उचित समाचरण और पालन करना ही यहाँ मनुष्य का धर्म बताया गया है। यहाँ धर्म का तात्पर्य मर्यादा या सीमा के अतिक्रमण न करने से है।

डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल ने तो यहाँ तक कहा है कि जैसे वेदों का सार गायत्री मन्त्र सावित्री है वैसे ही सम्पूर्ण महाभारत का सार धर्म शब्द में है। धर्म की नित्य महिमा बताते हुये ग्रंथ के अन्त में श्लोक है।[2]

न जातु कामान्न भयान्स लोभाद् धर्मंत्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः।
नित्योधर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये, नित्योजीवो, धातुरस्य त्वनित्यः॥

गीता में भी धर्म का सम्यक् निरूपण किया गया है। इसमें वर्ण धर्म, आचार एवं नैतिक गुणों का विवेचन मिलता है।[3] कर्म करना व्यक्ति का धर्म बताया गया है। गीता के अनुसार कर्म के अन्तर्गत वाचिक तथा मानसिक सभी कार्य समाविष्ट हैं।[4] इसमें निष्काम कर्म का आदर्श प्रतिपादित किया गया है जो अनासक्त भाव से धर्माचरण पर बल देता है।[5] गीता में एक स्थल पर बताया गया है कि धर्म की हानि और अधर्म की वृद्धि होने पर स्वयं भगवान् साधु पुरुषों के उद्धार, दुष्कर्मियों के नाश तथा धर्म की पुनः स्थापना के लिये युग-युग में जन्म लेते हैं।[6] यहाँ धर्म के महत्त्व को प्रकट करते हुये ईश्वर के अवतार के द्वारा उसकी रक्षा का आशावादी दृष्टिकोण प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इस आदर्श का प्रभाव परवर्ती ग्रन्थों में स्पष्ट रूप से परिलक्षित होता है।

पुराणों में धर्म को सार्वजनीन नैतिक उपदेशों तथा अनुपालनीय आचार के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयास मिलता है। ब्रह्माण्डपुराण में प्रशासकीय कार्यों के पालन कराने में धर्म का आश्रय ग्रहण किया गया है।[7] मार्कण्डेयपुराण में उल्लेख है कि

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१. महा० शा० प० २९४/२९।

२. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, भारत-सावित्री, भूमिका, पृ० ४। स्वर्गारोहण पर्व, ५/६३ (पूना सं०)। उद्योग पर्व ४०/११-१२ (पूना० सं०)। विशेष, डा० काणे, हिस्ट्री आव धर्मशास्त्र, जिल्द १, पृ० १५९।

३. गीता, १८/४१-४४।

४. वही, ५/८९।

५. वही २/४७।

६. वही ४/७-८।

७. एनसाइक्लोपीडिया आव रिलिजन एण्ड एथिक्स जिल्द १० पृ० ४५३ पर पार्गिटर का "द पुराणाज" नामक लेख। ब्रह्माण्ड पु० ५०/५३-७।

कलियुग में सनातन धर्म नष्टप्राय है।[१] भागवतपुराण में धर्म को चतुष्पाद बताया गया है। इस पुराण में हमें धर्म का महत्व गौ-बृषभ के संवाद से प्राप्त होता है।[२] इसके अतिरिक्त इसमें धर्म की दैवी उत्पत्ति की ओर भी संकेत है। धर्म को ब्रह्मा के वक्षस्थल के दक्षिण-पार्श्व से जनहित के लिए उत्पन्न पांच वस्तुओं में प्रथम कहा गया है।[३]

पुराणों में धर्म के विविध रूपों और उनकी सूक्ष्मता को स्पष्ट किया गया है। स्मार्त-धर्म को इसी प्रकार समझाने का प्रयास हमें इनमें मिलता है।[४] धर्म का विनिश्चय एवं उसकी परिभाषा करना कठिन कहा गया है। इनमें नैतिक गुणों पर विशेष बल देते हुये उन्हें सनातन धर्म की संज्ञा दी गयी है, जिनमें अद्रोह अलोभ जीवों पर दया, दम, शान्ति, ब्रह्मचर्य, तपस्या, शुद्धता, अक्रोध, क्षमा तथा धैर्य का विशेष उल्लेख मिलता है।[५] इन नैतिक गुणों को और अधिक विस्तार के साथ भागवतपुराण में बताया गया है, जो कि बाद का है।[६]

इस पुराण में नैतिक तथा धार्मिक गुणों की संख्या तीस गिनाई गई है। इस तीस लक्षण वाले धर्म से ही भगवान् संतुष्ट होता है। यह संपूर्ण मानव मात्र का धर्म बताया गया है। ये लक्षण निम्नलिखित हैं :—

सत्य, दया, तप, शौच, तितिक्षा, युक्त विचार, शम, दम, अहिंसा, ब्रह्मचर्य, त्याग, स्वाध्याय, आर्जव, सन्तोष, समद्रक (समदर्शी-भाव), सभी की सेवा, सांसारिक भोगों से शनैः-शनैः निर्वृत्ति, प्रारब्ध-चिन्तन, मौन, आत्मचिन्तन, अन्न फल आदि को प्राणियों में बाँटकर खाना, प्राणि मात्र में न हो सके तब विशेष कर मनुष्यों में ईश्वर का भाव रखना, हरि-कथा-श्रवण, कीर्तन, स्मरण सेवा (आराध्यदेव की पूजा), भगवान् में दास-सख्य भाव, तथा आत्म-समर्पण।

पद्मपुराण में एक स्थल पर सनातन धर्म का आचार और परम्परा के रूप में वर्णन किया गया है। उसमें उल्लेख मिलता है कि सत्पुरुषों की दृष्टि में सूत जाति

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१. मार्कण्डेय पु० ९।२८-३१।

२. भागवत पु० १/३/९।

३. भागवत पु० १/१६/२०-२६; वी० आर० आर० दीक्षितार, पुराणिक इण्डेक्स, जिल्द २, पृ० १६०-१६१।

४. डा० काणे, हिस्ट्री आव धर्म शास्त्र, जिल्द १, पृ० १६४-१६७।

५. ब्रह्माण्ड पु० पूर्व भाग, २/३०/३३-३८। मत्स्य पु० १४३/२७-३२। वायु पु० पूर्व भाग, ५७।११२-११६।

६. भागवत पु० ७/११/५-१२।

के लिये वंश-परम्परा का पालन करना और इतिहास-पुराण का पाठ करना ही सनातन धर्म है।[१]

सम्प्रदायपरक क्षेत्र में त्रिदेव की भावना का विकास पुराणों में मिलता है। ब्रह्मा, विष्णु और महेश (शिव) को क्रमशः विश्व का स्रष्टा, रक्षक और नाशक मानकर तीनों की समन्वयात्मक एकता का प्रतिपादन किया गया है।[२] पुराणों का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य यह था कि उन्होंने वैदिक यज्ञों के स्थान पर पूजापद्धति पर बल दिया जिनका अनुष्ठान सभी वर्ण के लोग कर सकते थे। इनमें दीक्षा का महत्त्व का भी प्रतिपादन किया गया। पौराणिक धर्म का दृष्टिकोण उदार होता है। सुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी के मतानुसार[३] पूजा अवैदिक तत्वों के योगदान से प्रचलित हुई थी। पुराणों में पूजा और वैदिक होम का समन्वय मिलता है। पूजा जन सामान्य में अधिक लोकप्रिय था। नदियों, पर्वतों, वनों, और अन्य छोटे-मोटे देवताओं की पूजा का प्रचलन लोक धर्म के रूप में मिलता है।[४]

स्मृतियों के भाष्यों में हमें धर्म के विस्तृत वर्गीकरण का प्रयास मिलता है। मनुस्मृति के भाष्यकार मेधातिथि ने धर्म के वर्गीकरण[५] के पाँच प्रकारों को स्वीकार किया है किन्तु अभिचारादि मंत्रों से मृगवध या हिंसा तथा क्रूर जीवहत्या को धर्म नहीं माना है। भाष्यकार ने हिंसायुक्त धार्मिक कृत्यों को मान्यता नहीं दी है। याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति के भाष्यकार विज्ञानेश्वर ने धर्म के वर्गीकरण में ६ प्रकारों को स्वीकार किया है। इसके अतिरिक्त इसमें गर्भावस्था तथा शैशवावस्था से रहित, ब्राह्मण से लेकर चांडाल तक की स्त्रियों के सती होने को उनका साधारण धर्म कहा गया है।[६]

धर्म की अवधारणा पर यहाँ भी सामाजिक परिस्थितियों एवं रीति-रिवाजों का प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। सती-प्रथा को जिसे बाणभट्ट तथा मेधातिथि जैसे विद्वानों ने निन्दित माना था उसे विज्ञानेश्वर ने मिताक्षरा में स्त्रियों का साधारण धर्म कहा है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि जब वह प्रथा पूर्णतः प्रचलित हो गई, तब बारहवीं सदी ईसवी में उसे धर्म के अन्तर्गत स्वीकार किया गया। लक्ष्मीधर के कृत्यकल्पतरु में दृष्टार्थ तथा अदृष्टार्थ धर्म को बताते हुये धर्म के निःश्रेयस रूप को श्रेष्ठ माना गया है।[७]

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१. पद्म पु० सृ० खं० १/२७-२९।
२. ए० डी० पुसालकर, स्टडीज इन द इपिक एण्ड पुराणाज, पृ० ९।
३. सुनीतिकुमार चटर्जी, द वैदिक एज, पृ० १५९-६०।
४. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, प्राचीन भारतीय लोकधर्म, पृ० २२-१८०।
५. मेधातिथि मनु २/२८ पर भाष्य।
६. याज्ञ० स्मृ० १/८६ पर विज्ञा० भा०।
७. लक्ष्मीधर, कृ० क० ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड, जिल्द १, पृ० ६।

धर्म की व्याख्या करने का प्रयत्न बहुत कम आचार्यों ने किया है। सर्वप्रथम आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र[1] में ही धर्म की व्याख्या का प्रयास दृष्टिगोचर होता है। आपस्तम्ब के अनुसार धर्म और अधर्म सामान्य रूप से नहीं जाने जा सकते। देवता, गन्धर्व और पितरगण यह स्पष्ट रूप से नहीं निर्देश करते हैं कि अमुक वस्तु धर्म और अमुक अधर्म है। परन्तु यह कहा जा सकता है कि धर्म वह कार्य अथवा आचार है जिसकी प्रशंसा शिष्ट जन करते हैं। इसके विपरीत शिष्टों द्वारा निन्दित कर्म ही अधर्म है।

महाभारत में कई स्थलों पर धर्म को धारणात्मक तत्व कहा गया है जो समाज को धारण करने की सामर्थ्य रखता है।[2] धर्म शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से भी यही अर्थ निकलता है क्योंकि इसे धृ धातु से निष्पन्न माना गया है। निश्चय ही आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र की अपेक्षा यह परिभाषा अधिक व्यापक है, क्योंकि इसमें सदाचार के साथ ही अन्य विधियों एवं नियमों का समावेश किया गया है।

दर्शन ग्रन्थों में भी धर्म की स्पष्ट परिभाषायें मिलती हैं। जैमिनीसूत्र[3] में हमें धर्म की निम्नलिखित परिभाषा मिलती है—

'चोदनालक्षणार्थोधर्मः'। इसके अनुसार जो अर्थ (वेद की) विधि से प्राप्त होता है वही धर्म है। इसलिये धर्म का अर्थ चोदनाः विधि अथवा प्रेरणा है। वास्तव में यह धर्म की विधिपरक परिभाषा है! जैमिनिसूत्र के भाष्यकार शबर के अनुसार 'चोदना वह है जिसके द्वारा क्रिया की प्रेरणा होती है' कर्तव्य की प्रेरणा बाहरी स्रोत होती है किन्तु चोदना का एक दूसरा अर्थ भी प्रचलित है आन्तरिक प्रेरणा अथवा क्रिया की प्रवृत्ति प्रायः देखा जाता है कि जिस क्रिया की बाहर से प्रेरणा मिलती है वह हृदय को भी पसन्द आती है। भाष्यकारों का मत है कि शास्त्रों के विधान दुःख की अपेक्षा सुख उत्पन्न करने में समर्थ हैं।

प्रायः विहित कर्मों से वांछनीय उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति है।[4] इसमें कार्यों को दो वर्गों तथा (वैदिक और लौकिक) में विभाजित किया गया है। वैदिक धार्मिक कार्य तीन रूपों में यथा विहित, निषेधात्मक और विहितात्मक में विभक्त है। विहित कार्यों को याग, होम और दान से सम्बन्धित कहा गया है।[5] यज्ञ करना प्रधान कार्य है

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१. आप० ध० सू० १/२०/६–७।

२. महा० कर्ण पर्व ७२/५८ सा० प० १०९।११।

३. जैमिनि सूत्र १/१/२।

४. डा० राजबली पाण्डेय, भारतीय नीति का विकास, पृ० १११!

५. म० म० गंगानाथ झा, पूर्व मीमांसा इन इट्स सोर्सेज पृ० २२६, मीमांसा बाल प्रकाश।

ग्रौर यज्ञ सम्बन्धित ग्रन्य कार्य गौण हैं।[१] धर्म का सम्बन्ध उपर्युक्त सभी कार्यों से है। जैमिनिसूत्र के भाष्यकार शबर ने ग्रभिचारादि मंत्रों से तथा श्येन द्वारा स्वर्गादि को प्राप्त कराने में समर्थ क्रियाग्रों को धर्म के ग्रन्तर्गत नहीं स्वीकार किया है।[२] ग्रान्नम भट्ट के ग्रनुसार मर्यादित ग्रनुष्ठानों के द्वारा प्राप्त ग्रदृश्य शक्ति धर्म है।[३] केशव मिश्र का मत है कि धर्म ग्रपूर्व के रूप में स्थित रहता है।[४] जैमिनि[५] ने व्यवहार को धर्म के ग्रन्तर्गत नहीं माना है। वैशेषिक दर्शन में बताई गयी धर्म की परिभाषा पूर्णतः मुक्त है।

स्वामी शंकराचार्य ने गीता पर भाष्य लिखते समय उपोद्घात में बताया है कि जगत् की स्थिति, प्राणियों को उन्नति ग्रौर मोक्ष के साक्षात् हेतु को धर्म कहते हैं।[६] धर्म की यह परिभाषा वैशेषिक दर्शन में दी गयी परिभाषा से ग्रधिक व्यापक है। इसमें धर्म के माध्यम से ग्रभ्युदय ग्रौर निःश्रेयस की प्राप्ति तो बतायी ही गई है, परन्तु साथ ही इसमें धर्म को जगत् की स्थिति का कारण भी कहा गया है।

लक्ष्मीधर (१२वीं शती० ई०) की परिभाषा के ग्रनुसार दैनिक जीवन में धर्माचरण के ही धर्म का निश्चय किया जा सकता है। इस प्रकार धर्म का विनिश्चय उसके स्वरूप, दृष्ट-फल, प्रमाण तथा निमित्त ग्राधार पर किया जा सकता है।[७] वास्तव में लक्ष्मीधर ने यहाँ पर धर्म की परिभाषा देने का उतना प्रयास नहीं किया है जितना कि धर्म के साधनों को बताने का। कुछ ग्राधुनिक विद्वानों ने भी धर्म की परिभाषा करने का प्रयास किया है।

डा० भगवानदास[८] के शब्दों में किसी वस्तु के धारण ग्रौर उसके वास्तविक स्वरूप को स्थिर करने वाले तत्व को धर्म कहते हैं। किसो वस्तु की विशेषता उसके विशेष द्रव्य, ग्राधारभूत गुण एवं ग्रावश्यक स्वभाव को ही धर्म की संज्ञा दी गयी है। यह व्यक्ति के ग्रधिकारों एवं कर्तव्यों का भी साथ-साथ वहन करता है। सामान्यतया धर्म का तात्पर्य स्वाभाविक गुण कर्तव्य, धार्मिक कर्तव्य, सदाचार ग्रौर विधि से है परन्तु उसमें विशेष रूप से कर्तव्य ही सर्वोपरि है। डा० वासुदेवशरण ग्रग्रवाल का

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१. जैनि० पू० सू० ३/१/१।

२. वही १/१/२ पर शबर भाष्य।

३. ग्रान्नम भट्ट, तर्कसंग्रह, विहित कर्म जन्यो धर्मः।

४. केशव मिश्र, न्यायप्रदीप, विश्वकर्मनभाष्य, पृ० १५०।

५. जै० मि० पू० सु० ६।१।१२-१६। ६।७।१-१७।

६. गीता (उपोद्घात), १ पर शंकर भाष्य।

७. कृ० क० ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड, जिल्द १, पृ० ५।

८. डा० भगवान दास, द साइन्स ग्राव सोशल ग्रार्गनाइजेशन, जिल्द १, पृ० ४९-५०।

मत है धर्म उन नियमों की संज्ञा है जिनसे यह सृष्टि प्रक्रिया गतिशील है। धारणाद्धर्मं अर्थात् धारणात्मक तत्व का वाचक शब्द धर्म है।[१]

धर्म का एक परम्परानुगत स्वरूप भी है। धर्मसूत्रों में यह सिद्धांत प्रतिपादित किया गया है कि पूर्वजों द्वारा पालन किये जाने के कारण धर्म अनुपालनीय है। आपस्तम्ब और विष्णु के धर्मसूत्रों में शिष्यों के आचरण का पालन धर्म बतलाया गया है।[२] मनुस्मृति मे कहा गया है कि परम्परानुकूल धर्म को तिरस्कृत करने के कारण अनेक समर्थ राजा भी नष्ट हो गये हैं।[३] महाभारत में बताया गया है कि धर्म के विषय में श्रुतियों में विभिन्न सिद्धांत निरुपित हैं ऋषियों में भी मत वैभिन्य है। धर्म जन सामान्य की ज्ञान सीमा के परे है। इसलिये धर्मतत्व की सूक्ष्मता के कारण महापुरुषों द्वारा आचरित मार्ग ही धर्म है। महाभारत में धर्म देवता के रूप में भी वर्णित है। युधिष्ठिर स्वयं धर्मपुत्र और धर्म के अवतार कहे गये हैं। महाभारत में उल्लेख है कि द्रौपदी के चीरहरण के समय साक्षात् धर्म ने वस्त्र पहन कर उसकी मर्यादा की रक्षा की थी।[४] इसी ग्रन्थ में कहा गया है कि धर्मराज युधिष्ठिर ने अपने स्वामिभक्त कुत्ते के लिए स्वर्ग की अपेक्षा नरक वरण किया था। उक्त कथा में कुत्ते को धर्म का प्रतीक बतलाया गया है। इस पर देवराज इन्द्र को आश्चर्य हुआ था। यहाँ धर्म के द्वारा युधिष्ठिर की परीक्षा की गई थी।[५] इसी में कृष्ण के अवतार के रूप में भी धर्म वर्णित है।[६] भागवतपुराण में धर्म चतुर्थ अवतार कहा गया है।[७] इसी पुराण में छल, दम्भ, द्वेष, हिंसा आदि को अधर्म का रूप बताया गया है।[८]

विभिन्न दृष्टिकोण से धर्म की व्यापकता को निम्नरूप में प्रकट किया जा सकता है। तत्वदर्शन के दृष्टिकोण से विचार करने पर धर्म ब्रह्माण्ड-व्यवस्था सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्त (ऋत) के रूप में मिलता है।[९] मनोवैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से जिसके द्वारा

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१. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, वेद-विद्या, पृ० २।

२. आप० ध० सू० २/५/१। विष्णु ध० सू०, ३/२।

३. मनु० ७/४०-४१; १२।१०८। जी० एच० मीज, धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० ११।

४. महा० वन पर्व ३१४/११९।

५. मनु० १/८१। महा० सभा प० ९०/५०।

६. महा० महाप्रस्थानिक पर्व ३/१-२२। वही, सभा प० १३/४८।

७. भागवत पु०, १/३/९; १/१७/३८-३९; ७/१२/१२-१५।

८. जी० एच० मीज, धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० ९-११।

९. राधाकमल मुकर्जी, इडियन स्कीम आफ लाइफ, पृ० १९। वैशेषिक सूत्र, १/१/३।

इस संसार में सुख-समृद्धि और परलोक में शाश्वत आनन्द मिले, वही धर्म है। वैशेषिक दर्शन में यही बताया गया है।[१]

नैतिक दृष्टिकोण से अहिंसा, सत्य, अस्तेय आदि सद्गुण ही धर्म है। द्वेष, क्रोध तथा लोभ से रहित होकर सभी प्राणियों के हित में लगे रहना भी धर्म माना गया है। इन नैतिक गुणों को सभी वर्ण और जातियों के लिये कहा गया है।[२]

सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से धर्म वर्णाश्रम-धर्म के अन्तर्गत पुरुषार्थों को प्राप्त करने का नियमावली प्रस्तुत करता है।[३] वैधानिक दृष्टिकोण से धर्मशास्त्रों द्वारा तद्-विषयक सन्दर्भ में प्रतिपादित नियमों को धर्म कहा गया है। इसके साथ ही साथ शिष्टों, ब्राह्मणों और न्याय सभा में बैठने वाले श्रेष्ठ जनों द्वारा प्रतिपादित विचारों को धर्म कहते हैं।[४] भक्तिप्रधान दृष्टिकोण में सभी धर्मों का एक ही लक्ष्य होता है। यहाँ कर्म तथा ज्ञानपरक सभी प्रवृत्तियों का उद्देश्य देवता की ओर अग्रसर होना रहता है। एक विशेष स्तर पर पहुँचने के पश्चात् धर्म का त्याग करने का आदेश भी गीता[५] में मिलता है।

तात्पर्य यह है कि धर्म का अर्थ बहुत व्यापक है। यह मानव जीवन एवं विश्व समाज के आधारभूत सिद्धान्तों का सामूहिक रूप होने के कारण मानव धर्म माना गया है।[६] सामान्य रूप से समस्त क्रिया-कलापों एवं सम्बन्धों में धर्म व्यक्ति समाज और ब्रह्माण्ड व्यवस्था को साथ-साथ सुसंचालित करने वाला नियामक तत्व माना जा सकता है। धर्म के बहिः प्रकाश बहिरंग उतने महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं हैं जितना कि स्वतः धर्म का सिद्धान्त। धर्म का तात्विक स्वरूप शाश्वत है जो कि उसका अन्तरंग स्वरूप है। पर देश-कालादि के भेद के कारण उसके व्यावहारिक एवं बहिरंग स्वरूप भिन्न-भिन्न हो जाते हैं।

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१. भागवत पु०, ११/१७-२१।

२. मनु० ८/१५, १७; ८/३३५।

३. वही ८/३; १२/१०८।

४. गीता, १८/६६।

५. जी० एच० मीज, धर्म एण्ड सोसाइटी, पृ० १५। राधाकमल मुकर्जी, इंडियन स्कीम आव द लाइफ, पृ० २२।

SECTION IV

LITERATURE

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SUNDARAPĀṆḌYA'S NĪTIDVIṢAṢṬIKĀ

By LUDWIK STERNBACH LL.D.*

ABBREVIATIONS

Bhś.	attributed to.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AKM.	Abhand ungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft.
Any.	The Anyoktimuktāvatī of Haṁsavijayganisa. KM. 88.
ASS.	Anyoktyaṣṭaka-saṅgraha. Ed. by P. D. Trivedi: Bhāratīya Vidyā Series 11.
BhPr.	Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla....Pāṇḍuranga Jivāji ...Bombay, Śaka 1854. *Also*: Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva of Banaras Edited by Jagdishlal Shastri—Motilal Banarsidas...Patna, 1955.
Bhś.	Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṅgraha of Bhartṛhari... D. D. Kosambi. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā 23. Bombay, 1948.
BORI.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
CNI I.	MS. No. 1518a (EGGELING 3990), Library of the India Office, London.
CPS.	Vṛddha-Cāṇakya. Ed. by Pt. Śri Rāma Śāstri. Calcutta, 1332 (1925).
Cr.	Cāṇakya-nīti-text-tradition by L. Sternbach, Vol. I Six versions of Cāṇakya's Collections of Maxims, Vol. II. The Ur-text. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27, 28, 29. Hoshiarpur, 1963—8.

* 8201 Britton Avenue, Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373.

CR. Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version. See Cr.

CRB. CR; MS. sansk. f. 15, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

CRBh I. CR; MS. No. 347 of 1892—95, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Collection, Poona.

CRBh II. CR; MS. No. 348 of 1892—95, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Collection, Poona.

CRC. CR: Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra. Ed. by Pt. Īśvara Chandra Śāstri. Calcutta Oriental Series. Calcutta, No. 2.

DhN (P) The Dhammanīti in Ancient Proverbs and maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma by J. GRAY. Truebner & Co., London, 1886 (Pali).

CRCa I. CR; Ms. Add. 2525 in the University Library in Cambridge, England.

Dvi. Nītidviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya. Edited and published by R. Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma. Madras 1928.

GSL. Gems from Sanskrit Literature. Compiled and translated by Dr. A. Sharma and Vid. E. V. Vīra Rāghavācharya. Sanskrit Academy Series 5. Osmania University, Hyderabad—1959.

H. Hitopadeśa.

HJ. *Hitopadeśa: The Sanskrit Text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged* by F. Johnson; Second edition. Hartford-London 1864.

HC. *Hitopadeśa.* Ed. by H. T. Colebrooke, Serampore, 1804.

HK. *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa.* Edited with a Sanskrit commentary and notes in English by M. R. Kale. Fifth edition. Bombay 1924.

HH. *The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrita language.* London, Library East-India House, 1810.

HM. *The first book of the Hitopadeśa.* Edited by Max Müller. London 1865. The second, third and fourth books of the Hitopadeśa. Sanskrit text. Edited by Max Müller. London 1865.

HN. *Nārāyaṇa, Hitopadeśa, nach der nepalischen Handschrift N neu herausgegeben* von Heinrich Blatt. Berlin 1930.

HOS. Harvard Oriental Series. Cambridge Mass.

HP. *Hitopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa.* Edited by Peter Peterson. BSS 33. Bombay 1887.

HS. *Hitopadeśas, id est Institutio Salutaris. Textum codd. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt* Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscriticum tenens. Pars. II: commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum 1831, typis regiis. Prostat apud Eduardum Weber, bibliopolam Bonnensem.

IS. *Indische Sprüche,* Sanskrit und Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe. I—III. St. Petersburg, 1870—3.

JS. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa. Ed... .....by Embar Krishnamāchārya. Baroda, 1938. GOS. 82.

Kav. *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya.* A Sanskrit Anthology of Verses. Ed. by F. W. Thomas. Bibliosheca Indica 1309. (See SKV).

KM. *Kāvyamāla* Series. Nirṇaya Sāgar Press. Bombay.

KSH. *Kāvya-saṅgraha.* A Sanskrit Anthology. Ed. by Dr. J. Haeberlin. Calcutta, 1847.

LN (P). The Lokanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma* by J. Gray, London, Truebner & Co., 1886. (Pāli) and in JASB 47, Part I, Calcutta, 1878 p. 239 sqq.

MBh. *Mahābhārata.* MBh (Bh), critical edition BORI. Poona; MBh (R) third edition by C. Roy, Calcutta 1886–8; MBh (C) Edition Royal Asiatic Society, edition Calcutta, 1834–9.

MK. *Mādhavānala-kathā.* Ed. by P. E. Pavolini, IX Congress of Orientalists, London, I, p. 430–56 (MK (P)). ed. by H. Schöhl., Halle a.d.S., 1914 (MK (S)) and ed. by M. R. Majumdar. *Pariśiṣṭha* 1 (Mādhavānalākhyānam). Gaekwad Oriental Series 93 (pp. 342–379) (MK (GOS)).

NKy (B). *Nīti Kyan.* Translation of a Burmese Version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli (Burmese) JRAS 17 of 1860, p. 252 sqq.

P. *Pañcatantra.*

Pad. *Padyaracāna* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Aṅkolakara. KM. 89.

PD. "The *Pañcatantra* of Durgāsiṁha" by A. Veṅkatasubbiah, *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik* 6.255 sqq.

PdP. Padma-purāṇa. Ed. by V. N. Maṇḍalīka. 4 Volumes. Ānanda S.S. Extra 1.

PdT. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī by Haribhāskara. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri. Calcutta 1941.

PM. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī by Haribhāskara. Ed. by J. (Meghavijaya), von J. Hertel. ZDMG. 57, p. 639 sqq.

PN. *Pañcatantra.* Nepāli text. (PS. LXXXIX, 100–26; PT. I. 117–35 and PRE 2. 192–258).

PP. "The *Pañchatantra.* A collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the recension, called Pañcākhyānaka......of Pūrṇabhadra" by J. Hertel. HOS. 11-2. Cambridge, Mass., 1908—12.

Pr. Pt. Durga Prasāda, "Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche." JRAS, Bombay Branch, 16, 361.

PRE. *The Pañcatantra I—V.* The text in its oldest form Ed. ...by F. Edgerton. Poona, 1930. *Also*: *The Pañchatantra reconstructed*......by F. Edgerton I-II. AOS 2-3. New Haven, 1924.

PS. Das südliche *Pañcatantra.* Sanskrit Text der Recension β mit den Lasarten der besten HSs. der Recension ∝, hearausg. von J. Hertel; *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXIV. 5. Leipzig, 1906.

PSh. M. Haberlance. *Zur Geschichte des Pāñcatantra.* Test der Suedlicher Recension. SWA. 107. 397—476. (1884).

PT. Ueber das *Tantrākhyāyikā,* die Kaśmirische Rezension des *Pañcatantra* mit dem Texte der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145, herausg. von J. Hertel.; *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXII. 5. Leipzig 1904. *Also*: The Pañchatantra. A collection of ancient Hindu Tales in its oldest Recension, the Kashmirian entitled Tantrākhyāyikā; the original Sanskrit text, *editio minor* ......(PTem) by J. Hertel; HOS. 14. Cambridge. Mass. 1915.

Pts. *Pañchatantra* (*textus simplicior*), Edited with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 3, 4. Bombay, 1891—6.

PtsK. *Pantschatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens*....Edidit....10. Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten....Pars prima, textum sanscritum simpliciorem tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1848.

RJ.	*Rājasika-jīvana of Gadadhara Bhaṭṭa.* Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri. Calcutta, 1944.
PV	The *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1944.
Sāh.	*Sāhityadarpaṇa* by Visvanātha Kavirāja. Bibliotheca Indica 9.
Sama.	*Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā* Haridas Sanskrit Series 165. *Also* Bombay, 1957.
ŚKDr.	*Śabdakalpadruma.* I-V. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series; Work 93.
Skm.	*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of *Śrīdharadāsa.* Ed. by S. Ch. Banerji, Calcutta 1965 (Skm (B)). *Also* ed. by Mm. Pt. Rāmāvatara Śarmā. Punjab Oriental Series 15 Lahore 1933 (Skm (POS)).
SkV.	*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* by Vidyākara. Ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale. HOS 42.
ŚP.	*The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara, a Sanskrit Anthology.* Edited by Peter Peterson......Vol. I. BSS. 37. Bombay, 1888.
SR.	*Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra.* Enlarged and re-edited....by Nārayāṇa Rāma Āchārya Kāvyatīrtha. 8th edition, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1952.
SRB or SSB.	*Subhāṣitasudhā ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra.* Compiled and annotated by Pt. Ś. Kaviratna. Śrī Veṅkateśvara Ṣteam Press. Bombay, 1885.
SRHt.	*Sūktiratnahāra* of Ṣūrya. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series CXLI, Srī Citrodayamañjari XXX. Trivandrum, 1938. V. G. Sant. 5th edition. Ahmedabad 1922.
SRK.	*Subhāṣitaratnākara.* A collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit. Compiled and edited....by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri Bhāṭavaḍekar. Bombay, 1872.

SRRU. *Saṁskṛta Suktiratnākara.* Ed. by Rāmajī Upadhyāya., 1959.

SRS. *Subhāṣitaratnasamuccaya* by K. R. Joglekar and V. G. Sant. 5th edition. Ahmedabad 1922.

SSg. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha* with Gujaratī translation. Ed. by P.M. Paṇḍya. Bombay, 1885.

SSH. *Sūktiśatakam.* Ed. by H. Jhā, Haridas Śanskrit Series 263.

SSpr. *Sūkti-sudhā.* Ed. by R. Ś. Pālīvak. Svādhyāya-maṇḍala. Pāraḍī, 1963.

Subh. *Subhāṣitaratnārṇava,* as quoteed in IS.

SuM. *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī.* Ed. by R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona, 1962.

SWA. *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenshaften.*

VC. *Vikrama's Adventures, or the thirty-two tales of the throne....*Edited in four...recensions: Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr.); also sections from Vararuci's recension ....and translated into English......by Franklin Edgerton....2 vols. HOS, 26, 27. Cambridge, Mass, 1926.

Vet Die *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa und eines Ungenannten mit kritischem Commentar. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Uhle. AKM. 8.1. Leipzig. *Also*: Vet. nach einer Handschrift von 1487 von H. Uhle. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kön. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., Philol. hist. Klasse* 66.1, 1914 MS.Hu[1]).

Vidy. *Vidyākarsahasra* by Vidyākara Misra. Allahabad University Publication. Sanskrit Series. Vol. II. Allahabad, 1942.

VP. *Padyataraṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha,* as quoted by N. A. Gore, Poona Orientalist, 11. 46–56.

VS. *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, ed. by P. Peterson and Pt. Durgāprasāda. Bombay SS., Bombay, 1886.

ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

1. In 1928 K. Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma published in Madras the Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya containing 116 verses of which 115 are didactive verses and one is a closing verse. The booklet published by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma contains also an annex (*anubandha*) of 33 additional didactic verses. All these verses with the exception of the closing one are written in *āryā*-metre. The edition of Dvi. was based on two MSS, one belonging to the Government Oriental MSS. Library Madras[1] and the other to the Government Library in Trivandrum.[2] On the basis of a third MS. in malayalam characters in the Adyar Library (XXI. Q. 8) and a fourth MS. in Grantha characters in the Adyar Library XXXIII. S. 28) M. G. Narahari in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. 10 pp. 133–138 and p. 263 respectively, published some additional verses to, and *variae lectiones* of, the Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā published originally by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma. In the Bhavan's Journal XIV. 1 (pp. 95-96) and XIV. 2 (pp. 23-4) a few verses of the Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma's edition were translated.

2. M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in the preface of the Dvi. edition considered that the author of Dvi.–Sundarapāṇḍya must have flourished before the sixth century A.D., that Arikeśarin mentioned in Sinnamanur Inscription of about 750 A.D. traced his descent from Sundarapāṇḍya, a great scholar; that our Sundarapāṇḍya must have been his ancestor, who have lived about 650 A.D.; that his work was extremely popular, since many verses of it were adopted in Sanskrit works or translated into vernaculars; that in view of the fact that many verses are found quoted in the Pañcatantra "whose composition falls earlier that 500 A.D." and that one verse was quoted in Janasrayi, composed about 600 A.D. prove that the author must have lived prior to the sixth century A.D. (In the Bhavan's Journal, where some of the verses of Sundarapāṇḍya were translated, the

1. See: *Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Oriental Government MSS. Library,* Vol. XX, p. 8056, No. 12051.

2. See: *Descriptive Catalogue, Trivandrum Palace Library,* No. 1683.

editor repeated that Sundarapāṇḍya lived in the 6th or 7th centuary A.D.).

3. The analysis of the verses, including those quoted in the Annex and edited by Mārkaṇḍeya Śarma, attached to this paper as Appendix I, does not support the findings of M. Rarmakṛṣṇa Kavi. The Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā does not seem to be an original work, but a selection of various gnomic verses popular in Southern India and collected in one work, probably by a compilor called Sundarapāṇḍya who lived much later than the sixth century A.D. However, an author known as Sundarapāṇḍya was probably either a contemporary of the author of the Sūktiratnahāra who composed or compiled this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* in the first half of the fourteenth century,[3] or lived sometime before the fourteenth century, may be, in the thirteenth century A.D.

Dvi. is a typical selection of gnomic verses collected from various sources, a kind of a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha,* a work very popular in India from the eleventh to the fourteenth or even sixteenth century. Various gnomic verses from the floating mass of oral tradition, were then collected in one work to which the compilor used to add his name as its author; in this case he has collected exclusively verses composed in *āryā*-metre, similarly, as did, for instance Govardhana in his Āryāsaptaśatī, or other. However, Sundarapāṇḍya, if one can believe in ascriptions of authorships of the author of the Sūktiratnahāra, was not only the author of *āryā*-verses but also of *anuṣṭubh-s* which were also ascribed to him in this work; they are included in Appendix II (verses 1, 2, 3, 5, 6); they are not quoted, even in the annex to Dvi. by the editor and publisher of Dvi. probably, because they were not written in *āryā*-metre. *Āryā* verses, particularly in Dvi. are highly artificial verses, not very well suited to Sanskrit poetry and are often more ingenious than poetical.

4. With the exception of the Sūktiratnahāra[4] which mentions Sundarapāṇḍya 49 times[5] as author of some of its verses, none of the other *Subhāṣitasaṁgraha-s* and particularly none of the early and

3. S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol. I, p. 414; V. Raghavan, *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras,* Vol. XIII, pp. 293—306. (V. Raghavan considers that the Sūktiratnahāra was commposed cca 1200 A.D. p. 305).

4. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi mentions also the Sūktimuktāvalī of Kulaśekhara, but this work is unavailable to me and despite search could not be even traced.

5. See annex III.

most important *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, mentions Sundarapāṇḍya's name.

In particular, Sundarapāṇḍya is not mentioned in the Śarṅgadhara-paddhati, Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī, Jalhaṇa's Sūktīmuktāvalī, Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa of Vidyākara, Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, though some of the verses which occur in Dvi. are quoted in these *subhāṣitsasaṁgraha-s*, but either anonymously or over the names of other authors. Would Sundarapāṇḍya been a known author at the time of the compilation of these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* at least one of the compilors of these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* would have mentioned the name of Sundarapāṇḍya.

5. The *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* often ascribe the authorship of some verses found in Dvi. to Ravigupta. Many of these verses are in SRHt. ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya; that is the case of verses: 68 in VS;[6] 107 in VS; and in the appendix: 13* in VS and SRRU; 22* in VS; 23* in VS; 31 in VS and SSB; 32 in VS and SSB.[7] In addition one verse (73) is ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt, to Ravigupta in ŚP, VS, JS, SRRU and SSB and to Vyāsapada in Skm,[8] some verses, although mentioned in Dvi., are ascribed in some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* exclusively to Ravigupta e.g. 100 in VS and SRHt; 102 in VS;[9] 104 in JS; 108 in VS; 109 in VS; 109 in VS and SSB; 111 in VS; and 112 in VS. So we see that fourteen verses found in Dvi. are ascribed to Ravigupta.

The *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* ascribe also some of the verses found in Dvi. to Sundarapāṇḍya, in SRHt, queen Līlā in BhPr, Pañcatantra in SR (No. 16); Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and to Hitopadeśa in SR (no. 54 and 18*),[10] to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and to Krīḍacandra in BhPr (No. 26*); and to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and Gobhaṭa (or Śūci-Gobhaṭa) in ŚP, JS, SkV, Subhāṣitahārāvalī and SRRU (No. 30*).

Also some verses found in Dvi. are ascribed exclusively to other authors in some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. That is the case of verses: 22 ascribed in BhPr to Krīḍacandra and in SRHt to Gāthākośa;[11]

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6. In SR ascribed to Bhartṛhari. In BhPr it is read by Kālidāsa.

7. In SR ascribed to H. It is probably originally a Hitopedeśa verse.

8. SR ascribed to Bhartṛhari.

9. In BhPr the verse is additionally ascribed to Sītā.

10. Both are probably Pañcatantra verses.

11. In SRHt it is quoted in Prakṛt.

31 ascribed in ŚP, SSB, JS to Kṣemendra;[12] 48 ascribed in SSB, SRHt to the Mahābhārata; 54 ascribed in SR to the Pañcatantra;[13] 58 ascribed in SRHt to Varāhamihira;[14] 63 ascribed in SRHt to Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa; 105 ascribed in VS and SSB to Prakāśavarṣa and in SRHt to Capphaḷadeva; 113 ascribed in SRHt also to Capphaḷadeva; and 114 ascribed in VS, SSB and SRRU to Damodaragupta.[15]

In SRHt. twenty verses found in Dvi. are exclusively attributed to Sundarapāṇḍya viz. verses 6, 7, 19, 26, 33, 44, 49 and in the annex verses 12* to 17*, 19*, 21*, 24*, 25*, 27*, 28*, 29*, and 33*; all verses in the annex beginning from verse 12* were taken by the author from SRHt.

We see that in addition to the ascription of a number of verses of Dvi. to Sundarapāṇḍya the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* ascribe some of the verses of Dvi. to such authors as Ravigupta in the first place, as well as to Krīḍacandra, Kṣemendra, Gobhaṭa, Capphaḷadeva, Damodaragupta, Prakāśavarṣa, Bāṇa, Varāhamihira[16] and to such works as Gāthākośa, Pañcatantra, Mahābhārata and Hitopadeśa.[17]

The fact that the most important *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* do not mention the name of Sundarapāṇḍya and ascribe a number of verses found in Dvi. to authors other than Sundarapāṇḍya prove at least that Sundapāṇḍya was not known to them, that he was not famous and that, probably, did not exist yet when these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* were composed. The fact that SRHt, a South Indian *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* mentions Sundarapāṇḍya by name may only prove that in southern India his name was known as an author of some gnomic verses, but not that a work, called Nītidviṣaṣṭikā, composed by Sundarapāṇḍya existed at that time; only 7 verses from Dvi. proper are

12. Not found in any printed texts of Kṣemendra's works.

13. It is probably a Pañcatantra verse.

14. Not found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

15. In the Śambhalimataṁ.

16. V. Raghavan in his Sūktiratnahāra (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIII, p. 304) mentions that verses found over the name of Sundarapāṇḍya are found in VS. over the names of Prakāśavarṣa Argaṭa and Ravigupta. This statement was repeated in S. N. Dasgupta's and De's *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 400, fn. 3. Despite thorough search I could not find the name of Argaṭa among the verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya. Argaṭa was quoted as the author of some verses ascribed also to Ravigupta but not Sundarapāṇḍya (VS 2854 and 2866).

17. In many cases some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha's* ascribed some verses to other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s;* these ascriptions were not taken into consideration here.

found in SRHt, while additionally 13 verses which are not found in Dvi. were ascribed in SRHṭ to Sundarapāṇḍya.

6. The analysis of the verses quoted in Dvi. and given below in Appendix I show that 26 verses of Dvi. occur also in primary sources; they are from the *kathā* literature; the Pāñcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vikramacarita, the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, the Mādhavānalakathā, as well as the Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā, the Cāṇakya's aphorisms, the Bhartṛhari's *śataka's*, the Padma-purāṇa, the Bhojaprabandha, Damodaragupta's Śambhalimatam and the Vānarāṣṭaka. This list shows that many Sanskrit works, composed between the sixth and the end of the sixteenth century contain verses, included in Dvi.

7. M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in his Preface to Dvi. draws the conclusion that since some of the Dvi.'s verses were also found in the Pañcatantra and "the composition of the Pañcatantra falls earlier than 500 A.D." Dvi. must have been composed before the sixth century. This conclusion is wrong. There is no proof at all that the Pañcatantra or any other of the primary sources mentioned above, borrowed from Dvi. and that not Dvi. borrowed from these sources, nor did M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi adduce any proof that the Pañcatantra verses quoted in Dvi. were from the earlier versions of the Pañcatantra which could belong to the sixth century A.D.

The first version of the Pañcatantra was based on an unexisting today text which was translated by the physician Burzōe under the patronage of the Sessanian King Chosrōes Anūshīrwān into Pehlevi, probably by 570 A.D. This text is lost but its content is known to us from an Old Syriac and an old Arabic translation. Out of twelve verses of Dvi. which occur also in the Pañcatantra only two verses, viz. 54 and 20* appear in the Old Syriac or Old Syriac and Old Arabic texts. Only these two verses, therefore, could have been known as early as the sixth century A.D. In addition one verse (99) belongs to the oldest version of the Pañcatantra—the Tantrākhyāyikā version usually considered as belonging to the late sixth century A.D. However all the other Pañcatantra verses identical with Dvi. verses are from the versions which were composed later. These are the Southern and Nepalese versions, probably from the seventh century (verses 16, 103, 18 and 27*) and the much younger offshoot versions of the Tantrākhāyikā—the *textus ornatior* of the Jaina monk Purṇabhadra of the end of the twelfth century A.D. or the *textus*

simplicior probably of the same time, but possibly composed between the ninth and twelth century. A.D. [18] (verses 4, 26, 30, 31 and 19*).

Since it is generally accepted that the Hitopadeśa was based on the Southern Pañcatantra, it is easy to understand that some of the verses of Dvi. which occur in the Southern Pañcatantra appear also in the Hitopadeśa; that is the case of verses 103, 18* and 27*; in addition verse 33* also appears in the Hitopadeśa. The latter verse was also included, probably from the Hitopadeśa, in the Vānarāṣṭaka.

All the verses which appear in Dvi. and the Vikramacarita are Pañcatantra verses (99 and 20* from the Tantrākhyāyikā version; and 103 from the Southern version). The same is also true for the Dvi. and Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā verse (20* from the Tantrākhyāyikā version).

Of the three verses which occur in Dvi. and Mādhavānalakathā two are from the Southern version of the Pāñcatantra (16 and 103; the latter occurs also in the Hitopedeśa).

8. It is very interesting to note that one verse in Dvi. occurs also in the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā (33). The Sanskrit versions of the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā, containing 68 verses, was probably composed in the 9th century A.D. In the tenth or eleventh century A.D. the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā was translated into Tibetan and included, as one of the eight *nīti*-works, in the Tibetan Tanjur; this text has only 23 verses, but the verse in Dvi. from the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā is found in both versions—the Sanskrit version (verse 16) and the Tibetan version (verse 13). That proves that this verse was very common in India. This verse, ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya, belongs to the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā proper and was borrowed from there, the form and style of short questions and short answers leaves no doubt that it is a genuine Praśnottara-ratna-mālā verse; it is therefore clear that Sundarapāṇḍya had to borrow from the Praśnottara-ratna-mālā and not vice-versa and consequently that Sundarapāṇḍya could not have lived before the tenth century A.D. and that some of these verses were not composed by him, but borrowed from other sources.

9. Verse 108 of Dvi. is also not a genuine Sundarapāṇḍya's verse; it was borrowed from Cāṇakya's collection of verses and in

18. Cf. L. Sternbach, *The* Kāvya *Portions in the* Kathā *Literature,* paras 5—8.

particular, one of its older and genuine versions, viz. the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, which was prevalent in India probably in the tenth century A.D. This verse is found in seven different texts of Cāṇakya's verses, viz. in CRC (3.39) and CPS (6.129), and MSS. CRP (3.40), CRB (3.42), CRBh. I (3.40), CRBh II (3.45) and CRCa I (3.32); it must be however noted that this verse was not included in the Tibetan Cāṇakya text, or in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, though a great part of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version was included in the Tibetan *Tsa-na-taḥi rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos* and in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa.

Verse 73 of Dvi. appears also in a text of Canakya's aphorisms; however that is a single text of the Caṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (CNI I 126) and was probably incorporated in that text from the floating mass of oral tradition, similarly as by the compilor of Dvi. The same verse appears also in the Padma-purāṇa and Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s*. However, it is a stray verse of Bhartṛhari and there is reason to suspect the originality of it. The same refers to the two other verses contained in BhŚ and Dvi. viz. 68 and 18*. The first occurs also in Bhojaprabandha and the second also in the Hitopedaśa.

10. It is also difficult to draw any conclusions from the fact that six verses of Dvi. (viz. 16, 22, 48, 68, 133 26*) occur also in the Bhojaprabandha composed probably at the end of the sixteenth century. This work is also a collection of wise sayings from various sources and Ballāla could have used Sundarapāṇḍya's verses, as Sundarapāṇḍya's could have used Ballāla's verses. However most probably both have used independently in Dvi. and in BhPr. respectively sententious verses from the floating mass of oral tradition.

11. Finally one verse (114) is also found in Śaṁbhablīmātam of Damodaragupta who lived in the ninth century; unfortunately I had no access to this work and based myself only Peterson's note to VS 234 and his mention of Damodaragupta's work in the *Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle for* 1883-84 (pp. 23—33) where the verse in question is not quoted. I also did not have access to the Janasrayi mentioned on p. XII of the Preface of M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi.

12. However, the analysis of the verses of Dvi. which could be found in other primary or secondary sources and included in Appendix I seem to show that Dvi. was a typical work of compila-

tion of younger origin ascribed to a Sundarāpāṇḍya who does not need to be the same Sundarapāṇḍya who was mentioned in the Sūktiratnahāra and could not be the Sundarapāṇḍya of the Sinnamanur Inscription, since he could not have lived before the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

13. Three appendices are attached to this paper.

Appendix I gives an analysis of the Dvi. verses found in other sources. First the number of the verse of Dvi. and its first *pāda* are quoted; under (अ) and (आ) primary and secondary sources respectively in which the Dvi. verse also appear are given; in (इ) the ascription of authorship referred to in secondary sources are mentioned; and in (ई) variants from the Dvi. text are cited.

Appendix II gives six additional verses which are ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt, but are not included in Dvi., probably because they were not composed in *āryā*-metre or were composed in corrupt *āryā*-metre,

Appendix III gives in two columns a correlation of verses ascribed in SRHt to Sundarapāṇḍya and found in Dvi., or in annex II.

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19. While (ई) in verse 63 shows that the reading of Dvi. is better in *bd* than of SRHt, it shows also that in verse 31 the reading of ŚP is better than of Dvi. Also the readings of verse 100 *d* of VS, SR and SSB and verse 107 *ab* of VS is better than that of Dvi. Verse 113 is wrong in Dvi. SRHt and VS; it transposes *ab* and *cd;* it is correctly quoted in ŚP, PdT, SuM, RJ, PV. SR, SSB, SRK, Any ASS, VP, IS and Subh. Verses 10, 115, 24* are composed in Dvi. in correct *āryā*-metre, while some secondary sources, particularly SR and SSB and, as far as 24* is concerned, also SRK, GSL and IS, change the *āryā*-metre into *gīti-āryā*. No. 4 of Appendix II is the only case when a verse ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya was not composed in a perfect *āryā*-metre. The rest of the verses quoted in Annex II are composed in *anuṣṭubh-s* and not *āryā*-metre.

APPENDIX I

Analysis of verses of the Nītidviṣaṣṭikā quoted also in other Sources

4. परपरिवादः परिषदि (अ) P (PP. 3. 102, PtsK 3. 115), IS 3931.
(आ) IS 3531.
(ई) P has in *b* कथंचित् पण्डितेन कर्तव्यः

5. भूमिपतावथपतौ (आ) *a* only in SR 169. 720, SSB 503. 720.

6. स्वाधीने माधुर्ये (आ) SRHt 36.27.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

7. अप्रियमुक्ताः पुरुषाः (आ) SRHt 198.131.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) SRHT has in c तस्मन्न (*wrongly; contra metrum* and reads in *d* प्रियम-अश्रोतृकामेन

8. अल्पाक्षररमणीयं (आ) SR 85.8, SSB 364.8, SRK 111.4, IS 7692.
(इ) SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.
(ई) SR, SSB, SRK, IS have in b वै instead of खलु

10. दुर्जनवदनविनिर्गत (आ) *ab* only in SR 48.120 and SSB 305.122.
(ई) *cd* reads : तद्विषनाशनिमित्तं / साधुः संतोषमौषध पिबति. In SR and SSB the verse is not in *āryā* metre but in *gīti-āryā* metre.

12-3 न तथा शशी न सलिलं and न तथा रिपुर्न शस्त्रं read together.
(आ) both in Subh 286; No. 12 also in Subh 117, both : IS 3260 and 3258 respectively.
(ई) No. 12. Subh reads : *cd* प्रह्लादयन्ति पुरुषं। यथा हि मधुराक्षरा वाणी.

No. 13 Subh reads in *b* : न विषं नहि दारुणो महाव्याधि: and in *cd* : उद्वेजयन्ति पुरुषं यथा हि कटुकाक्षरा वाणी.

इक्षोरग्रास्क्रमशः (अ) P (PP 2.31, PtsK 2.37, PS 1.149 [in some texts only], MK [MK (GOS) 19, MK (S) 18, BhPr 147].

(आ) SRHt 36.26, SR 47.108, SSB 304.110, SRK 13.27, IS 1088, SSap. 685, SLPr. 47.17-8; LN (P) 162, Dh N (P) 103, NKy (B) 207.

(इ) BhPr a. Queen Līlā, SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR. a. P, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) I in *c* PS has तद्वद्धि सुजनमैत्री and in *d* SRK, ŚP (according to IS) SSap, SLPr च instead of तु; SRHt has at the end विपरीताम्

19. मूर्खा न द्रष्टव्या (आ) SRHt 30.24.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

22. उपभोगकातराणां (अ) BhPr. 117.

(आ) VS 482, SR 72.32, SSB 341.32; also in SRHt 219.28 in Prākṛt.

(इ) BhPr a. Krīḍacandra, SR a. VS, SRHt a. Gāthākośa.

(ई) BhPr, SR and SSB read *cd* : कन्यामणिरिव सदने / तिष्ठत्यर्थः परस्यार्थे. In SRHt. this verse reads :

उपभयोअकादाराणं पुरिसाणं अत्थसञ्च अपराणम्
कण्णारण्णव्व घनं धरम्मि चिट्ठवइ परस्स कए ।।।

26. यस्मिन्जीवति जीवति (आ) SRHt 231.11.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In SRHt in *a* second जीवति in the MS and in *c* न om. in the MS.

29. शीलं शौचं शान्ति (अ) P (PP 5. 2, Pts 5.2, PtsK 5.2).

(ई) P' reads in *cd* : शान्तिर instead of क्षान्तिर; P reads in *cd* : न विराजन्ति हि सर्वे। वित्त विहीनस्य पुरुषस्य ।

३०. मानो वा दर्पो वा (अ) P (PP 5.3, Pts 5.3, PtsK 5.3).

(आ) SR 378.45.

(इ) SR a. P.

(ई) P and SR read in *b* : विभ्रम: instead of विक्रयस् and in *cd* : सर्वं नश्यति सहसा । विभव-विहीनो यदा पुरुष:; SR reads in *d* : वित्त-विहीनो यदा पुरुष: ।

३१. हेतुप्रमाणयुक्तं (अ) P (PP 2.103, Pts, Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen of 1860, p. 130, PM 2.104).

(आ) ŚP 335, SR 65.8, SSB 332.10, SRK 46.27, JS 437.81, IS 7413, ZDMG 25.241.

(इ) ŚP, SSB, JS, and ZDMG a. Kṣemendra; SR a. ŚP; SRK a. Sphuṭaśloka. Not found in any of the printed texts of Kṣemendra.

(ई) P reads in *cd* : अगुणं परुषमनर्थं । वाक्यं श्रव्यं समृद्धस्य and ŚP, SR, SSB, SRK, ZDMG : अप्यतिपरुषमसव्यं। पूज्यं वाक्यं समृद्धस्य ।

33. विद्या श्रुतं तपो वा (आ) SRHt 235.7.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SRHt has in *c* पुंसो instead of सर्वं.

44. भिन्नश्लिष्टाप्रीति (आ) SHRt 112.9.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SRHt (MS) in *a* has म . . . विनष्टाप्रीतिर् (the editor suggested *metri causa*): महतिविनष्टा प्रीतिर् and in *b* यद्यपि चारेण बहुगुणा भवति ।

48. उपचार: कर्तव्यो (अ) BhPr. 78.

(आ) SRHt 110.27, SSg 1.57, SR 171.788, SSB 506.788.

(इ) SRHt a. Mahābhārata.

(ई) BhPr, SSg, SR, SSB and have in *b* सौहृदाः पुरुषाः and SHRt 36.28. °सौहृदो गवति.

49. धिग्घिक् सज्जनमैत्रीं (आ) SRHt, 36.28.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

54. विद्वानृजुरभिगम्यो (अ) P (PT 1.174, PTem 1.161, PS 1.145, PN 2.118, PP 1.403, PRE 1.163, Benfey 1.281, PM. 1.178, Old Syriac 1.106).

(आ) VS 2884, SR 392.604, IS 6113.

(इ) SR a. P.

(ई) In *a* some texts of P have अगम्यो or अधिगम्यो ; in *b* प्यप्र० instead of चाप्र० and भवितव्यं ;in *c* most of the P. texts have ऋजुमूर्खसत्व् अनु० or .मूर्खो ह्यजुर् or मूर्खाजिवोऽनुकम्पोऽपि or अनुगम्यो अधिगम्यो etc. in *d* most of the P texts have सर्वथा वर्ज्यः but also सवता or सदा and त्याज्यः VS and SR follow the P text (as marked above: "most of the P texts").

58. हिमवति तिष्ठत्यौषध० (आ) SRHt 239.44.

(इ) SRHt a. Varāhamihira but not found in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.

63. श्वा यदि दंशति मनुजा (आ) SRHt 36.24.

(इ) SRHt a. Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa.

(ई) SRHt has in (a) दशति मनुष्यान् ; in (b) omits पुनः *(contra metrum)* and in *d* reads *contra metrum* : नच तं वदतीह सज्जनः किञ्चित् ।

68. न भवति भवति च न चिरं (अ) BhŚ 559 (stray verse; there is reason to suspect the originality of this verse), BhPr 285 read by Kālidāsa.

(आ) SRHt 35.22, VS 236, SR 47.7, SSB 304.109. in *Alaṁkāratnākara* of of Śobhākārmitra (POS 77) 23 and 515, *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra (KM 71) p. 248, VP 1.37, *Subhāṣita-suradruma* of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka (MS BORI 228) 2f. 125 b, *Sārasūktāvali* (MS BORI, 1492 of 1886–92) 1521, Jain *Subhāṣitāvalī* (MS BORI 1424 of 1887–91) 459. Cf. ABORI 48.154, No. 38.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. Bhartṛhari; BhPr. a. (?) Kālidāsa.

(ई) BhPr. has in *a contra metrum* : स भवति for भवति च न; SRHt has तु for च. In *b* SR SSB read : विशंवादि and all other texts विसंवदति for न संभवति ।

73. सुजनो न याति वैरं (अ) Bhś 801, *Padma Purāṇa*, Uttarakh. 7.23, CNI I 126.

(आ) ŚP 237, VS 241, JS 53.12, SRRU 902, SSB 305.112, SR 47.110, SuM 9.11, IS 7099, Subh 274, SRK 10.4, Skm 5.35, 3, *Subhāṣitasāgara* (MS BORI 421 of 1899–1915) 26.28; *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhaṭṭa Śri Kṛṣṇa (MS BORI 93 of 1883-84) 2.76, *Subhaṣitārṇava* of Gopīnātha (MS BORI 820 of 1886–92) f. 10 b; *Subhāṣitāśloka* (MS BORI 324 of

1881-82) f. 25 *b; Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keḷadi Basavappa Nāyaka (MS BORI 228) 2f 97 b, *Sārasūktāvali* (MS BORI 1492 of 1886—92) 9.11, *Subhāṣita-khaṇḍa* of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa (MS Rājapūr 105) f. 17b. VP 1.43. Cf. Halhed's *A Code of Gentoo Laws,* London, 1776 p. XXX, *ZDMG* 27.76 and ABORI 48.160. No. 67.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya; ŚP, VS, JS, SRRU, SSB a. Ravigupta, Skm a. Vyāsapada, SR a. Bhartṛhari.

(ई) in a SS has सुजना ; *Padma Purāṇa,* CNI I, JS, SuM and Subh विकृतिं for वैरं In *b* SRK has परहितकार्ये and CNI I, ŚP, VS, SS, SSB, VS, SRK : परहितनिरतो and in *c Padma Purāṇa* has : छिन्नोऽपि for छेदेऽपि ।

99. यो न ददाति न भुङ्क्ते (अ) P (PT 2.110, PTem 2.99, PP 2.107), VCsr 3.6 and 5d (p. 280 a).

(आ) ŚP 387, SR 69.16, SSB 337.18, SRK 62.15, IS 5602.

(इ) SR a. ŚP, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) Most of the P texts transpose in *b* विथति and सति and in *cd* read : कन्यारत्नमिव गृहे । तिष्ठन्त्यर्थाः परस्यार्थे . So also ŚP, SR, SSB, SRK in *b*, but read *c* : तृणमयकृत्रिम-पुरुषो and *d* as Div.

100. स्वल्पापि साधुसम्प (आ) VS 235, SRHt 36.23, SR 48.137, SSB 306.139. Cf. ABORI 48.160. No. 69.

(इ) VS and SRHt a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS.

(ई) VS, SR and SSB read *d*: अपहरति न वारिधेर्जातु ।

101. अतिकुपिता अपि सुजना (आ) VS 249, ŚP 238, SR 47.111, SSB 305.113, SRK 19.78, IS 126, Subh 274, GSL 5, VP 1.46.

(इ) SR a. ŚP and SRK a. Indiśesparukha.

(ई) Subh has in *d*: द्रव्यंगोपायोऽस्ति नस्तृणानाम् corrected in IS to द्रवणोपायस्ते न ।

102. दोषमपि गुणवति जने (अ) BhPr. 133.

(आ) VS 244, SR 82.38, SSB 357, 45. Cf. No. 13* below. Cf. ABORI 48.154. No. 35.

(इ) VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS, BhPr a. Sītā.

103. गुणिनि गुणज्ञो रमते (अ) H (HJ 1.202, HS 1.182, HH 33, 4–5, HC 44.12–3) BC in PS *ad* line 440, L in VCbr I. 6 (second), MK [MK (GOS) 39, MK (S) 41].

(आ) ŚP 293, VS 253, SR 81.35, SSB 357.42, SRK 52.5, RJ 1436, Udbhaṭa in ŚKDr *ad* g. गुणज्ञः ।

(इ) SR a. VS, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) Most of H texts have in *b* नागुणशीलस्य (same VC, MK and Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s based on H) or न गुणा गुणिनी परितोष or ना गुणिनि etc. In *b* some H texts have केलि for एति and पद्मं for कमलं ; PS has वनात् for चनात्. In *d* some H texts have न त or न तु for तु. MK has ददुरस्तन्निवासोऽपि and some H texts have भेकस्त्वेक०.

104. अण्वपि गुणाय गुणिनां (आ) JS 55, 13, IS 122, Subh 276. Cf. *ABORI* 48.147; No. 2.

(इ) JS a. Ravigupta.

(ई) In *a* JS has महतां for गुणिनां. In *d* Subh has विपाप for विपाय corrected By O. Böhtlingk in IS.

105. उपकृतिरेव खलानां (आ) VS 417, SRHt 44.58, SR 158. 188, SSB 321.195.

(इ) VS and SSB a. Prakāśvarṣa, SRHt a. Caphaḷadeva; SR a. VS.

106. परवादे दशवदनः (अ) MK [MK (GOS) 13, MK (S) 13].

(आ) VS 389, SR 57, 129, SSB 319. 131.

(इ) SR a. VS.

(ई) MK (GOS) has in *b* and *d*) सहस्त्र० (sic!) and in *d* जुनो नीचः, but MK (S) as in Dvi. In *c* most of the texts have सद्वृत्त वृत्तिहरणे

107. लब्धोदयः खलजनः (आ) VS 395, SRHt 43.49, SR 58.171, SSB 321.177.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR 58.171 a. VS. Cf. *ABORI* 48.158. No. 56.

(ई) All texts with the exception of SRHt have in *a* लब्धोदयोऽपि हि खलः and in *b* स्वजनं for स्वजने. In *b* VS has नयति for करोति (or in other texts, with the exception of SRHt, तनोति [*contra metrum*]).

108. सह वसतामभ्यसतां (अ) Cr 1036 (CR 3.38, CPS 61.29.

(आ) SRHt 36.30 and 239.41, VS 399, SR 58.175, SSB 321.181, NBh 236. Cf. *ABORI* 48.159. No. 64.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṅḍya, VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS.

(ई) SRHt in *a* अपि सहवसतामसता.
Some texts of Cr have in *b*: जलरुहवद्ध-वत्यसंश्लेष: (*contra metrum*) and in *c*: सतमपि for सतां also *contra metrum*. In *d* Cr has भवति हि कुमुदेन्दुवत्प्रीति:

109. अतिसत्कृता अपि शठा: (आ) VS 404, SR 58.179, SSB 321.185. Cf. *ABORI* 48.147. No. 3.
(इ) VS and SSB a. Ravigupta.
(ई) SSB transfers in *d* नन and घृतो

111. निर्गुणमप्यनुरक्तं (आ) VS 242, SkV 1357, SR 48.141, SSB 306.143, IS 3752, Subh 274. Cf. *ABORI* 48.155. No. 39.
(आ) VS a. Ravigupta.
(इ) In *c* Subh has सहवृद्धिक्षयभावं

112. परमर्मघट्टनादौ (आ) (Cf. VS 403, SR 48.141, SSB 321.184. Cf. *ABORI* 48.155. No. 40).
(इ) (VS a. Ravigupta, SR a. VS).
(ई) VS, SR, SSB have different *cd*: यत्सामर्थ्य-मुपहृतौ / विषस्य तन्नोपकाराय and in *a* and *b* have नादिषु and न तत्कृत्ये respectively.

113. कटु रटति निकटवर्ती (आ) ŚP 798 *cd/ab*, VS 692, PdT 220 *cd/ab*, SuM 21.5 *cd/ab*, RJ 389, *cd/ab*, SRHt 44.57, PV 729 *cd/ab*, SR 221.8 *cd/ab*, SSB 608.6 *cd/ab*, SRK 183.3 *cd/ab*, Any 55.28 *cd/ab*, ASS 1.7 *cd/ab*, VP 10.41 *cd/ab*, Vidy 27, IS 408 *cd/ab*, Subh 10 *cd/ab*).
(इ) SRHt a. Capphaḷadeva, SRK a. Śārṅga-dhara.
(ई) Div, Vidy, SRHt and VS evidently wrongly transpose *ab* and *cd* and thus all these verses have a wrong metre. In *a* ŚP, PdT, PV, SR, SSB, SRK, Any, VS and

VP have शरणं for युक्तं and Subh has: अयं सरणं . In *b* Div, and SRHt omit तत्र (*contra metrum*) and Vs has *metri causa* 'हंसस्य . In *c* Subh has कंटु for कटु (*contra metrum*). In *d* SuM, Vidy and SRK have वाचालष्टिभो (°चार°), IS: वाचाटो टिट्टभो and Subh: वाचाट: टिट्टिपो; PdT: टिष्टि० or दृष्टिदिम्भो (var.); all other texts: यत्र (correct metre) for यत्स्तस्मात् variants of PdT and ŚP respectively have यत्ना or यथा

14. आरोग्यं विद्वत्ता (अ) Dāmodaragupta's Śambhalimata (Cf. Peterson's II, report pp. 23 sqq).

(आ) ŚP 317, VS 234, SR 170.757, SSB 505.757, SRK 54.10. IS 1011, SSH 1.79, SRRU 890, SRS 2.45, SSpr 85, Cf. Kav. p. 46.

(इ) VS, SSB and SRRU a. Dāmodaragupta, SR 190.757 a. ŚP, SRK a. Prasaṅgaratnāvali.

(ई) In *c* SRS has नरणा for च पुंसां and in *d* SRK has विनाप्यर्थं

115. यः पठति लिखति (आ) SR 170.760, SSB 505.760,

(ई) SR and SSB have in *a* instead of the reconstructed सुकृतिं—पश्यति which is better; In *b* उपाश्रयति which is also better; in *d* SR and SSB change the *āryā* metre into *gīti-āryā* and read:

नलिनीदलमिव विकास्यते बुद्धिः

ANNEX (अनुबन्धः)

12*. अप्रियवचनांगरैर् (आ) SRHt 36.29.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

13*. दूरेऽपि परस्यागसि (आ) VS 407, SRRU 902, SRHt 43.50, SR 58.181, SSB 321.188.

(इ) VS, SRRU a. Ravigupta, SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. VS.

(ई) In *b* SRRU has सप्रीयेऽपि for समीपेऽपि and in *d* SRRU and SRHt have कलंक and कळंक respectively (for कलंकं).

14*. अपकारिणि कोपश्चेत् (आ) SRHt 82.10.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In SRHt in *b* the last *akṣara* is missing.

15*. मित्रमपि याति रिपुतां (आ) SRHt 112.8.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

16*. अतिपरिचयादवज्ञा (आ) VS 2894, SRHt 148.13, IS 139 (Cf. Pr. 362), Subh 295, SR 169.722, SSB 503.722, VP 9.15. (Cf. ŚP 1502, SuM 20.10, SR 169.723, SSB 503. 723, SRK 239.82, SRRU 945, GSL 7, IS 140 (Cf. Pr 362), Subh 138, Bahudarśana 139, Sama 1 अ 12 and 2 अ 6, Vidy 276).

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) SR and SSB have *b* as in ŚP 1502, etc. i.e. संततगमनादनादरो भवति . In *d* all texts with the exception of VS and SRHt have कूपे स्नानं and VS has सदाचरित

17*. सत्क्षणमपि निष्क्रान्तः (आ) SRHt 149.14.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

18*. प्रणमत्पुन्नतिहेतोर् (अ) P (PS 1.78, PD 301.24) H (HJ 2.24, HS 2.25, HM 2.27, HK 2.27, HP 2.23, HN 2.23, HH 43.167, HS 58.1-2), BhŚ 606 *ab*.

(आ) SRHt 149.15, Skm (Skm (B) 2209, Skm (POS) 5.42.4), SR 97.14, SSB 384.14, SRK 108.2, Sāh *ad* 10.722.

(इ) SRHt, a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. H, SRK a. Sabhātaraṅga.

(ई) P, H and most *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* based on H have in *b;* जीवित for जीवन; in *c* PS has : दुःखयति हि and in *d* PD has : अपरः for अन्या : BhŚ has a different reading in *cd* : सुखहेतुस्तव दुःखी सेवक अन्यस्तु मूर्ख एव

19*. (अ) P (PSh 1.22, PD 301.28).

(आ) SRHt 198.133, SR 151.364, SSB 477.323, Subh 259, IS 2077.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In *a* all texts have गन्तव्या राजसभा In *b* SR and SSB have राजपूजिता लोकाः PD and Subh राजपूजिता and PS राज-वल्लभाः; in *d* Psh has: भवन्त्यर्थाय (*contra metrum*) and PD: भवेदर्थो in *d* Psh: तथाप्यनर्थां विलीयन्ते ; Subh has भवत्य् and PD भवेद् for भवन्त्य् and SR and SSB have विनश्यन्ति for प्रतिकाराः

20.* सुहृदि निरन्तरचित्ते (अ) P (PT 2.158, PTem 2.140, PS 2.76, PN 1.72, PP 2.181 [Cf. 1.75], Pts 1.102 and 341, PtsK 1.114 and 388, PRE 2.83, Old Syriac 2.55, Arabic 3.198] VCsr 11.9, Vet 4.17.

(आ) SRHt 198.133, SuM 9.13, SR 170.739, SSB 370.33, SRK 225.38, IS 7150.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SR a. P, SRK a. H.

(ई) In *a* some P texts have निरत्ययचित्ते . In b P, VC, Vet and SuM have: भृत्ये (or दारे) प्रभौ च दुःखज्ञे (or प्रियासु नारिषु) or ऽनुवर्तिनि कलत्रे). In *c* most of the texts have विश्राम्यतीव हृदयं or स्वामिनि सौहृदयुक्ते or गुणान्तरज्ञे. In *d* some P texts have दुःखस्य निवेदनं कृत्वा and SR, SSB, SSB जनः सुखी भवति.

21*. प्राप्य चलानधिकारान् (आ) SRHt 199.135, SR 170.740, SSB 504.740.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

22*. अविवेयो भृत्यजनः (आ) SRHt 199.136, VS 2850, ŚP 1531, SR 169, 725, SSB 503.725. Cf. *ABORI* 48.148. No. 9.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta.
(ई) Dvi. changes in *b* मित्राण्यदायकः to मित्राणि निर्दयः . In *c* ŚP, SR and SSB have: अविनयवती for विनयरहिता

23*. सुलजोऽयं गुणवानिति (आ) SRHt 199.137, VS 2859.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS a. Ravigupta.
(ई) VS has in *b*: विश्वास नाचरेत्खलप्रकृतौ In *c* SRHt has न तु for ननु

24*. अप्रतिबुद्धे श्रोतरि (आ) SRHt 199.138, VS 2888, SR 170.742, SSB 504.742, SRK 236.58, IS 7662, GSL 17.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SRK a. Prasaṅgaratnāvalī.
(ई) SR, SSB, SRK, GSL and IS have in *b*: वक्तुर्वाक्यं प्रयाति वैफल्यम् and in *cd*: नयनविहीने भर्तरि / लावण्यमिवेह खञ्जनाक्षीणाम्. In *c* Div. changes कामिनि to स्वामिनि In *d* VS has: लावण्यविलासस्त्रीणाम्.

SR, SSB, SRK, GSL and IS change the *āryā* metre into a *gīti-āryā*.

25*. विगतज्वरमिव हृदयं (आ) SRHt 199.139.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

26.* धनिनोऽप्यदाननिरता (अ) BhPr 116.
(आ) SRHt 218.16, SR 72.43, SSB 342.46.
(ऊ) BhPr a. Krīḍacandra; SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya; SR a. BhPr.
(ई) In *a* BhPr has: अदानविभव and SR and SSB: अदानयोगा for अदनिरता In *b* all the texts have गण्यन्ते instead of वर्ण्यन्ते,

27*. सेवेव मानमखिलं (अ) P (PS 2.39, PN 1.36), H (HJ 1.147, HS 1.130, HM 1.136, HK 1.139, HP 1.105, HN 1.106, HH 27.9-10, HC 37.1-2).
(आ) SRHt 223.12, SRK 59.9, IS 7173.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, SRK a. Sphuṭaśloka.
(ई) Some H texts have in *b* लावन्यम् and in *d* गुणै: and गुणैस्तमप्य°. In *d* PN has: अर्थितो हरति and PS हन्ति for हरति

28*. मायाविनिमर्याव० (आ) SRHt 226.23.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) In *b* SRHt has ह्लव० for °मित्त०

29*. गर्जति शरदि न वर्षति (आ) SRHt 239.40, Subh in IS 2089.
(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.
(ई) In *b* Subh (MS) has नि:श्वनो corrected to नि:स्वनो . In *d* Subh and IS have साधु: for सुजन:.

30*. अनुकुरुत: खलसुजना (आ) SRHt 239.42, ŚP 239, JS 53.11, SSB 305.114, SR 47.12, SRK 14.35, SkV 1218, Subhāṣitāhārāvalī (MS BORI 92 of 1883-84) A 60 *a* 597, SSg 215, SRRU 884, IS 311.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, ŚP, JS, SkV, Subhāṣitāhārāvalī, SRRU a. Gobhaṭa or Śūci-Gobhaṭa, SR a. ŚP, SRK a. Śārṅgadhara.

(ई) In *a* SkV, SRRU and some texts of JS have: अनुहरत: and some texts of ŚP: खलु॰ . In *b* some texts of ŚP have: आग्रिम॰ and पाश्चात्यभागो यो or शून्या: for सूच्या, and SSg has: पाश्चात्ययो (*contra metrum*). In *c* SKV, SRRU and some texts of JS have: एक: कुरुते छिद्रं SSg reads *d*: मुद्रणभस्या-परोऽपि विदधाति. Some texts of ŚP have: त्वदधाति; IS has in *d*: गुणावानन्यश्च पि॰ while SkV and SRRU: गुणवानन्य: प्रपूरयति and the other sources: गुणवानन्यस्त्वपिदधाति.

31*. त्यजति भयंकृतपापो (आ) SRHt 240.46, VS 2847, ŚP 1545, SR 169.728, SSB 503.728.

(अ) Cf. *ABORI* 48.153. No. 32.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, Vs and SSB a. Ravigupta.

(ई) VS, ŚP, SR, SSB have: भयमकृतपापो (or पं); in *b* ŚP, SR and SSB have: मित्रमयश: प्र॰ and in *d* transpose स्त्री and क्रूरं

32*. दक्ष: श्रियमधिगच्छति (अ) H (HJ 3.117, HS 3.112, HM 3.113, HK 3.113, HP 3.110, HN 3.110, HC 123.10—1), Vānarāṣṭaka (KSH 244) 2.

(आ) SRHt 240.47, VS 2849, SR 170.774, SSB 505.774, IS 2679, Anyoktyaṣṭaka 8.1. Cf. *ABORI* 48.153. No. 33.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya, VS and SSB a. Ravigupta, SR (a. H).

(ई) Some texts of H had श्रितम् for श्रियम् In *b* some texts of H have: कल्याणं or कल्पतमरोगी च or कल्पतं सुखमरोगी च or अरोगी च (last three *contra metrum*). All texts with the exception of SRHt have in *b* अरोगी In d Vāna° has उद्यक्तो विद्यां तथा (*contra metrum*), some H texts and Anyokti° have: उद्योगी and VS अभ्यासी for उद्यक्त:

33*. कोऽन्धो यो न विनीत: (अ) Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā (KM VII 122) 16 and (Tibetan texts) 13 (in the Journal of the Greater India Society 17. Nos. 1-2, p. 106).

(आ) SRHt 240.48, SR 170.763, SSB 505.763.

(इ) SRHt a. Sundarapāṇḍya.

(ई) In *a* all texts have योऽकार्यरत: for न विनीत: : Vimla°, SR and SSB read in को मूको य: काले। प्रियाणि वक्तुं न जानाति.

APPENDIX II

Additional verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya and not quoted in the Nītidviṣaṣṭikā

1. अन्तःसारोऽपि निर्याति नूनमर्थितया सह।
अन्यथा तदवस्थस्य महिमा केन देहिनाम्॥
SRHt 223.10, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

2. चलेषु स्वामिचित्तेषु सुलभे पिशुने जने।
यदि जीवन्त्यहो चित्रं क्षणमप्यनुजीविनः।
SRHt 148.11, a. Sundarapāṇḍya SR 97.2, SSB 383.2 (*anuṣṭubh*).

3. द्वयं जहाति सेवकः सुखं च मानमेव च
यदर्थमर्थमीहते तदेव तस्य हीयते॥
SRHt 148.12, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

4. नर्मान्तः परिहासो
यावत् क्रियमाणमभद्रकत्वं च।
स्मरणं च दुष्कृतानां
त्रीणि कुमित्रस्य चिह्नानि॥
SRHt 112.10, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*āryā* irregular).

5. मया निवार्यमाणोऽपि भजते प्रार्थनामयम्
इति लज्जितयामन्ये लज्जयार्थी निराकृतः॥
SRHt 223.11, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

6. विद्वत्तां समरे शौर्यमाभिजात्यं सुरूपताम्।
लिखीकरोति[1] वाञ्छैका दुःशीलेवांगना कुलम्॥
SRHt 223.9, a. Sundarapāṇḍya (*anuṣṭubh*).

[1] or खलीकरोति (reconstructed).

APPENDIX III

Correlation of verses ascribed to Sundarapāṇḍya in SRHt and found in the edition of the Nītīdviṣaṣṭikā or in Annex II.

SRHt	Dvi	SRHt	Dvi
30.24	19	199.137	23*
35.21	73	199.138	24*
35.22	68	218.16	26*
36.26	16	223.9	Annex II 5
36.27	6	223.10	Annex II 1
36.28	49	223.11	Annex II 6
36.29	12*	223.12	27*
36.30	108	226.23	28*
(See 239.41)		231.11	26
43.49	107	235.7	3
43.50	13*	239.40	29*
44.51	106	239.41	108
112.8	15*	(See 36.30)	
82.10	14*	239.42	30*
112.9	44	240.46	31*
112.10	Appendix II. 4	240.47	32*
148.11	Appendix II. 2	240.48	33*[1]
148.12	Appendix II. 3		
148.13	16*		
149.14	17*		
149.15	18*		
198.131	7		
198.132	19*		
198.133	20*		
199.135	21*		
199.136	22*		

(1) SRHt 239. 34 to 39 are not included in this list; it is not clear whether the author of SRHt considered these verses as written by Sundarapāṇḍya or not; they are not in Dvi.

NEW LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF RĀJAŚEKHARA

By BUDDHA PRAKASH *

The famous Sanskrit poet and dramatist Rājaśekhara was a 'Yāyāvara Brāhmaṇa' from Mahārāṣṭra. His great grandfather Akālajalada is called a crestjewel of Mahārāṣṭra, his grandfather Surānanda distinguished himself as a man of letters and his father Durduka or Duhika took to Government service and rose to be the chief minister. Rājaśekhara came to the court of the Gūrjara–pratīhāras of Kanauj and was appointed the teacher of Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja.[1] He was a prolific writer and his extant works are the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, the *Karpūramañjarī*, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, the *Bālabhārata* and the *kāvyamīmāṁsā*. We have also quotations from his other works the *Harvilāsa* and the *Bhuvanakośa* but they have not come down to us. In the prologue to his play *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, he himself refers to his six *prabandhas*, but they are all lost to us.

Among the extant works of Rājaśekhara the Bālarāmāyaṇa is a dramatisation of some episodes of the Rāma story, the *Karpūramañjarī* centres round the marriage of King Caṇḍapāla with the Kuntala princes Karpūramañjarī through the instrumentality of the Śaiva Tāntrik ascetic Bhairavānanda and the consequential attainment of paramountcy by him; the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* refers to the marriage of the Kalacuri King Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarṣa or Keyūravarṣa with Mṛgāṅkāvalī, daughter of King Candravarman of Lāṭa, and Kuvalayamālā, daughter of King Caṇḍamahāsena Vīrapāla of South India, as a result of which he assisted his father-in-law to win his lost kingdom and for that purpose sent a strong force under Śrīvatsa which defeated a confederacy of Southern Kings on the bank of the river Payoṣṇī (modern Pūrṇā or Paingangā) and recovered the kingdom of Caṇḍamahāsena Vīrpāla and also confirmed the paramountcy of the Kalacuri monarch; the *Bālabhārata* is an incomplete play on the *Mahābhārata* theme in two acts and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* is a treatise on the craft of the poet with a wealth of other information.

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1. 885 or 890–910 A.D.

The chronology of the aforesaid works of Rājaśekhara is a subject of controversy. V. S. Apte in his *Rājaśekhara, His Life and Works* arranged them as follows: 1, the *Karpūramañjarī*, 2, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, 3, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and 4, the *Bālabhārata* (the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* being unknown at that time. Sten KONOW[2] and A.B. Keith[3] broadly accept this chronology but place the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* before the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. C. D. Dalal[4] differs from this view and places the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata* before the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Karpūrmañjarī* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* after it. V. V. Mirashi,[5] has his own theory on this subject according to which he chronologically arranges these works as the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.

The chronology of the works of Rājaśekhara is intimately connected with his eventful life. As said above he joined the court of the pratihāra Kings of Kanauj at a very young age during the reign of Mihira Bhoja[6] and was appointed to teach the prince Mahendrapāla who came to the throne in 885 or 890 A. D. and ruled up to cir. 910 A.D. During this period he composed his earliest works, the six lost *Prabandhas,* as well as his play *Bālarāmāyaṇa* which was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla. As Mirashi rightly states, "the lengthy prologue of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* in which the poet gives more information about himself than anywhere else, its apologetic tone, the inordinate length of the play, the crude devices such as the introduction of dolls with parrots in their mouths, the anachronisms in the scene of Sītāsvayaṁvara, all these indicate that it was the first play of our poet.[7]

Another play, connected with Mahendrapāla, written by Rājaśekhara, was the *Karpūrmañjarī* as I have shown elsewhere.[8] This play refers to a King caṇḍapāla as an aspirant for paramountcy[9] and

2. Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama*, p. 84.
3. A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 232.
4. C. D. Dalal, *The Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Introduction, p. xvi.
5. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. 1, p. 55.
6. 836—885 A.D.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 417—427.
9. *Karpūrmañjarī* (ed. sten Konow). Harvard oriental series, vol. iv, p. 7.

चण्डवालधरणी हरिणांको चक्कवीट्टपग्रलाहणिमित्तं सत्थ सट्ट ग्रवरे
रससोत्ते कुन्तलाहि वसुग्रं परिणेइ ।।

hails him as the conqueror of eastern regions like Aṅga, Campā. Rādhā, Kāmarūpa and Harikeli[10] and then mentions him as the overlord of the kingdom of Kuntala being the husband of his daughter Karpūramañjarī. Mirashi identefies Caṇḍapāla with the Pratihāra King Mahīpāla, but his view cannot be accepted because Mahīpāla lost control over a large part of the east, as we learn from a number of Pāla inscriptions, and suffered serious reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and was never on friendly terms with them. As I have shown elsewhere, the defeat of Mahīpāla at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Kṛṣṇa III about 939-940 A.D., mentioned in the Deoli plates, has an echo in the defeat of Acala by Yaśodhara mentioned in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva.[11] On the other hand, Mahendrapāla was not only paramount in the east, as is clear from his numerous inscriptions found there, the latest being one on a sūrya image from Mahīsantosh in the Dinajpur district recording the dedication of that image by one Lokanandin in the fifteenth regnal year of his reign,[12] but also effectively intervened in the affairs of the South, as the Khajurāho inscription of the Candela chief Vijayaśakti shows.[13] Thus it is undouted that Caṇḍapāla of the play stands for Mahendrapāla and that the drama represents the crowning hour in the triumphant history of the Pratihāra empire under him.

On the association of Rājaśekhara with the Pratihāras after Mahendrapāla some new light is shed by the Vajīrkheḍa Copperlate Grants of Indra III.[14] These plates, found at Vjīrkheḍa, about four miles to the east of Malegaon in the Nasik District, are dated the seventh of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuvasaṁvatsara, the Śaka being 836, corresponding to 24th February

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10. Ibid. p. 9.

जग्र जग्र पुव्वदि-सङ्गणाभुग्रङ्ग चम्पाचम्पककण्णाऊर, राढाणि ज्जिदराढा चङ्गत्तण विक्कमक्कन्तकामरूव हरिकेलिकेलि ग्रार ग्रवमणिद जच्चसुवण्णवण्ण सव्वङ्गसुन्दरत्तणारमणिज्ज सुहाग्र दे होदु सुरहिसमारम्भो ।

11. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 129—131.

12. S. C. Mukherji, 'Mahīsantosh sūrya Image Inscription,' *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, No. (January 1967) pp. 44-55.

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, pp. 141—142, verse 20.

14. Y. B. Kolte, 'two vajīrkheḍa copper plate Grants of Indra III,' *Nagpur University Journal* (*Humanities*), Vol. xvii, No. 2, April 1967, pp. 117—142.

915 A.D. They were issued by Nityavarṣadeva, also called Srīvallabha Narendradeva or the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, after going through the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony and weighing himself with gold in the scales called *Tulāpuruṣa* at the *kuruṇḍaka*. The *praśasti* portion of these grants representing a departure from that of the Bagumra and Jamgaon grants and containing some new information about the Rāṣṭrkūtas, is in ornate and elegant Sanskrit verses composed by Rājaśekhara. It is quite probable that this poet Rājaśekhara is the same who wrote the works, under discussion, mentioned above, for we know of no other poet bearing this name in that period. Should this view be correct, we would see that Rājaśekhara left the Pratihāras soon after the death of Mahendrapāla, perhaps due to some estrangement, and went over to their rivals, the Rāśṭrakūṭas, and enjoyed a good rank of court poet and panegyrist there.

It is noteworthy that up to 915 A.D. the reigning Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III, to whose court Rājaśekhara had repaired and whom he called *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja—parameśvara-śrīmannityavarṣadevapṛthvīvallabhaḥ śrīvallabha-narendradevaḥ*, had not led his famous expedition against Mahipāla by the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi road and "completely devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya (Kānyakubja) which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of *Kuśasthala*" as the cambay plate of Govinda IV states,[15] for otherwise, it must have found a place in the Vajīrkheḍa panegyric composed by Rājaśekhara. However he had an intimate knowledge of Pratihāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations for he states that Jagattuṅga inflicted a severe reverse on the Pratihāras,[16] a fact not known from the Bagumra and Jambgaon plates. The love of his description of Jagattuṅgas victory and the disaster of the Pratihāras, particularly his remark "the surviving Gūrjars do not leave the fever of fear even now"; shows that he had some deep-seated grudge against his erstwhile Pratihāra benefactors.

15. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. viii, p. 26.

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ।

16. Vajīrkheḍa plates, *op. cit.*, Verse 9.

यस्याद्यापि प्रचण्डासिपातविश्लिष्टविग्रहाः ।
हृतशेषा विमुंचन्ति गूर्जरा न भयज्वरम् ।।

Indra III lived upto cir. 929 as a recently discovered copper plate grant shows.[17] He was followed on the throne by his elder son Amoghavarṣa II but his reign lasted only for an year as a charter of the Śīlāhāra chief Aparājita proves.[18] How his end came so soon we do not know, but rumours about the complicity of his brother Govinda in it must have been afloat, to allay which the latter had to proclaim repreatedly that he was not guilty of the charge.[19] The new King Govinda IV[20] was easeloving and slothful. As the Karhad Plates state, "his intellect became ensured in the eyes of young women, his mind became hemmed in by the flashes of the eyes of beautiful damsels, his limbs became enfeebled as his body began to be undermined by a number of maladies, his vicious conduct alienated the sympathies of all men, the constituents of the body politic became noncoherent, neutralising his strength and power, and he met with a natural destruction.[21] In this situation many subjects, ministers and fendatories became disgusted with his excesses and inefficiency and some even left him. It is likely that Rājaśekhara also departed from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court and joined that of the Kalacuris of Tripuri.

The Kalacuris or cedis of Tripuri were the relatives and associates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the time of Kokalla I but with the accession of the energetic and enterprising Yuvarājadeva, their attitude towards the latter changed in particular the occupation of the throne of vengi by Yuddhamalla II with the help of Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies in supression of Bhīma ensured the hegemony of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over the entire Deccan and alarmed the Kalacuris. To restore the balance of power the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva befriended Bhīma of Vengi in preference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It appears that Bhīma took shelter in the Kalacuri court and married his daughter to Yuvarājadeva and solicited his assistance to regain his patrimony. Yuvarājadeva despatched a large army to help him, to meet which a confideracy of southern kings organized their forces and offered resistence on the bank of the Pūrṇā or the Paiṅgangā. A bloody engagement followed on the eve of which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

17. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages,* Vol. i, p. 184; A. S. Altekar in *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, p. 288.

18. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III, p. 271.

19. *Ibid,* Vol. VII, p. 26.

20. Cir. 930—36 A.D.

21. *Ibid,* Vol. VII, p. 271.

king Govinda IV died and consequently his army was routed. On his death the fendatories offered the throne to Baḍḍīga Amoghavarṣa, who was the son-in-law of Yuvarājadeva and lived at his court, and Bhīma was coronated at Vengi under the title of Rājamārtaṇḍa Gaṇḍamahendra. These events have been dramatised by Rājaśekhara in his drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* which was staged at the Kalacuri court at Tripuri, as I have shown elsewhere.[22]

With his son-in-law Baḍḍīga Amoghavarṣa on the throne of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and his father-in-law Bhīma II Rājmārtaṇḍa Gaṇḍamahendra on that of the calukyas of Vengi and the Pratihāra realm not fully recovered from the blow of Indra III the Kalacuri King Yuvarājaveda could claim to be paramount over all his contemporaries, as the Karitalai inscription of his son Lakṣamaṇasena states.[23] But soon the pendulum swung. Baḍḍīga Amogharṣa's son Kṛṣṇa III was not a man to tolerate the paramountcy of any neighbour. Hence during the life time of his father, he valiantly lashed out at kalacuris and inflicted on Yuvarājadeva a crushing defeat in 938 A.D. as the Karhad plates indicate.[24] This difficulty of the kalacuris inclined Rājaśekhara to think that Yuvarājadeva was a broken reed to lean upon. Hence he decided to leave it and join some other powerful potentate. Since he had fallen out with the Rāṭṣṭrakūṭas, there was no point in his going over to them again. Therefore, he resolved to join the Pratihāras again who were gradually emerging from their eclipse into a position of paramountcy.

We have observed that mahīpāla was driven from pillar to post after his defeat at the hands of Indra III in 916 A.D. But soon afterwords Indra retired to the Deccan for some inner reasons leaving the field free for Mahīpāla in the North. Hence we find Mahīpāla recovering his glory in a moment and ranking as the full fledged monarch of the North as before. An inscription from Asni, in

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22. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 132—148; *V. V. Mirashi, Felicitation Volume*, pp. 406—423.

23. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 187.

यस्यांघ्रिवारिरुहि बाढ़मलीयमानाः प्रापुर्द्विषस्सपदि संपदमापदञ्च

24. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

रामहृतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयाकलितसमदरामेण ।
जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्रार्जुनो विजितः ॥

the Fatehpur-Haswa district of U. P., dated 917 A.D. refers to the victorious and prosperous rule of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Mahīpāladeva on the earth,[25] showing that the very next year of his defeat he had recovered his empire and regained his status. On getting some respite Mahīpāla addressed himself to the task of strengthening his hold over the north-western frontier and break the entente between the śāhīs and Kaśmīra. He led an expedition against the śāhīs with a vast army of horses and elephants and inflicted a defeat on them as we learn from the khajurāho inscription of the Candela ruler Yaśovarman.[26] In course of that campaign he also reduced the rules of Khasa and Kaśmīra and thus established his overlordship over the Panjab and the North-West. Referring to that state of affairs the *Hudūd-al-Ālam* says that "Vayhiṅd and Kaśmīra were the dependencies of the rāy of Qirmanj"[27]

After these stirring successes in the North, Mahīpāla turned his attention to the East and the South and probably clashed with the Karas of Kaliṅga, the Kalacuris of Tripuri, śilāhāras of Konkan etc. so as to send a shudder upto Kerala. It appears that these movments synchronized with the rupture between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalacuris.[28] It is also likely that one of his generals Bhaṭṭa lunched a raid in the South and defeated a number of rulers there as the Catsu inscription of Bālāditya relates.[29] For a time Mahīpāla claimed to be the paramount ruler of the whole country.[30] It was

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25. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, pp. 173–5.

26. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 126–128, 132–134.

साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगबलेनानु हेरम्बपालः

27. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*.

28. About 938 A.D.

29. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 10 ff.

आक्रान्ता वीक्ष्य सैन्यैर्वि………..ततीर भग्ननानानगोघः ।
भीतो बन्धादिवालं पुनर्मृ दुमरुद्धे पमानोर्विबाहुः ॥
यस्यादाद्दक्षिणाब्धिः समिति जितवतो दाक्षिणात्यान् क्षितीशान् ।
ईशदेशदशेषान् लसदसमरुचो वेलया रत्नराजिः ॥

30. Dasharatha Sharma suggests that sometime before 931 A.D. Bhoja II succeeded Mahīpāla and next year *Vināyakapāla* came to the throne (*Rajasthana through the ages*, pp. 187–90). It is difficult to accept this view, for, apart from other circumstances, it is difficult to accomodate the victories of Mahīpāla during the reign of Indra III and then the paramountcy of Yuvarājadeva, hinted in the Karitalai inscription and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.

then that Rājaśekhara joined him and wrote his Kāvyamīmāṁsā and then *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava,* at his court.

In his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* he states that directions should be measured from Mahodaya or Kanauj.[31] Considering this as well as other data of this work Dasaratha Sarma rightly holds that it was composed at the court of Mahīpāla.[32] His last work was the imcomplete *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* in two acts only. In it Mahīpāla is called the pearl-jewel of the Raghu family and the paramount sovereign, *mahārājādhirāja,* of Āryāvarta,[33] and his several military achievements are poetically spoken of in detail. He is said to have made the Muralas bow down their heads in salutation, acted as a fever to the Mekalas, driven the Kalingas before him in battle, spoilt the pastime of Kerala ruler, conquered the Kulūtas, behaved like a battle-axe to the kuntalas and taken away by force the fortune of the Ramaṭhas.[34]

This crowning moment of glory in the career of Mahīpāla arrived about 938 A.D. as said above. Soon afterwards Kṛṣṇa III defeated Mahīpāla and wrested the forts of Citrakūṭa and Kālañjara from him. The Deoli Plate of 940 A.D. states that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern regions simply by means of his angry glance the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gūrjara."[35] That Kṛṣṇa III actually occupied these regions is manifest from an inscription found at Jura in the former Maihar State of Baghelkhand containing of eulogy in the Kannaḍa language.[36] This victory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over the Pratīhāras underlies the reference to the war of Yaśodhara and Acala in the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva.[37] This rebuff queered the

31. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, p. 94.

'तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीयः ।

32. D. Sharma, '*Rājaśekharīya Kāvyamīmāṁāyā racanāsthānam,*' *Sarasvatī-suṣamā,* Vol. VII, p. 301 ff.

33. रघुवंशमुक्तामणिना आर्यावर्तमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीनिर्भयनरेन्द्रनन्दनेन ।

34. *Bālabhārata,* Vol. I, p. 7.

नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां रणकलितकलिंगः केलितट्केरलेन्दोः ।
अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुठारो हठहृतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

35. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. V., p. 194, Verse 25.

36. *Ibid.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 287–290.

37. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization,* pp. 129–131.

pitch for Mahīpāla and cut him to size once again. Sometime afterwards he died for we find his son Mahendrapāla II on the throne in 945-46.

Thus it is clear that Mahīpāla's peak hour was around 938 A.D. and the reference to him in the *Bālabhārata* of Rājaśekhara as the paramount ruler of Āryāvarta reflects the state of affairs at that time. Since Rājaśekhara could write only two acts of it, it can be presumed that he died without completing it all of a sudden. Subsequently some scribe, in order to show that the play consisted of two acts only, wrote at its end *samāptamidam pracaṇḍapāṇḍavābhidham nāṭakam*, which need not be stretched to mean that Rājaśekhara purposely wrote it in two acts only contrary to his practice in his other plays.

The above discussion of the life and works of Rājaśekhara shows that he began his literary life at the court of Mihira Bhoja at Kanauj. There he taught the crownprince Mahendrapāla during whose reign he consequently enjoyed great prestige. At that time he wrote first the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and then the *Karpūramañjarī*. After the death of Mahendrapāla, obviously due to some difficulty, he left the Pratihāra court and went over to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III. There he composed the Vajīrkheḍa Praśastis. But during the vicious reign of Govind IV,[38] he again faced discomfiture and leaving the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court came to that of the Kalacuris at Tripuri. There he composed his *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* about 936-37 A.D. But the political Kaleidoscope again changed and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas got the upperhand over the Kalacuris. In that situation Rājaśekhara took leave of the Kalacuris and came again to the Pratihāra court at Kanauj to sing the eulogies of Mahīpāla. There he composed first his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and then his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava*. But he had hardly completed the second act of this play when he suddenly died about 938 A.D.

The eventful life of Rājaśekhara, connected with the leading courts of the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Kalacuris, shows with what astounding rapidity poets and writers changed their allegiance and affiliation and shifted the venues of their work as well as the subjects of their praises and panegyrics in the Kaleidoscopic conditions of *sāmanta*-oriented society of India in the tenth century A.D.

38. Cir. 930–36 A.D.

KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA SARASWATĪ, A NATIVE OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

By Dr. M. D. Paradkar*

Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī, a learned Paṇḍit of the 17th century, distinguished himself by successfully leading a deputation of Paṇḍits to the emperor Shah Jehan, who, thereafter, withdrew the tax imposed on pilgrims to Benaras and Allahabad. It is natural that Hindu community considered this to be a great achievement of the Ācārya and congratulations were poured upon him from all quarters. Titles of *Kavīndra, Vidyānidhāna* and *Ācārya* were conferred upon him. *Kavīndracandrodaya* a compendium of his eulogies in prose and verse has been already published in the Poona Oriental Series in 1939. Dr. Gode has reconstructed a biographical account of Kavīndrācārya in the light of points of similarity observed by him in Bernier's travels and *Kavīndracandrodaya*.[1] He says "Shah Jehan had also given him a pension of Rs. 2000 but it was stopped by Aurangzeb as soon as he came to the throne in 1658-59. Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who was a lover of Hindu Philosophy, had gathered many paṇḍits round him. Kavīndra occupied the foremost place among these paṇḍits and he was included in Dārā's household as stated by Bernier."

It has been already pointed out by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article[2] on 'Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī that he was also a man of letters who served literature by not only collecting an unique Mss. library,[3] but by contributing his works'. He appears to be a scholar not merely of the Vedas, Darśanas and Kāvya-Nāṭaka-Alaṅkāra, but was also well versed in Music, Astrology, Āyurveda. *Kavīndracandrodaya* extols him as a grammarian. It is interesting to note

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† This paper was read at the 23rd session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Aligarh, in October 1966.

1. Cf. Dr. Gode's article in '*Studies in Indian Literary History*', Vol. II, p. 374.

2. *Ācārya Puṣpāñjali Volume* (D. R. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.) pp. 160—165.

3. Vide '*Kavīndrācāryasūcīpatra*' published by the Baroda Government in G. O. Series, 1921.

that in verse 28 of the Appendix of this work Ratnaśarman calls him 'Prākṛtavyākṛtijñaḥ'. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum mentions five works of this author viz. *Kavīndra-Kalpadruma, Yoga-bhāskarayoga, Śatapathabrāhmaṇabhāṣya, Haṁsadūta Kāvya* and *Padacandrikā*. Compliments, such as विद्या।को न पारावार from Viśvambhara Maithila or सकल कला प्रवीन गुरु हू के गुरु तुम, केहरि है क्रीडा करौ नित विद्या-वनमें from Śaṅkara Upādhyāya in *Kavīndra-candrikā*, therefore, contain a great amount of truth. Dr. Gode's identification of this Kavīndra with the 'chief of the Paṇḍits' seen by Bernier at Benaras has added more of glory to the history of this sāvant of the 17th century.

'Kavīndracandrikā' like *Kavīndracandrodaya*, is another collection of a similar type bringing together eulogistic addresses presented to Kavīndrācārya in Hindi. This anthology mentions 30 names of contemporary poets and learned men who have paid gloring tributes to him.[5] The work also informs us that due to the achievement of Kavīndra, his fame travelled to distant contries like Rumsham, Irak and Tibet. One of the introductory verses of this work speaks of the fact that Kavīndrācārya of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā of the *Ṛgveda* hailed from a holy place on the banks of Godāvarī, became a recluse at a very early age and later settled at Benaras. The verse runs as follows:—

पहले गोदातीर निवासी। पाछे आइ बसे श्रीकासी ।।
ऋग्वेदा आसुलायन साषा। तिनमें ग्रन्थ भयो है भाषा ।।
सब विषयनि सो भये उदास। बालपना में लयो संन्यास ।।
उनि सब विद्या पढ़ी-पढ़ाई। विद्यानिधि सुकवीन्द्र गुसाई ।।

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4. Cf. 'Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mogul Court'—*Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol.. II, pp. 364—379.

5. कवीन्द्रचन्द्रिका ed. by Dr. Krishna Diwakar, is published by Maharashtra Rashtrabhasha Sabha, Poona 2. This list may be recorded here for reference: (१) सुखदेव कवि, (२) नन्दलाल कवि, (३) भीष कवि, (४) पंडितराज, (५) रामचन्द्र, कवि, (६) धर्मेश्वर कवि, (७) हरीराम कवि, (८) रघुनाथ कवि, (९) विश्वंभर मैथिल, (१०) शंकर उपाध्याय, (११) भैरव कवि, (१२) सीतापति त्रिपाठी, (१३) मंगद कवि, (१४) गोपाल त्रिपाठी, (१५) विश्वनाथ कवि, (१६) जीवन कवि, (१७) घनस्याम, (१८) ब्रज-भूषण, (१९) लच्छीराम, (२०) चिन्तामणि, (२१) देवराम कवि, (२२) कुलमणि, (२३) त्वरित कविराज, (२४) गोविन्दभट्ट, (२५) जयराम कवि, (२६) वंशीश्वर, (२७) गोपीनाथ, (२८) राम कवि, (२९) जादवराय पण्डित (३०) जगतराय।
In addition to verses of these, as many as fifteen come from anonymous writers.

Another Hindi work by name *Bhāṣāyogavāsiṣṭhasāra* of this learned Sanyāsin has now come to light. The introduction of this work also speaks of him as गोदातीरनिवासी *i.e.* an original inhabitant of the bank of Godāvarī.[6] This work is also known by the name *Jñānasāra* as is from its MSS. preserved in places like the संस्कृत पाठशाला at Rajapur, Kashi Nagari Prachar Sabha etc.

This confirms the truth of the verse found in his *Kavīndra-Kalpadruma*:—

गोदातीरे प्रमोदावलिवलितमे जन्मभाक्पुण्यभूमौ[7]
ऋग्वेदी वेदवेदी जगति विजयते श्रीकवीन्द्रो द्विजेन्द्रः।
अधीत्य वेदवेदाङ्गकाव्यशास्त्राणि सर्वशः
ततः स्वीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्माभ्यासं समाश्रितः ॥[8]

The fact that this outstanding personality hailed from Mahārāṣṭra can hardly be doubted. It is significant to note that Mahadevashastri Patwardhan from Mahārāṣṭra in paying a compliment to his munificence writes in Marathi—

वर्णी न मो तूज जसा सुवर्णी तैसां करी पूर्ण मला सुवर्णी ।
कर्णोपकर्णी प्रसरो सुवर्णी त्वत्कीर्त्तिमुक्ताफल जेवि कर्णी ॥[9]

Verse 251 on p. 39 of *Kavīndracandrodaya* appears to be a conversation between Kavīndrācārya and a Marathi-knowing Paṇḍit, possibly Mahadevashastri Patwardhan:

तन्द्रालु का दिसतसे भवदीय मुद्रा
कां यां न ये कविवरा दिनरात्रि निद्रा ।
सांगेन तूज निजगूज महीमहेन्द्रा
देणें असे मज शतद्वय रौप्यमुद्रा ॥

6. For this see 'The Bhāsā -Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra of Kavīndrācārya Saraswatī' by Dr. V. G. Rahurkar—*Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 210—224.

7. For the dispute regarding the name of पुण्यभूमि see foot-note 1 on page iii of Introduction to *Kavīndracandrodaya* by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Mr. Patakar (Poona, 1939).

The opinion of Mr. Shrigondekar regarding पुण्यभूमि as the correct reading is rejected by Dr. V. Raghavan in his article on 'Kavīndrācārya Saraswati'.

8. Cf. Kavīndra-Kalpadruma of Kavīndra—I. O. Catalogue Pt. VII, No. 3947.

9. *Kavīndracandrodaya*, p. 20, verse 16.

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Apart from this, there is sufficient Mss. evidence in support of this fact. As indicated above external evidence of works like *Kavīndracandrodaya, Kavīndracandrikā* is quite clear on this point. Internal evidence, always more dependable, unmistakably points in the same direction. *Padacandrikā* written by this author offers stylistic evidence and leaves no doubt in this matter.

Padacandrikā[10] is a brief commentary upon the words of *Daśakumāracaritam*. In this commentary the author has mentioned many interesting Desi words, with such remarks as इति प्रसिद्धम् or इति लोकप्रसिद्धा. Thus पट्टिश and डिण्डिभ are explained respectively as भाषया पट्टा इति प्रसिद्धः and दाण्डोरा इति प्रसिद्धः. दीपिका and भस्त्रिका are paraphrased by दिवटी and भाता. Sanskrit words उपधान and नागदन्त appear as उशी and खुंटी. While commenting on the words शौङ्गेय and इङ्गुदी the author adds ससाणा इति प्रसिद्ध and भाषया हिंगणबेट इति प्रसिद्धः. For उपदस्तिका and उदंचन in Sanskrit, the author mentions चञ्चवी and डोल respectively. In case of the word व्याम, he takes care to add that it is known as वांव in common language. Now words like चञ्चवी, ससाणा, डोल and वांव cannot be called as literary expressions; they really belong to the stock of Marathi words that are in every-day use. Expressions like चञ्चत्री, ढोल and वांव can come from the pen of an author who has Marathi as his mother-tongue; they are not likely to be used by a person who claims even a good acquaintance with Marathi. Thus on the basis of words in *Padacandrikā*, the author undoubtedly turns out to be a resident of Mahārāṣṭra.

10. Padacandrikā was published in the 15th N. S. P. Editions of *Daśakumāracaritam*, 1951.

THE TAMIL SOCIETY OF THE SANGAM AGE

By V. PERUMAL*

1. *Introduction*

It is an acknowledged fact that the Tamil Society is noted for its high antiquity. The historical, linguistic, archaeological, literary, numismatic and other evidences corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the high antiquity of the Tamil Society and its many-sided excellence. The very fact that there are 260 references (16% of the total aphorisms) to ancient literatures in *Tolkāppiyam*, confirms in an unambiguous language the existence of great literary treatises on various branches of knowledge. Unfortunately, all these literatures have been lost due to serious natural calamity. The ancient Tamil Literature extant which is popularly known as the *Sangam Literature*, consists of *Tolkāppiyam* (grammar), *Pattupāṭṭu* (ten Idylls), *Eṭṭutogai* (eight anthologies), *Tirukkural* (ethics), *Silappadikāram* and *Manimekalai* (twin epics). On the basis of the various relevant evidences available, the Sangam Literature can be assigned to the period ranging from 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. This period is generally known as the *Sangam Age* as the Tamil Sangam (Academy) which was patronised by the Pandyan Kings at Madurai has played a very significant role in the literary and cultural fields of Tamil-Nad. The Sangam Literature besides throwing an appreciable flood of light on different branches of knowledge reflects each and every aspect of the Tamil Society. The ancient Tamilians have distinguished themselves in various healthy activities and led a very useful life of a high order. A deep analysis of the Sangam Literature and other relevant sources and records reveals the fact that the ancient Tamil Society was in a very advanced position. It was a society of well-balanced development in titanic proportions. The encomium paid on ancient Tamil-Nad by the foreign personalities is not a hyperbolical statement but a naked truth. An attempt is made in this paper to study analytically the Tamil Society of the Sangam Age with a deep sense of impartiality.

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2. *Literature*

Tolkāppiyam is not only a grammar in the ordinary sense of the term but a great treatise which deals with almost all the aspects of human activity. *Tolkāppiyam* has clarified each and every point with logical precision and aphoristic brevity. For instance, he points out that one can legitimately feel proud owing to four reasons, viz., learning, valour, fame and charity.

Kalvi Tarukaṉ Isaimai Koḍaiyenaẹ
Collap paṭṭa Perumidam Nānge.

—*Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruladhikāram*

Tolkāppiyam is the grammatical and literary charter serving as a beacon light throughout the ages of literary history of Tamil-Nad. The Pattuppāṭṭu describes every aspect of the Tamil Society in a picturesque language. The eight anthologies (*Eṭṭutogai*) were compiled and classified on the basis of metre and subject matter. It is needless to mention that the classification was done according to the principles of logical division. Among the eight anthologies, *Natrinai, Kurunthogai, Ainkurunooru, Kalithogai* and *Aganānooru* are amatory poetry. *Purananooru* mainly deals with warfare, state-craft, charity and ethics. *Pathitrupathu* gives an account of the Cera Kings and throws a light in fixing the chronological position of the ancient Cera Monarchs. *Paripadal* is a miscellany which deals with love, religion and nature. Thiruvalluvar has given the quintenssence of advanced wisdom in his immortal ethics, *Thirukkural*. *Silappathikaram,* a dramatic epic (tragedy) and *Manimekalai,* a religious epic are treated as twin epics. The former has a greater appeal as 'our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought' (Shelley). The Sangam Literature is a mirror which reflects all the aspects of the ancient Tamil Society. The Sangam poets, who were about 500 in number, touched every branch of knowledge in their pen portraits. Beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity in diction, intelligibility of theme, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, catholicity in character and universality in outlook are the special characteristics of the Sangam Literature. It is almost free from Sanskrit words hybrid style, pedantic phrase and fantastic imagination. The Sangam poets sincerely considered Nature as their teacher. They received inspiration from Nature and described her beauty in a mellifluous language with aesthetic excellence.

3. *Education*

From time immemorial, education is considered to be the infalliable wealth. The very fact that Tiruvalluvar, who was very brief in his treatment, has alloted many chapters dealing with various aspects of education, corroborates the sublime values of education. Tiruvalluvar has divided the entire faculties into two main divisions, viz., Arts and Science. Mathematics—the queen of sciences and letters—the basis of arts are the two faculties pointed out by Tiruvalluvar. He has indicated in an unerring language the universality of education. In other words, Mathematics and letters are the two eyes for each and every human being under the Sun.

Eṇṇenba Enai Eḷuttenba Ivvirandum
Kaṇṇenba Vāḷum uyirkku.

—(*Kural* 392)

The learned author has indicated briefly but very clearly the various aims of education, knowledge aim (*Kural* 396), social aim (140) moral aim (134), philosophical aim (354), spiritual aim (2), cultural aim (997) and living aim (391) are some of the important aims of education dealt with in Tirukkural. According to Tiruvalluvar, teaching has four stages, viz., feeling the pulse of the students, grasping the subject to be taught, simplifying the subject, and appealing and inspiring presentation. (*Kural* 424, 711). To all intents and purposes an uneducated man is no better than an animal (410). Tolkappiyar mentions general education and technical education in one of his aphorisms in Tolkāppiyam.

Vāyinum Kaiyinum Vakutta Pakkamodu.

Agathinai iyal (Aphorism No. 44) Pandyan Nedunchezhian, the King Poet, gives a vivid pen portrait of the glory of learning. The sum and substance of his poem (*Purananooru* 183) is that an educated man, however low may be his social position, will be respected even by the ruler of the land. The poets of the Sangam Age have educated the kings as well as the ordinary people. They gave the rulers sound advice on various matters at the appropriate occasions and played a remarkable role in the educational field of

1. Tolkappiyam, *Poruladhikāram* (Kazagam Edition, June, 1953).

ancient Tamil-Nad. Teaching was considered as the noblest and the most respectable profession. In short, the ancient Tamils did not consider education as a means to earn bread and butter but realised that it was for life, through life and throughout life.

4. *Society*

Society consists of men, women and children. According to Tamil, the word '*man*' has various shades of meaning. Though generally it refers to the masculine gender among human beings, it specially connotes a person who has the power of control. Spiritually speaking, man is expected to control his sense and attain spiritual mastery. The term 'woman' apart from its primary meaning, has a special connotation. The word '*peṇṇ*' which means woman, has derived from the root '*peṭpu*' signifying "love", "desire" etc. The implication is, woman is a professor of all the amicable qualities and hence she is lovable. Children are considered to be the wealth of the parents and a source of enjoyment.[2]

The ancient Tamil Society was divided into many divisions. The divisions were made not to create any disparity or inequality among the people but to direct them to embrace different occupations for the smooth sailing of the society. As a matter of fact, the classification was made on the principle of division of labour. The ancient Tamils have realised and recognized the dignity of labour.

There was perfect social equality between man and woman. In certain respects, woman was respected to a greater degree. A chaste woman was not only paid social respects but viewed with a deep sense of divine veneration. She was placed on par with God.

'Uraiśāl Pattinikku uyarndor Ettalum.'[3]

Milk of human kindness was considered as a fundamental social affinity and there was a perfect harmonious co-existence. Man without social culture was placed among the dead.[3a]

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2. *Kural* 61, 65, 66; *Purananooru*, 188.
3. *Silappathigaram* : *Padhigaml*, 56.
3a. Kural 214.

'Divide and consume' was the social ethics envisaged and actualised by Tamils of the Sangam Age. The temples served the purpose of social institutions and people assembled and mixed with each other with perfect social liberty, equality and fraternity.

The purpose of friendship is to help each other says Thiruvalluvar. Give and take policy was considered as one of the main social principles on which smooth social intercourse could be made. Unity in diversity and social catholicity were the special features of the society of the Sangam Age.

5. *Matrimonial*

Marriage was considered as a sacred rite of the union of two hearts. Matrimonial process had two stages, viz., Pre-marital and postmarital and sanctity was maintained throughout the process. There was complete indentification of husband and wife in their walk of life. The purpose of marriage is not only to enjoy sensual pleasure but also to do charity with a deep sense of fellow feeling.[4] Woman was given the highest place in society in general and home in particular. The Tamil word *Illal* which ordinarily means wife has a special connotation. The word can be split conveniently into two distinct units, viz., *'il'* and *'al'* meaning thereby the ruler of the home. So, it is crystal clear that the wife was not only treated as a partner of the man but the ruler of the home and the better half in the real sense of the term. The love experienced by the married couple was not a lust or sensual craving but a tender feeling of a high order. Thiruvalluvar has rightly pointed out that such a love is tenderer than the flower.[5] Various aspects of harmony between husband and wife were indicated by Tholkappiar.

Pirappe Kuḍimai Āṇmai Āṇḍoḍu
Uruvu Nirutta Kāma Vāyil
Niraiye Aruḷe unarvoḍu Tiruvena
Muraiyurak Kiḷanda oppinadu vagaīye

(*Tolkāppiam*)

3b. Puram 163.

4. Kurunthogai 63, *Kural* 81.

5. *Kural* 1289.

Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the society.[6] Though prostitution existed, it was looked with contempt by every cultured Tamilian.[7] The marriage functions celebrated during the earlier stage of the Sangam Age were practically free from Āryan influences.[8] "It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Āryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive dakṣiṇā," observes P. T. Shrinivasa Iyengar.[9] The matrimonial union was very natural which was based on mutual help and mutual love.

6. *Morality*

Morality was considered as the foundation stone on which the entire human virtues were based. Though the Sangam Literature (except *Kural*) are not ethical in character they have moral view and have the force to inculcate moral sense among the readers. Morality is the right conduct in conformity with all virtues. As morality makes the man great it is his duty to maintain a very high moral standard. Maintaining morality is more important than preserving life.[10] Morality as envisaged by the Sangam Poets has a deeper significance than it is generally understood. Even the thinking of evil thought was considered a serious moral offence. Morality is not only a code of behaviour but a code of life. It is a virtue among virtues and embraces all the sublime ethical maxims. To cite an example, sense of gratitude was considered as an essential quality that should be possessed by every cultured man on the globe. Ingratitude was not only a mere immoral act but an unpardonable sin.[11] The same moral sentiments were voiced by no less a person than Shakespeare:

'Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
thou art not so unkind
As Man's ingratitude.'[12]
and

6. *Qural* 1315, *Kurunthogai* 49.
7. Purananooru 73.
8. *Agananooru* 86, 136.
9. *History of Tamils,* p. 80.
10 Kural 131.
11. *Kural* 110; *purananooru* 34.
12. *As You Like It,* 11, 7.

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child.[13]

The term morality which was defined logically and understood precisely by the ancient Tamil savants has a tripartite connotation, viz., purity of thought, word and deed. In short, according to the Sangam Ltierature, morality is not only a view of life but a way of life.

7. *Religion*

All the literary works of the Sangam Age declare in an unambiguous language that Tamilians have a strong faith in the existence of the Almighty. Though the Almighty was mentioned by different names and attributes the ancient Tamils embraced monotheism. The Almighty was described as an embodiment of all the noble virtues.[13a] Though there were many temples of deities, they believed that there is only one ultimate reality, i.e., the all pervading God. This is corroborated by the fact that the Almighty was always mentioned in a singular. Paripadal gives a flash of light on temples. People congregated at temples in order to enjoy peace of mind and spiritual pleasure. They did not pray to God for loaves and fishes but for His divine grace. In other words, they prayed to the Almighty not for their material welfare but for their spiritual uplift.[14] Among the various religious rites that were in vogue the practice of virgins taking bath in the early morning during the cold season in the month of Margazhi (December—January) deserves a special mention. It was popularly known as Thanieeradal and ambaadal. It was a rigid course of spiritual discipline which enabled the virgins to attain a harmonious development of physical cleanliness, mental purity and spiritual sublimation.[15] The ancient Tamils believed in the cycle of birth and death and the result of Karma.

Thirumurugatrupadai clarifies beyond a shadow of doubt that they had a divine mind coupled with aesthetic sense as the result of which they could feel in their heart of hearts spiritual awe and enjoy the sight of cupid (*Lord Murugan*) in the *serene* beauty of

13. *King Lear*, 1, 4.
13a. Kural 9.
14. Paripadal 5: LL 78—81.
15. Paripadal 11 : LL 74—92 & Kalithogai 59.,

the hills and mountains. In such a natural and pleasant atmosphere which was far from the madding crowd they could come nearer to God and have a harmonious spiritual communion. In short, the religion which was embraced by the ancient Tamils, whatever might be its name, was universal in appeal and national in character.

8. *Culture*

The term culture has a deep connotation and a wide denotation. The Tamil culture has four stages touching four aspects, viz., Virtue-ethical, wealth-material, pleasure-emotional, and salvation-spiritual. Though there are differences of opinion regarding the order of the first three, all the Tamil savants are at one regarding the existence and necessity of the four stages. Some of the ancient poets have mentioned and enumerated only the first three, leaving the readers to understand the fourth, viz., salvation by themselves.

'Annilai Marunkin Aṛamuta lākiya
Mummudar Porutkum uriya Enba.'[15a]

Siṛapputai Marabiṛ Poruḷum Inbamum
Aṛttu Vaḷippadūm Totram pola.[16]

Whatever may be the order of the four stages, it is crystal clear that they are all connected harmoniously with each other and train the people to achieve a well-balanced development of their faculties. St Pavananthi, a renowned grammarian of the 13th century, has clarified in an unambiguous language that the purpose of learning is to acquire virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation.

Aṛam Porul Inpam Veedu Ataidal Noorpayane.

A culture which advocates only materialism cannot uplift humanity. A culture that advocates only spiritualism will prove a Utopian philosophy and be useless for all practical purposes. It is a matter of delight to note that the Tamil culture is a harmonious synthesis of materialism and spiritualism. Wealth and pleasure form the material aspect and virtue and salvation form the

15a. *Tolkappiam: Seyyulial* 102.

16. *Purananooru* 31.

spiritual aspect of the Tamil culture. Thiruvalluvar has hit the right nail on the head by saying the man requires wealth and grace in order to enjoy in the material and spiritual world respectively.[17] In short, the Tamil culture consists of all the good qualities which are practicable in reality and noble in outlook.

9. *Athletics*

Physical culture is the basic culture. 'A sound mind in a sound body' was not unknown to the ancient Tamils. A deep perusal of the Sangam Literature will reveal that the Tamils of Yore have participated in various athletic activities with great interest and profound pleasure and improved their physical personality. Well developed physical personality was one of basic qualifications of an ambassador.[18] Physical strength coupled with bravery was considered as a hallmark in the matrimonial field. The young man of the sylvan land (Mullai) had to face the ferocious and strong bull in an organized combat and bring it under his control in order to win a bride for his marriage. The bride would accept only the victor of the contest as her suitable husband. The sportsman who came out with flying colours was appreciated and admired by one and all.[19] The young man was generally mentioned by the name *'bull'* implying thereby he should possess sufficient strength and man power.[20] Apart from the sportsmen of Herculean muscles, the ancient Tamil-Nad has witnessed active and energetic sportswomen who have distinguished themselves in various athletic activities. They were experts in the art of playing ball, swinging, etc., as evidenced from *Silappathikaram*.[21] Men and women dived and swam in the fresh waters of the River Vaigai at Madurai and enjoyed to their hearts content the Kaleidoscopic variety of aquatic activities.[22] Hence it goes without saying that the ancient Tamils took active part in various sports and games and improved their physical skill, talent and strength and led a long life usefully and joyfully.

17. *Kural* 247.
18. *Kural* 684.
19. *Kalithogai* 101 to 104.
20. *Purananooru* 312.
21. *Silappathikaram* canto 29; stanzas 20 to 25.
22. *Paripadal* 10 : 71—88.

10. *Military*

While enumerating the six state agencies, army was given the first place.[23] It is a well known truth that army alone can defend the country from foreign aggression and maintain peace in the land and uphold the national prestige. Courage coupled with patriotism was the basic qualification of a soldier. Physical strength was considered as an additional qualification. It is an acknowledged psychological truth 'where there is will there is a way.' A keen perusal of the military science revealed in the Sangam Literature discloses the fact that mental aptitude was given a higher priority than the physical fitness at the time of recruitment. Every effort was made to maintain the quality of the army. In other words, the army consisting of a few but the best men was preferred to that of the useless and huge mob. Such is the military secret that has been revealed by Thiruvalluvar.[24] The mother always felt joy and pride when she heard that her son fought the battle with martial spirit and valour.[25] The very expression *'Moodhin Mullai* has a military connotation which refers to the valour of women. Though they did not go to the battle front, they had the military spirit sprung up from their patriotic sentiments. The brave mothers alone can produce the brave soldiers. It was considered an unpardonable and serious disgrace to sustain injuries at the back. On the other hand, sustaining injuries at the chest, however fatal it might be, was considered a unique honour. The battle was fought during the broad day light only by previous arrangement and mutual consent. The special feature of the military etiquette was that the soldiers of the opposition regiment who showed a clean pair of heels were not chased. It was considered a dishonour to chase or attack the runway soldiers. The soldiers who fought and sacrificed their lives at the battlefield were remembered with gratitude. Their statues were installed in their memory[26]

11. *Polity*

The Sangam Age witnessed monarchy. It was neither a tyrannical monarchy not an ordinary one but a benevolent and welfare

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23. *Kural* 381.
24. *Kural* 763.
25. *Purananooru* 278.
26. *Ainkurunoor* 352, *Kural* 771, *Purananooru* 232, 260, 306, 329.

monarchy in the real sense of the term. Though the ancient Tamil-Nad was a single nation culturally, there were three political entities, viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms. There were also many chieftains who ruled small territories under the control of one of the three monarchs. The king was mentioned by several names among which the term *'Kavalan'* deserves a special analysis. It has two semantic units viz., *'Ka'* (Protect, defend) and *'valan'* (able person) meaning thereby able protector. Hence a king was expected to protect his subjects and defend their faith, virtue, culture etc. The word *'Kavalan'* more or less corresponds to the English term 'Defender of the Faith'. Though the king was the unquestionable gubernatorial authority of the land, he consulted his council of ministers, poets and elder statesmen and took their advice on important issues. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar has devoted 10 chapters (100 couplets) dealing with various important aspects of ministry, corroborates the vital role of council of ministers in the Government. The ancient Tamil kings ruled the land with greater amount of moral responsibility as evidenced from the words of Cheran Senguttuvan.[27] The same thought has been voiced by Shakespeare, 'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.'[28] The prosperity and virtues of the land entirely depend upon the righteousness of the government. If a king does not govern properly the revenue will diminish and the industries will fail flat.[29] The two terms found in this couplet viz., *apayan* and *aruthozhilor* have been misinterpreted by Parlimelazhagar. *'Apayan'* means source of revenue, aruthozhilor signifies people affiliated to six occupations, viz., agriculture, industries, painting, Commerce, education and sculpture. (*Thivakaramudaiyar*: *Nikantu*).

12. *Economics*

Wealth was considered as one of the four main entities realized by the ancient Tamils. At the individual level, every man worked to earn his daily bread and maintained his family. There are many instances where the husband or lover went to distant places to earn wealth leaving his better half at home. Man was expected

27. *Silappathikaram* 25 : 100–104.
28. Henry IV, II, III, I 31.
29. *Kural* 560.

to render service and work hard.[30] Spending the ancestor's property was considered more shameful than begging.[31] The Chola, Pandya and Chera kings improved agriculture, pearl-fishery, and forest wealth respectively and developed the national economy. They levied reasonable tax. They did not kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. They were fully aware of the fact that they could not increase the national Exchequer by tax alone nor was it desirable. The only way to improve the national economy was to tap new sources and increase the production in every field. Though many industries were in vogue the ancient Tamil-Nad was based on agricultural economy.[32]

Hence it can be said that agriculture is our ancient culture which is capable of driving hunger and disease from the land. Thiruvalluvar has envisaged such a type of land.[33] The economic principles realised by the Tamil Savants were based on sound reason which can stand the test of time. One should live within one's means,[33a] wealth should be earned by righteous means,[b] and purpose of earning money is not to hoard but to distribute it for the welfare of the people[34] are some of the main economic principles involved in Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil cities like Pugar, Madurai etc., were the seats of fabulous wealth. Many poets embraced some occupation or other and maintained the dignity of labour. Idleness was viewed with contempt and labour, whatever might be its nature, was observed with great respect. Inequality among various occupations was not felt. In short, the economic history of the ancient Tamils can be summed up as: they worked hard, earned well and spent usefully and enjoyed their life.

13. *Commerce*

It is an acknowledged historical fact that ancient Tamil-Nad had commercial intercourse with different countries of the world. Exports and imports of various commodities were in full swing. Kaviripoompattinam was not only a great sea port of the Chola

30. *Kurunthogai* 135.
31. *Kurunthogai* 283.
32. *Kural* 1032.
33. *Kural* 734.
33a. Kural 478.
33b. Kural 755.
34. *Purananooru* 189.

kingdom but also an international emporium with a cosmopolitan atmosphere.[35] The Chera country exported pepper to Greece and Rome by ships and in return she received bullions of gold. Musiri was a port of the Chera land, full of commercial activities.[35a] Imayavaranban and Chenguttuvan improved the foreign trade. Exchange of articles was the special feature in the field of trade and commerce. For instance, paddy the (produce of the arable land) and salt (of the littoral tract) were exchanged commercially.[36] The famous market at Madurai in the Pandyan Capital was planned so perfectly that every row was assigned to a particular catagory of commodity. There was a flag with a specific emblem indicating the article sold in the shop. There were day markets and evening markets in Madurai where all the articles under the sun were sold. The merchants were given moral encouragement in their commercial enterprise by the kings. The successful merchants were honoured with the title 'Etti'. They enjoyed recognition from every section of the society. The speciality of the trade and commerce of ancient Tamil-Nad was that each and every code of commercial ethics was respected in practical life. Perfect justice was maintained in every commercial transaction.[37] Thiruvalluvar has indicated precisely the inevitability of righteousness in the field of commerce.[38] In fine, commerce and trade flourished in such a handsome manner because they were based on perfect virtue and completely free from black-marketing, food adulteration and other malpractices. This was the only secret for the glorious success of the ancient Tamil merchants.

14. *Industries*

The ancient Tamil-Nad witnessed various industries which determined the economic standard of the country. Small scale cottage industries flourished in every village of the land. Various metal works, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, leather works, and manufacture of variety of instruments characterized the industrial field of ancient Tamil-Nad. Among these industries, weaving occupied the most outstanding position. In fact, weaving

35. *Pattinapalai* LL 213–218.

35a. Agananooru 149.

36. Agananooru 140.

37. *Pattinapalai* LL 206–212.

38. *Kural* 120.

was second only to agriculture. The commentary in Silappadhikaram throws a flood of light on 36 varieties of cloths manufactured in the Sangam Age.[39] A linguistic analysis of all the words referring to cloth will reveal the significant role of ancient textiles. For instance, thuni, thundu, vetti, sela, koadi, pudavai, thugil, koorai, kalingam, vudai, vudukai, vuduppu, adai, meyppai, chattai, seelai, pavadai, kachai, angiravikkai, kovanam, kandangi, pagai, thirai, mukkadu, thavani, noolakkalingam, poarvai, vattu, methai, summadu, padam, merkattirattuthuni, kodi, vuri, parvattam, aruvai, seerai, ponnadai, paruthi, pattu, panjandai, venpanjadai, are some of the terms which connote either the cloth in general or a particulr kind of cloth. Almost all the above words are found in the Sangam Literature. The various similies which are employed in the description of the texture of cloth corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the excellence and fineness of quality. Textile industry was not the monopoly of men. Women too, took an active part in the industries. The women weavers were known as *'Paruthi Pendir*.[40] There was a particular colony at Madurai which was occupied by weavers. It was popularly known as *'aruvai Veedhi'*.[41] A part of Mayavaram (Thanjavur District) is to-day known as Keranad, a word derived from *Koorai nadu*, which means the land of textiles. There is another village near Kumbakonam in the same district by the name 'Thugili' which has derived from the word *'thugil'* which means cloth. Even to-day it proves a small textile centre. Industries in general and textiles in particular flourished in ancient Tamil-Nad. To all intents and purposes, textiles (cloth) was placed on par with agriculture (food).[42] There is every reason to think that in Malaya, Tamilians are mentioned as *'Kileng'*, a word that has derived from *Kalingam*, because ancient Tamil-Nad has exported cloths to eastern countries in large quantity.

15. *Fine Arts*

The Tamil culture was classified into three parts, viz., literature, music and drama (*Muthamizh*). It is a unique feature of the Tamil culture. The human faculty consists of intellectual,

39. *Silappadhikaram* 14 : 106–112 commentary of *Adiyarkunallar*.
40. *Purananooru* 125, 326.
41. *Silappathikaram* 14 : 207.
42. *Purananooru* 189.

emotional and physical aspects. They are known as thinking, feeling and willing respectively. The intellectual faculty blossoms into literature, the emotional part results in music and the physical aspect leads to drama. Music and drama come under the jurisdiction of fine arts. Music, which occupies the central position, serves a harmonious link between literature and drama. The word *'isai'* which implies music has a signficant meaning. It means to make the audience yield. To amplify it, music should have a melodious capacity and a harmonious appeal to the very core of the heart of the audience and create immense pleasure.[43] The very fact that all the Sangam literatures are in the form of poetry indicates clearly that the ancient Tamil writers had a musical bent of mind. The sentiments as well as thoughts were expressed through the metrical medium. The four main metrical forms viz., venba, agaval, vanji and Kalippa are based on perfect music. There were three main categories of musical instruments viz., wind instrument, string instrument and percussion instrument represented by flute (Kuẓal) lyre (yāẓ) and drum (Muẓavu) respectively. The unique feature of these three words is that the special letter ẓ which is peculiar to Tamil is found in every word. Hence it corroborates the high antiquity of Tamil music. Tolkappiyam and Perssiriyer's commentary throw an ample light on technicalities of drama. *Silappadhikaram,* an epic in tripartitie Tamil gives a Kaleidoscopic variety of music, dance, aesthetics and drama. The Canto on *Arangettram* and the *commentaries* on it form a book of knowledge in fine arts. Painting was one of the fine arts which deserves a special mention. Paripadal gives a detail of paintings on various themes. The sketh was known as Punya Ovium.[44] Apart from these, fine arts, sculpture, embroidery and various types of workmanship were in vogue. The various fine arts that flourished proclaim to the world the emotional development and aesthetic advancement of the Tamils of yore.

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43. *Poranaratruppadai* LL 21-22.
44 *Manimekalai* 16 : 131.

VEDIC SOURCES OF THE ŚĀRṄGAKA LEGEND OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By RAM GOPAL*

The *Mahābhārata,* which is a veritable store-house of ancient Indian lore, has considerably drawn upon the Vedic literature; and numerous legends, names, metres and grammatical forms found in the *Mahābhārata* trace their origin to Vedic sources. It appears that either the author of the *Mbh.* is so deeply versed in the Vedic lore that vedic ideas and phrases readily present themselves to his mind and figure in his writings, or he makes a deliberate attempt to display his Vedic erudition in his writings as often as he can. The "Śārṅgaka Upākhyāna" of the *Mbh.* provides a tangible instance of Vedic influence on the Epic.

According to the *Mbh. I,* 228–232, the Śārṅgaka legend is briefly as follows:—

A learned sage named *Mandapāla* who had performed great austerities observing celibacy went to the world of the Fathers after his death, but he found there that the worlds won through his austerities were devoid of all rewards and pleasures. On his inquiries the gods advised him to beget offspring to reap the fruits of his austerities. In order to beget abundant progency in a short time Mandapāla approached birds abounding in offspring. Having assumed the form of a *Śārṅgaka* bird, he took a female bird (*Śārṅgikā*) named Jaritā as his spouse and begot four sons who were versed in the sacred lore (*Brahmavādinaḥ*). Then he forsook Jaritā together with her four sons and allied with another female bird named Lapitā. When the god Agni, aided by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, began to burn the Khāṇḍava forest, Mandapāla became apprehensive of the safety of his sons and prayed to Agni who promised to spare his sons. Meanwhile, Jaritā who was frightened by the conflagration advised her sons to take shelter in a nearby hole made by mice. The sons did not accept her advice and requested her to fly away for her safety. After Jaritā had flown away leaving them to their fate, each of the four sons, viz. Jaritāri,

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Sārisṛkva, Stambamitra and Droṇa, praised the god Agni in separate stanzas for their safety. As already promised to Mandapāla, the god Agni did not burn the four sons of Mandapāla. Thus the main story narrates how the lives of the four sons of the sage Mandapāla wa spared by the god Agni as a result of prayers offered to the god.

Many constituents of this legend are clearly traceable to various sources in Vedic literature. According to the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana, the four Śārṅga Ṛṣis, who composed two stanzas each of the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142 addressed to Agni, are known by the names of Jaritṛ, Droṇa, Sārisṛkva and Stambamitra.[1] The Mbh. mentions Jaritā (a norminal stem ending in ā) as the name of Mandapāla's wife and Jaritāri as the name of his eldest son, whereas Jaritṛ (a nominal stem ending in ṛ) is the name of one of the four Ṛṣis of the above-mentioned Hymn according to the *Sarvānukramāṇī*. Excepting for this discrepancy, there is complete agreement between the *Mbh.* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* in regard to the names of the remaining three Śārṅga sages, viz. Droṇa, Sārisṛkva and Stambamitra.

Several verses of the *Mbh.* attributed to the abovementioned four sons of Mandapāla agree in substance with some stanzas of the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142. The main idea contained in the *RV.* X, 142, 1 is found in the *Mbh.* I, 231, 9.[2] The *Mbh.* verses (I, 231,

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1. *Bṛhaddevatā* VIII, 54– आग्नेयं वैश्वदेवं च अयमित्यत्र तु द्वृचाः ।
शार्ङ्गाश्चत्वार ऋषयो अग्निमार्चन्पृथक्पृथक् ॥

Sarvānukramaṇī about *RV.* X, 142– अयमष्टौ द्वृचाः शार्ङ्गा जरिता द्रोणः सारिसृक्वः स्तंबमित्रश्चाग्नेयमाद्ये जगत्यौ चतस्रश्च त्रिष्टुभः ।

In place of सारिसृक्वः the variant reading सारिसृक्तः and सारिसृक्कः are also found, but Macdonell has accepted the reading सारिसृक्वः on good authority.

2. *RV.* X, 142, 1–

अयमग्ने जरिता त्वे अभूदपि सहसः सूनो नह्यऽन्यदस्त्याप्यम् ।
भद्रं हि शर्म त्रिवरूथमस्ति त आरे हिंसानामप दिद्युमा कृधि ॥

Mbh. I, 231, 9–

माता प्रणष्टा पितरं न विद्मः पक्षा जाता नैव नो धूमकेतो ।
न नस्त्राता विद्यते वै त्वदन्यस्तस्मादस्मांस्त्राहि बालांस्त्वमग्ने ॥

17—19) contain some phrases and ideas similar to those found in the *RV*. X, 142, 7-8.[3]

It is worth mentioning that some epic verses, which bear no resemblance to the Ṛgvedic verses, closely resemble in wording and thought certain Mantras of the *Yajurveda-Saṃhitās*.[4] It is quite likely that the author of the *Mbh.* skilfully blended together the ideas and phrases contained in different texts to show off his scholarship. Moreover, some popular Vedic ideas concerning the functions and attributes of the god Agni, which are found scattered all over the Vedic literature, are presented in the *Mbh.* in very simple stanzas.[5]

Despite the above-noted parallels between the *Mbh.* and the Vedic works mentioned above, there is absolutely no trace of the legend of the *Mbh.* referred to above in Vedic literature. However, Sāyaṇa sees a reference to the Śārṅgaka legend in the Ṛgvedic Hymn

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3. *RV*. X, 142, 7-8—

अपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
अन्यं कृणुष्वेतः पन्थां तेन याहि वशाँ अनु ॥
आयने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहन्तु पुष्पिणीः ।
ह्रदाश्च पुण्डरीकाणि समुद्रस्य गृहा इमे ॥

Mbh. I, 231, 17—19—

त्वत्त एताः पुनः शुक्र वीरुधो हरितच्छदाः ।
जायन्ते पुष्करिण्यश्च सुभद्रश्च महोदधिः ॥
इदं वै सद्म तिग्मांशो वरुणस्य परायणम् ।
शिवस्त्राता भवास्माकं मास्मानद्य विनाशय ॥
पिङ्गाक्ष लोहितग्रीव कृष्णवर्त्मन् हुताशन ।
परेण परेहि मुञ्चास्मान्सागरस्य गृहानिव ॥

4. अपामिदं न्ययनꣳ समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
अन्यं ते अस्मत्तपन्तु हेतयः पावको अस्मभ्यꣳ शिवो भव ॥

VS. 17, 7; *TS*. IV, 6, 1, 3; *MS*. II, 10, 1; *Āśv. Ś. S.* II, 12 : 84. KS. 17, 17 reads विमोचनम् in place of निवेशनम् ।

Mbh. I, 231, 10— यदग्ने ते शिवं रूपं ये च ते सप्त हेतयः ।
तेन नः परिपाहि त्वामार्त्तान्वै शरणैषिणः ॥

Cf. *Mbh*. I, 231, 18 cd in footnote 3.

Cf. *Mbh*. I, 228, 23—30; I, 231, 7—19.

X, 142 and explains it accordingly.[6] Following Sāyaṇa, Sieg also sees a connection between the epic legend and the Ṛgvdic Hymn in question and attempts to elucidate the difficult stanzas of the Hymn with the help of this legend.[7] If we accept Sāyaṇa's view on the relationship between the epic legend and the Ṛgvedic Hymn X, 142, it would pose a serious problem about the relative chronology of the *RV*. and the *Mbh.*, and would suggest that the Hymn in question was composed after the incident of *Khāṇḍava* conflagration. Though we always have an open mind on all questions concerning the chronology of the ancient Indian texts, yet there is nothing in the Vedic literature to indicate that the legend of Mandapāla and his four sons was in any way known to the authors of any Vedic texts. There is no reference of any kind to any character of this legend in the Vedas. The word *Jaritā*[8] is a nominative singular of the nominal stem *Jaritṛ* which is simply a common noun signifying 'a singer' and is not a proper noun as construed in the epic legend. Excepting for this word, there is nothing in this Hymn to suggest that it has got any connection with the legend. Stanzas 1—6 of the Hymn are addressed as praises and prayers to Agni, while the last two stanzas (7 & 8) of the Hymn, which differ from the preceding ones in metre style and tenor, are found with some variants in the later Saṃhitās also.[9] About these two stanzas of the Hymn, Griffith remarks:—"Stanzas 7 and 8 seem to belong to some other hymn, being a prayer to Agni that he may spare the speaker's house, where, he says, there is nothing to invite the devouring God."[10]

There is, however, one noteworthy feature of the *RV*. X, 142, which has got some relevance to the epic legend under reference.

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6. Sāyaṇa on *RV*. X, 142, 7— "इत्थं खाण्डववनस्य दाहे प्रवृत्तमग्निं जरितृप्रभृतयः स्वात्मनो रक्षणकामास्तुष्टुवुः ।"

7. Emil Sieg, "*Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda und die indische Itihāsatradition,*" Stuttgart 1902, pp. 44—50.

8. RV. X. 142. 1.

9. Cf. *AV*. VI, 106, 1-2—

आयने ते परायणे दूर्वा रोहतु पुष्पिणी ।
उत्सो वा तत्र जायतां ह्रदो वा पुण्डरीकवान् ॥
अपामिदं न्ययनं समुद्रस्य निवेशनम् ।
मध्ये ह्रदस्य नो गृहाः पराचीना मुखा कृधि ॥

See footnotes 3 and 4.

10. Griffith's English Translation of the *RV*., page 587, footnote.

The verses occurring in this Hymn are prescribed by various ritual authorities as charms for warding off the danger of fire. The *Ṛgvidhāna* (IV, 11, 1) prescribes the recitation of this Hymn in a ritual intended to dispel the fear of fire. The last two verses of this Hymn, which occur in the *AV*. also with some variants (see footnotes 3 & 8), are prescribed by the *Kauśika Sūtra* in a ritual for removing the danger of fire from the house.[11]

In the light of the evidence adduced above, it may be safely assumed that the author of the *Mbh.*, who was probably conversant with various Vedic traditions concerning the above-mentioned Mantras, adroitly wove their import into his epic legend; and that the epithet *Śārṅga,* which is employed in all probability as a *Gotra* name by the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* for the four Ṛṣis of the *RV*. X, 142, provided a cue to the author of the *Mbh.* to transform the four Ṛṣis into the four birds (*Śārṅgakas*) of the epic legend. It is also not unlikely that a similar legend handed down by oral tradition formed the basis of this legend embodied in the *Mbh.* In any case there is nothing to corroborate Sāyaṇa's view that the *RV*. X, 142 traces its origin to the epic legend concerning the *Khāṇḍava* conflagration. On the contrary, all available evidence points to the conclusion that the *RV*. Hymn in question has been drawn upon by the author of the *Mbh.* for the composition of the *Śārṅgaka legend.*

ABBREVIATIONS

Āśv. Ś.S.	—Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV.	—Atharvaveda.
KS.	—Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā.
Mbh.	—Mahābhārata.
MS.	—Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā.
RV.	—Ṛgveda.
TS.	—Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.
VS.	—Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

11. *Kauśika Sūtra* 52, 5–7– श्रायन इति शमनमन्तरा ह्रदं करोति। शाले च। श्रवकया शालां परितनोति।
Cf. Sāyaṇa on *AV*. VI, 106, 1– श्रनेन श्रग्निकृतबाधस्यात्यन्ताभावः प्रार्थितः।"
Cf. Griffith's remarks as noted above.

VOPADEVA AND HEMĀDRI ON BHAKTIRASA

By DR. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

जयन्ति वोपदेवस्य वाचो विद्वत्सु संस्तुताः।
घनसारोज्ज्वलाभासाः क्षीरोदस्येव वीचयः ।[1]

—Madhusūdana Sarasvatī

I

In the history of Indian Literature, we see the pride of place accorded to religious works in the beginning. After the Vedas which are invested with unique scriptural authority, we come across the epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, which in their own way give expression to the religious emotion. However secular they might have been in their *ur*-from, they soon gathered accretions applauding Rāmabhakti and Kṛṣṇabhakti. The movement of Bhakti is seen gathering momentum in the *Purāṇas* until it reaches the summit in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the bible of Bhāgavata religion.

At the same time, we also see the rise and growth of secular literature in the atmosphere of royal courts. Our classical playwrights like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Śūdraka, as well as poets like Bhāravi and Māgha, and even prose-writers like Bāṇa, no doubt show an intimate awareness of and high regard for the vast religious literature and even adapt some of their themes from that source; but their art or poetic diction is something quite new. The ornate and sophisticated Kāvya style in Sanskrit is influenced more and more by the rules of rhetoricians; and in the treatment of themes the poets are more secular than religious.

A study of the rules of poetic theory from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha will reveal how the theorists were concerned all the time only with the cultivated Kāvya literature and went to the extent of denying the title of Kāvya to religious literature despite their deference

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1. See Commentary on *Harilīlāmṛtaṁ* of Vopadeva, Chowkhamba Edn., Benares, 1932.

to it. *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* were a class by themselves; they were not Kāvya. Similarly systems of philosophy like Vedānta, however valuable their teachings, were clearly distinguished from Kāvya. They were all śāstra; but not Kāvya, because they lacked Rasa, the unique soul of Kāvya. Neither Bharata, the father of the Rasa theory, nor any of his numerous commentators from Lallaṭa to Abhinavagupta conceive of the possibility of any Rasa in the *Vedas, Itihāsas* or *Purāṇas*.

The history of the Rasa concept in Sanskrit poetics is very interesting in as much as it shows secular and aesthetic foundations, getting coloured in course of time by spiritual and religious considerations. The original text of Bharata's *Nāṭya śāstra,* knows only of eight rasas, which are all secular; and the addition of Śānta into the text, whether by Udbhaṭa or any other authority, is characteristic of the later attitude of finding a place for a poetic rasa corresponding to the highest puruṣārtha, viz., mokṣa, ostensibly. The *summum bonum* was held in ancient times to be the concern of only a few and in literature which catered to the entertainment of the many, mokṣa could not have any central place. In the classical definition of Rasa propounded by Bharata and accepted by later theorists, universal and basic sentiments alone viz., love and anger, fear and sorrow, mirth and repulsion, wonder and disgust were counted as providing scope for rasa or aesthetic delight when developed at length in drama or poetry with suitable conditions, viz., proper settings and resultant emotions and feelings (vibhāvas and anubhāvas). The sthāyibhāva, then is a basic pre-requisite of rasa and there can be no rasa without it. Though the gamut of human emotions, feelings and moods (bhāvas) is vast, Kāvya-rasa is possible only in the treatment of the primary sentiments (sthāyibhāvas) which are not only rooted in human nature but also capable of governing a worldly personality as long as a life-time. It is obvious, then, that the lives of saints devoted to the pursuit of mokṣa, however adorable, fall outside the scope of aesthetic rasas capable of general appeal. There was no denying that detachment or tranquility *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya* or *śama* was a human bhāva or emotion; only it was not a universal sthāyibhāva. Such was the orthodox view.

But existing literature like the *Mahābhārata* with its *Bhagavadgītā* posed a challenge to the theorists. It could not be explained in terms of the Rasa theory unless Śānta was admitted, and a sthāyibhāva like śama was added to the list of existing eight.

It was therefore admitted by authorities like Ānandavardhana. But Abhinavagupta who was something of a saint also besides being a thinker on the philosophy of art, went much further and said that Śānta alone is Rasa *par excellence* and all the other rasas are but variations thereof.

II

Corresponding to the new philosophy of Rasa in which Śānta was given the supreme status as the essence of all rasas, the question of Bhakti remained to be discussed at length and its status decided in textbooks on poetics. Though Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta were both admirers of Bhakti or the religious sentiment or of devotion,[2] though it is certain that they were familiar with the vast Bhakti literature in Sanskrit, they did not envisage Bhakti to come anywhere in their Rasa-scheme. That was because in their time Bhakti was possibly reckoned as an indirect means to mokṣa the place of direct means being reserved for wisdom or jñāna. Bhakti might possibly quicken the dawn of wisdom which ushered in *Brahmānanda*, but was not itself of the nature of ānanda or bliss. Ancient theorists like Daṇḍin had no doubt noted in their *Preyas Alaṅkāra*, the effusion of devotion resulting in delight, even as sentiments like paternal love (vātsalya) and friendship (Sneha). But since Preyas is distinct from *'rasavat'*, in their analysis as well as in the aesthetic philosophy of the new school, they could all be properly explained as bhāvas only, since the love of the sexes alone constituted the sthāyibhāva of rati. The status of bhakti in the New School was only that of Bhāva and never that of Rasa. And this classical view held the field as late as Dhanañjaya, Mammaṭa and Jagannātha. Neither Rudrata nor Bhoja who counted new rasas did anything to improve the status of Bhakti.

But the credit of re-examining the status of Bhakti in all its bearings should go to Vopadeva, the author of the *Muktāphala*, which has been published with Hemādri's commentary, *Kaivalyadīpikā* in the Calcutta Oriental Series in 1944. The *Muktāphala* was

2. Cf. Ānandavardhana's verse—

या व्यापारवती रसान् रसयितुं काचित्कवीनां न वा
दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती।
ते द्वे अप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमनिशं निर्वर्णयन्तो वयं
श्रान्ता नैव च लब्धमब्धिशयन त्वद्भक्तितुल्यं सुखम् ॥

—Quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

written under Rāmarāja, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad near Aurangabad) in about 1250 A.D. Hemādri was Vopadeva's contemporary and patron and is famous as the author of the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*.[3] Whether the commentary also is from Vopadeva's pen though it is ascribed to Hemādri is a point difficult to decide. While explaining selected quotations from the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Vopadeva and Hemādri make out a brilliant case for the recognition of Bhakti as the Rasa *par excellence*, the well-known nine being only so many variations of Bhaktirasa only in so far as the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* at least is concerned.

Modern scholars like S. K. De and P. V. Kane have nothing to say about Vopadeva and Hemādri in their histories of Sanskrit poetics. Dr. V. Raghavan in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* makes just a passing rererence to Hemādri's reference to Bhoja's new rasas. In these circumstances, the commonly prevalent view is that the plea for Bhakti-rasa was advocated only by late Vaiṣṇava authors from Bengal like Rūpagosvāmin, Jīvagosvāmin as late as the 16th century, not to speak of the still later Madhusudana Sarasvati.[4]

Vopadeva and Hemādri are not only conversant with the classical views of literary theorists like Bhoja, Dhanañjaya, Mammaṭa and Hemachandra, but also critical of these. They brilliantly point out that the *Bhāgavata* is explicit in characterising any kind of mental attachment to the Lord as Bhakti and that every episode in the *Purāṇa* is illustrative of it in one or the other of its eighteen forms. The subsequent literature not only in Sanskrit but in modern Indian languages like Marathi, Bengali, Hindi and Kannaḍa, amply justify the stand of Vopadeva and Hemādri. We soon see the element of devotion coming to assert itself in the realm of popular narrative poetry despite the rules of orthodox poetics denying Bhakti a place among the Kāvya-rasas.

The philosophical analysis of Bhakti given by Vopadeva and Hemādri arrests our attention and merits our appreciation. The heroes and heroines of the usual nine rasas, themselves become so many kinds of bhaktas when they enter into relation with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Gopis represent the two varieties of Śṛṅgāra, hāsya etc. The wailings of Arjuna, Uddhava, etc. at the demise of Kṛṣṇa illustrate the Karuṇa rasa of the bhakta. Hiraṇyakaśipu and Śiśupāla are

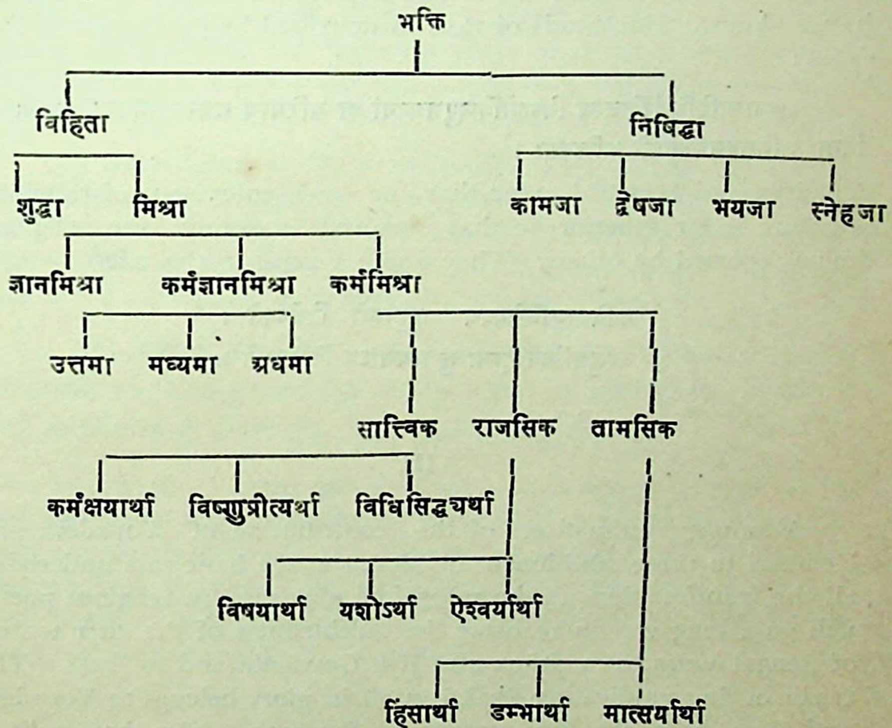
3. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I., p. 354 ff.

4. Cf. (1) S. K. De, *I. H. Q.* Vol. VIII.

(2) A. K. Guha, *Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume III.*

examples of Raudra-rasa. The symbols of Bhayānaka are Kaṁsa etc., seers like Nārada provide examples of śānta rasa. Similarly we see Vīra in characters like Bali, Bībhatsa in Purūravas and Adbhuta in Akrūra and Prahlāda. All these characters share human emotions without losing their intrinsic status of bhaktas. Whether fighting with the Lord as Kaṁsa or doting upon him as the Gopīs, they are all devotees alike. That is Bhāgavata religion. Such a modified view of Bhakti-rasa alone can explain the unfailing general appeal of a vast body of later Indian literature.[5]

Nor is it all. The philosophy of Bakti propounded by Vopadeva and Hemādri supplies also the philosophical foundation for the varieties of possible Bhakti, linking them with the three guṇas or essential aspects of nature and human nature, viz. sattva, rajas and tamas.[6] In all, there are 18 forms of Bhakti which can be expressed conveniently in a tabular form:—



5. Cf. स नवधा भक्तः । भक्तिरसस्यैव हास्यश्रृङ्गार-करुण-रौद्र-भयानक-बीभत्स-शान्ताद्भुत-वीररूपेणानुभवात् । —*Op. Cit.*, p. 164.

6. ते चामी नवापि सुखदुःखमोहात्मकत्रैगुण्यव्यतिकरोद्भवाः । तथा हि प्रथमे त्रयो रजोमूलाः । मध्यास्तु तमोमूलाः चरमे सत्त्वमूला इति । Loc. cit.

Of these, śuddhā alone is Perfect Bhakti and it is vihitā or prescribed by scripture. It is attainable only by Perfect Sages. Thirteen are the varieties which are miśra or mixed, either with jñāna alone or karma alone or both. All karma or action involves one or the other of Nature's guṇas, and while sattva fosters good, rajas is drawn by ambition and tamas prefers violence and show, even while following scriptural injunction. And departure from the prescribed life also includes relationship with the Lord by way of passion, hatred, fear or friendship. While such an explication of Bhakti is wide enough to include even the atheist and the ignorant under its fold, it can, at the same time, raise the bliss of Bhakti to a status superior to that of mokṣa itself, in its perfect state..

What then, is Bhakti-rasa? The answer is easy now. It is the experience of delight brought about by hearing or reading the accounts of the Lord or the Lord's devotees, coming under one of the well-known nine heads of rasa, as described by great authors like Vyāsa:

व्यासादिभिर्वर्णितस्य विष्णोर्विष्णुभक्तानां वा चरित्रस्य नवरसात्मकस्य श्रवणादिना जनितश्चमत्कारो भक्तिरसः ।

Vopadeva and Hemādri opine that one's own enjoyment of religious literature is far superior to that involved in seeing even religious dramas enacted by others. They quote a verse to this effect:

कविवागभिनेयश्च तदुपायो द्विधेष्यते ।
वस्तुशक्तिमहिम्ना तु प्रथमोऽत्र विशिष्यते ।।

III

A proper estimation of the contribution of Vopadeva and Hemādri to the establishment of Bhakti as the basic rasa underlying all the manifestations of the recognised nine rasas in religious poetry will go a long way in realising the indebtedness of the later writers of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin and so forth. The credit of first vindicating Bhakti in all its glory belongs to Vopadeva and Hemādri of the 13th century. It is wrong to give that credit to his followers. The influence of Vopadeva and Hemādri on the succeeding writers extends even to details as a study of works like *Bhakti-*

7. Loc. cit. p. 167.

rasāmṛta-sindhu,[8] *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*[9] and *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana*[10] will bear out.

There is, however, one important difference between Vopadeva and later Vaiṣṇava writers. The gosvāmins and Madhusūdana regard Śṛṅgāra as the rasa-rāja or the best of all rasas. Vopadeva does not share this view.[11] The erotic excesses indulged in by some later Vaiṣṇava poets could well have been saved if Vopadeva's views were heeded betimes. Eroticism can only be a concession to mass psychology; and is surely not entitled in itself to be regarded as the best form of Bhakti :

Even our rapid survey has shown how the centre of gravity shifted from secular or aesthetic values to religious value in the assessment of literary works by the 13th century. The establishment of Bhaktirasa, not as an additional tenth rasa, but as the only rasa at the root of all the rest, shows how popular feeling and scholarly opinion combined to give a greater place to religious literature than secular poetry at about 1250 A.D. This is a signal contribution of Deccan to the history of criticism in India.

The importance of the contribution was realised so much by scholars that the anonymous *Bhakti-sūtra* text, viz., *Bhaktimīmāṁsā* published by Dr. Gopi Natha Kaviraja in the Princess of Wales *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies,* Vol. II in 1923, completely follows the lead of Vopadeva and Hemādri. Its first few sūtras read :

(१) अथातो भक्तिजिज्ञासा। (२) भक्तिर्मनस उल्लासविशेष: (३) भाव एवेयमित्येके (४) रसस्तु तत्सामग्रीत उत्पत्त:। (५) स द्विविधो निर्गुणः सगुणश्च। (६) अन्त्यो नवविधो भोक्तृभेदात्। (७) नवविधश्चैषः पुराणादिषु।

Thus we see the strange phenomenon in India of *Purāṇas* which were said to be नीरस and outside the sphere of Kāvya in the beginning, coming in course of time to rank as the best of all literature. This was just the period when Bhakti came to be held as a *Puruṣārtha* more blissful than mokṣa itself and when the Bhakta came to be held in greater regard than the jñānin.

8. *Acyuta granthamālā,* Benares.

9. K. M. Edn. Bombay, 1913.

10. *Acyuta Granthamālā,* Benares.

11. नात्र कैवल्यपरे शास्त्रे भक्तिपर: शृङ्गार: प्रधानमिति द्योतयितुमाचार्येण नैष प्रथममुक्त:। Loc Cit.

RETURN TO KĀLIDĀSA'S ṚTU-SAṀHĀRA[1]

By R. B. KULSHRESHTHA

Since I drew attention of scholars to the fact that Kālidāsa, as was his practice in later days, borrowed the basic idea of *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa, a wealth of fresh evidence has come to my notice, which further confirms my opinion about Kālidāsa's high indebtedness to this impressive treatise on the Fine Arts of Ancient India. Reference was particularly made to the Ślokas 73 to 79 in adhyāya 42 called *Rūpanirmāṇam* in the section on Painting which is called *Citrasūtra* to which are devoted adhyāyas 35 to 43 from the total adhyāyas of 118 of the third khaṇḍa.[2] A close reading of these seven Ślokas shows that the details enlisted in them regarding the depiction of the various seasons have received faithful obeisance from Kalidasa in his *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*. Compare, for instance, Ślokas about Spring

वृक्षैर्वसन्तजैः फुल्लैः कोकिलामधुपोत्कटैः ।।
प्रहृष्टनरनारीकं वसन्तं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।

with

पुंस्कोकिलैः कलवचोभिरुपात्तहर्षैः
कूजद्भिरुन्मदकलानि वचांसि भृङ्गैः ।
लज्जान्वितं सविनयं हृदयं क्षणेन
पर्याकुलं कुलगृहेऽपि कृतं वधूनाम् ।।

(*Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*, VI—21) —

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1. When I sent my article on the Source of Kālidāsa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra* (published in *The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. XXII, Parts 1-2, Nov. 1965—Feb. 1966) to Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra, he congratulated me for it and expressed his desire in these words: "I would have liked you write something more on it; however, you will continue to write something on Kalidasa and his idea of beauty and his method of presenting the theme in a manner appealing to an average reader." (Letter dated 1st September 1966). It would be, I feel, a fitting tribute to the memory of the great and distinguished scholar if I write here something more on Kalidasa's *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*.

2. *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khanda, Volume I, ed. Dr. Priyabala Shah, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1958.

or compare Śloka 77

सफलद्रुमसंयुक्तां पक्वसस्यां वसुन्धराम् ।
सहंसपद्मसलिलां शरदं तु तदा लिखेत् ।।

with

काशांशुका विकचपद्ममनोज्ञवक्त्रा
सोन्मादहंसरवनूपुरनादरम्या ।
आपक्वशालिरुचिरानतगात्रयष्टिः
प्राप्ता शरन्नववधूरिव रूपरम्या ।।
(*Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*, III–I)

In describing flowers and fruits, birds and beasts, Kalidasa has observed the general rule laid down in Śloka 80:

वृक्षाणां पुष्पफलतः प्राणिनां मदतस्तथा ।
ऋतूनां दर्शनं कार्यं लोकान् दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ।।

Of greater significance are other Ślokas in this adhyāya, which have influenced and shaped Kalidasa's imagination in *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra*. Śloka 69 says that earlier part of the night should be shown by an *abhisārikā* going to meet her lover. Parallel to this, in the tenth stanza of second Canto, we find the *abhisārikā* women going to meet their lovers on nights made dense by clouds thundering loudly. Śloka 71 directs that moonlight should be indicated by the moon and the blooming of *kumuda* flowers. Corresponding to this, in the second stanza of third Canto the poet speaks that the nights look white with the moon, and the lakes with lotuses. The very next stanza of this Canto in which the rivers are imagined as gliding slowly, like women under the influence of passion, truthfully represents what Śloka 51 prescribes:

सरितां सशरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।

Have we ever thought why does Kalidasa, endowed with a rare power of minute perception and observation, commit topographical error in *Kumārasaṁbhava* in his lovely description of the Himalaya mountain as bearing on its summits rich minerals? No metallic ore, we surely know, has so far been discovered on the Himalaya mountain. The answer is that Kālidāsa was unconsciously following the rule in Śloka 59:

पर्वतं तु शिलाजालैः शिखरैर्धातुभिर्द्रुमैः ।

In several places in *Ṛtu-Saṁhāra,* for instince, in Canto II (25) and Canto V (12) we find Kalidasa enamoured of women with lofty breasts and broad, round hips, for which all kinds of immoral motives have been imputed to the young poet and his fine lyric excluded from his genunine Works. Here, as elsewhere, Kalidasa was moved by the demands made on him by the text of Ślokas 3 and 4 of adhyāya 37 :

अङ्गुलौ द्वौ नरात्क्षामं स्त्रियो मध्यं विधीयते ।
अधिका च कटिः कार्या तथैव चतुरङ्गुलम् ॥३॥
उरः प्रमाणतः कार्यौ स्तनौ नृप मनोहरौ ।

These arguments further establish the fact that Kalidasa definitely belongs to the Gupta Age in which the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* was written. From his earliest days, it seems, Kalidasa must have been familiar with the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Puraṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa because it is the only compendium which incorporates all the Fine Arts which a Nāgaraka was supposed to cultivate as a necessary part of his liberal education besides *ars amoris.* Kalidasa, as his poems and plays reveal, must have been trained in the Arts of Music, Dancing, Painting, besides having a first-hand knowledge of *Kāmasūtra.* In fact there are reasons to believe that Kalidasa must have made the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa as his text-book for his guidance.

The very existence of the so-called 'interpolated stanzas' numbering thirty-two in the fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśīya,* which have puzzled and baffled us, is an overwhelming proof of his deep familiarity with this *Purāṇa.* It is argued that because these verses are written in Apabhraṁśa and because in Kalidasa's time the Apabhraṁśa could not have existed in such well-developed form, therefore, they are spurious. The critics in their support cite Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which recognizes only two languages—Sanskrit and Prākrit. Their arguments are wholly incorrect. Even the arguements of those who speak in favour of them are insufficient and impoverished. Kalidasa did possess the knowledge of Apabhraṁśa as it was one of the current languages of India at that time.[3] In the second adhyāya of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇ*—Third Khaṇḍa when Vajra prays to Mārkaṇḍeya to impart him the knowledge of

3. See *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇd, Volume II, ed. Dr. Priyabala Shah, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1961, p. 4.

vocal music, the latter explains that vocal music is of two kinds—Sanskṛta and Prākṛta and the third Apabhraṣṭa is of endless variety:

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैव गीतं द्विविधमुच्यते ।
अपभ्रष्टं तृतीयं तु तदनन्तं नराधिप ॥१०॥

Moreover, in adhyaya seventeen the use of three languages—Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa—is allowed to characters on the stage—Sanskrit to be spoken by the hero, Sanyāsis, Śrotriyas, Kings, Dvijātis, gods, demons, Gandharvas and Nāgas; Prākṛta by the Nāyikā, heavenly damsels, Sanyāsinis, Pretenders and Viduṣakas; and Apabhraṣṭa by children, women, low people, and eunuchs:

संस्कृतं नायकवचो लिङ्ग श्रोत्रियभूभुजाम् ।
द्विजन्मनां सुराणां च दैत्यगन्धर्वभोगिनाम् ॥३०॥

नायिकादेवरामाणां व्याजलिङ्गवतां तथा ।
विदूषकानां च भवेत्प्राकृतं वचनं नृप ॥३१॥

बालस्त्रीनीचशण्ढानां ये चान्ये नानुकीर्तिताः ।
तेषां वाक्यमपभ्रष्टं तच्च ज्ञात्वा प्रयोजयेत् ॥३२॥

There seems, therefore, nothing awkward with Kalidasa in employing Apabhraṁśa in the fourth Act of *Vikramorvaśīya.*

Similarly we have created a havoc regarding Kalidasa's own name and the title of *Vikramorvaśīya.* All sorts of legends, subjective and objective, have been woven round them. Without penetrating into the vast formidable arena of these conflicting stories and theories which have clustered round the name of 'Kalidasa' and the name of his play '*Vikramorvaśīya*', we can resolve these two related issues which have been unnecessarily entangled into a mesh of unending controversies. It is generally claimed that Kalidasa was a devotee of the goddess Kālī as the suffix 'dāsa' denotes and that he flourished in the era of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who had assumed the title of Vikramāditya and whose victories were glorified by Kalidasa in *Vikramorvaśīya* as the prefix 'Vikram' signifies. Whether Kalidasa propitiated the goddess Kālī or whether his patron was Vikramāditya, such arguements, though there may be some truth in them, are by themselves quite unimportant. In the age in which Kalidasa lived it was customary to have the proper names of some

men ending in 'dāsa' and those of kings in 'vikram'. This may be corroborated from adhyaya seventeen of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*—Third Khaṇḍa, which embodies the general rule regarding the endings of the proper names :

स्वयमुत्पादितानां मे नाम्नां त्वं शृणु लक्षणम् ।
शर्मवर्मधनान्यन्ते वर्णानां दासवत्तथा ।।३३।।

राज्ञां विक्रमसंयुक्तममात्यानां तथा भवेत् ।
स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यमक्रूरं नायिकानां मनोहरम् ।।३४।।

THE SAṄGAMANĪYA GEM EPISODE IN THE VIKRAMORVAŚĪYAM

By DR. S. G. KANTAWALA*

The *Vikramorvaśīyam* (=VK) is one of the three plays of Kālidāsa dealing with the love affair of the mortal king Purūravas and the celestial hataera Ūrvaśī culminating into their permanent union by Indra's grace, the good tidings of which are conveyed through Nārada. But before this final union is sanctioned, the drama passes through the vicissitudes of curse and separation "which are according to our poet, a necessary evil because the love of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī was tinged with lust and earthly dross."[1] The abduction of Ūrvaśī and Citralekhā by the demon Keśin calls forth the nymphs' loud cry for the help of one "whoever is a friend of the gods or whoever can travel in the region of the sky."[2] The consequent succour rendered by Purūravas germinates the feelings of love in Ūrvaśī. Later on, it is due to Bharata's curse accompanied with Indra's emendation thereto[3] and the favourable declaration made by Auśīnarī at the time of the observance of the Priyānuprasādanavrata[4] that Ūrvaśī finds her path of love smooth

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1. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: The *Vikramorvaśīyam* of Kālidāsa, (1932), Introduction, p. XIX.

2. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: *Op. Cit.*, Translation, p. 2.

Cf. परित्रायतां परित्रायतां यः सुरपक्षपाती यस्य वाऽम्बरतले गतिरस्ति ।
Op. Cit., VK. I, p. 2.

3. Cf. सा खलु शप्तोपाध्यायेन । महेन्द्रेण पुनरनुगृहीता ।........येन ममोपदेशस्त्वया लङ्घितस्तेन न ते दिव्यं स्थानं भविष्यतीत्युपाध्यायस्य शापः । महेन्द्रेण पुनः प्रेक्षणावसाने लज्जावनतमुखी भणिता यस्मिन्बद्धभावाऽसि तस्य मे रणसहायस्य राजर्षेः प्रियमत्र करणीयम् । सा त्वं यथाकामं पुरूरवसमुपतिष्ठस्व यावत्स त्वयि दृष्टसंतानो भवेदिति ।
VK. III, p. 35.

Regarding the rôle of curse, S. S. Bhawe observes that "he (*i.e.* Kālidāsa) employs it either for the development of the story or plot or as a thing inherent in the original story." *Kalidasa, the National Poet of India,* (1964), p. 54.

4. Cf. एषाऽहं देवतामिथुनं रोहिणीमृगलाञ्छनं साक्षीकृत्य आर्यपुत्रमनुप्रसादयामि । अद्यप्रभृति यां स्त्रियमार्यपुत्रः प्रार्थयते या चाऽऽर्यपुत्रस्य समागमप्रणयिनी तया मया प्रीतिबन्धेन वर्तितव्यमिति । VK. III, pp. 45-46.

and heartening and "the third act closes with a suggestion that love may now reign supreme, unobstructed by any further separation, prolonging the king's nights in the company of his beloved."[5] After attending a satra at the Naimiṣa forest the king and Ūrvaśī go to the Gandhamādana forest[6] where he happens to stare at Udayavatī, the Vidyādhara girl and Ūrvaśī, "the queen of all beautiful temptresses"[7] is all wrath. Her love is still carnal and uncrowned with the glory of the offspring,[8] the highest joy and acme of the married love.[9] Inspite of the royal apologies she enters unknowingly the forbidden forest sacred to Kumāra and is transformed into a *vāsantī latā*. The king is distracted and overwhelmed with intense grief. Being *unmatta* then, he wanders in the forest of the Gandhamādana mountain in search of his beloved. After his long wandering in the forest he chances to see a shining gem in the cleft of a rock and a mysterious voice[10] directed him to pick it up declaring:

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5. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Cf. अनधिगतमनोरथस्य पूर्वं,
शतगुणितेव गता मम त्रियामा ।
यदि तु तव समागमे तथैव,
प्रसरति सुभ्रु ततः कृती भवेयम् ।।

VK. III.22.

6. Velankar, H. D.: *The Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa*, (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi), Critical Notes, p. 133.

7. Velankar, H. D.: *op. cit.*, Editor's Introduction, p. LII.

8. Cf. the Vidūṣaka's complaint in this connection:

असन्तानत्वं वर्जयित्वा न किमप्यस्य हीनम् ।

VK. V, p. 67.

9. *Cf.* अन्तःकरणतत्त्वस्य दम्पत्योः स्नेहसंश्रयात् ।
आनन्दग्रन्थिरेकोऽयमपत्यमिति बध्यते।।

Uttararāmacaritam, III. 17.

10. The mysterious voice is heard from behind the curtain (*cf. nepathye*/*VK.* IV, p. 62) and the king says:

"अये अनुकम्पते मां कश्चिन्मृगचारी मुनिर्भगवान् ।।" (*VK.* IV, p. 63).

This *mṛgacārin* is also spoken of as a *muni* by the king (*VK.* IV, p. 65). In the opinion of K. H. Dhruva this *mṛgacārī bhagavān* is Lord Śiva and for this he has a conjectural reading '*bhagavān gajacarmavāsāḥ*'. *Parākramanī Prasādī*,

"This is the Saṅgamanīya jewel, produced from the red lac applied to her feet by the Daughter of the Mountain (*viz.* Gaurī). When worn, this brings about union with one's beloved before long."[11] (*VK.* 4. 36 (65))

He obeys the suggestive command and picks it up. He is charmed by the *vāsantī latā* and he anxiously embraces it under the belief that it is his beloved and lo! the "magic stone"[12] has done the magic of metamorphosing the creeper into Ūrvaśī. Thus the union gem has put an end to their separation and is now worn by Ūrvaśī on her forehead.[13] The lovers, then, return to the capital Pratiṣṭhāna[14] in a cloud-balloon.[15] Thus the gem brings about the

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(Gujarati translation of the *VK*), p. 82. *En passant* it may be noted that the the lection conjectured by K. H. Dhruva is found also in D. F_3, P_4. (*Vide* Velankar, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 86, fn). H. D. Velankar accepts the lection '*mṛgacārī munir bhagavān*' (*Ibid.*, p. 86).

Incidentally it may be noted "the Sanskrit writers......also believed in the grace of the divine and the grace of the sages which would lift up a sufferer from the deepest of miseries" (Jog, K. P., "A Fresh Revaluation of the Inner Meaning of the Śākuntala," *H. D. Velankar commemoration Volume*, 1965, p. 212.

Cf. सर्वथा ऋषयो देवताश्च श्रेयो विधास्यन्ति ।

(उत्तररामचरितम्, ed. by G. K. Bhat, 1953, p. 4).

11. Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe, S. S.: *op. cit.*, p. 44. S. P. Pandit observes that "we must suppose that some mountain rivulet bathed the lac of Pārvatī's feet and deposited it in the crevice of a rock, so that it ultimately became the brilliant gem that it is now." The *Vikramorvaśīyam*, BSS No. XVI. (3rd edition, 1899), Notes, p. 124.

12. Keith, A.B.: *The Sanskrit Drama*, (1959), p. 151.

Dasgupta, S. N. and De S. K.: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Classical *Period*), Vol. I, p. 138.

13. *VK.* IV. 42 (73). मणिमादाय मूर्धनि वहति । *VK.* IV, p. 65.

ललाटे मणिं निवेश्य । Velankar H. D., *op. cit.*, p. 90.

14. Pratiṣṭhāna is situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna.

चित्रलेखा—एतद्भगवत्या भागीरथ्या यमुनासंगमविशेषपावनेषु सलिलेष्ववलोकयत इव आत्मानं प्रतिष्ठानस्य शिखाभरणभूतं राजर्षेर्भवनमुपस्थिते स्वः ।

Cf.

VK. II, p. 20. It is the modern Jhusi in Allahabad; *vide*, Kantawala, S. G., "Prayāga-Māhātmya—A Study, Purāṇa Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 1, January 1967,

15. 4. 43 (74).

reunion in consonanc with the anouncement.[16] But this is not the final union and calamities loom large. We hear in the beginning of Act V an announcement from behind the curtain that the uniting gem is seized upon by a vulture taking it to be a piece of meat even though it was *dukūlottaracchada*,[17] when it "was being taken away to her apartments in a casket for use in her personal decorations."[18] The king is informed of the theft and he chases the culprit, but it flees away escaping the range of his eyes and he, then, passes the orders for instituting a thorough investigation and capture. From the dramatic point of view, "this unexpected loss of the uniting gem must naturally have made everyone apprehensive of a fresh separation of the lovers"[19] and H. D. Velankar observs that "this is probably also what the poet wants to suggest.[20]

The chamberlain enters, then, with a gem and an arrow[21] marked with the owner's name *viz.* Āyus, the son of Ūrvaśī and Aila *i.e.* Purūravas (5.7). Immediately the gem is ordered to be washed with water, to be purified in fire and placed in a (jewellary) box and this latter direction was "meant only for immediate safe custody of the same," as observed by H. D. Velankar.[22] Now "the return of the boy gives extreme delight to the unexpecting father and for a while, even, to the mother."[23] And, now, Ūrvaśī is reminded of the limit put to her stay in company with Purūravas and her eyes swell with tears and she weeps.[24] The king, anxiously, inquires about the reason and she tells him about the limit of her stay which she had not divulged to him so far.[25] The king is

16. Cf. यैतं प्रदेशं स्त्री प्रवेक्ष्यति सा लताभावेन परिणंस्यति ।
गौरीचरणसम्भवं मणिं विना ततो न मोक्ष्यत इति ।
मणिप्रभावादासादिता त्वमस्माभिः । *VK.* IV, p. 65.
प्रियया तेनास्मि सखे संगमनीयेन संगमितः । *VK.* V. *cd.*

17. *Vide* Pandit S. P. for his remarks on the word *dukūlottaracchada, op. cit.*, Notes, pp. 124-125.

18. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

19. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

20. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

21. *Cf.* ततः प्रविशति सशरं मणिमादाय कञ्चुकी । *VK. V*, p. 70.

22. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

23. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

24. Cf. उर्वशी स्मृत्वा रोदिति ।........अश्रुमुखी संवृत्ता । *VK.* V, p. 77.

25. *Vide* Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

shocked to know about the impending permanent separation and decides to abdicate the throne and to leave for the forest crowning Āyus. Indra comes to know about Purūravas' decision by his *prabhāva*[26] and sends Nārada to him with a direction that he (*i.e.* Purūravas) should not renounce the throne in view of the imminent war between the gods and the demons as he is his powerful ally in war and he (*i.e.* Nārada) conveys further the message that Ūrvaśī would be his life-long *sahadharmacāriṇī*[27] and thus the drama ends happily with the *priya* done to Purūravas by Indra, including the installation of Āyus as heir-apparent.

From the aforegoing survey it is clear that it is the uniting gem which brings about Purūravas' union with Ūrvaśī after their separation in the Kumāravana. This uniting gem, which is a "creation of Kālidāsa,"[28] "has itself been skilfully utilised by the poet to bring the final catastrophy to a head," as observed by H. D. Velankar.[29] Thus this leads to the vulture-episode which creates a

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26. *Cf. prabhāvadarśī Maghavā....../* *VK.* V, p. 81.

27. *Cf.* इयं चोर्वशी यावदायुस्तव सहधर्मचारिणी भवत्विति । *VK.* V, p. 81.

S. B. Athalye and S.S. Bhawe render *sahadharmacāriṇī* as "rightful wife" (*op. cit.*, Translation, p. 56). In the opinion of S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, Urvaśī was the "wedded love" of Pururavas (*op. cit.*, p. 139). R. P. Kangle also opines that Urvaśī was Purūravas' *vivāhitā patnī* ((कालिदासाचीं नाटकें, 1957, p. 113). K. N. Watave holds that both of them would have married (संस्कृतनाट्य-सौन्दर्य, p. 220). In the opinion of H. D. Velanakr the word *sahadharmacāriṇī* is not used "in its usual sense of a married wife" (*op. cit.*, p. XXXV, cf. p. 134). *Vide* also his remarks on the word *devībhiḥ* in the sentence यत्र तथिविशेष ,इति भगवत्योर्गङ्गायमुनयोः संगमे देवीभिः सह कृताभिषेकः साम्प्रतमुपकार्यां प्रविष्टः । *VK.* V, p. 67. (*Op. cit.*, p. XXXV, cf. p. 134).

In view of the absence of a clear-cut reference to their marriage it may be suggested that the relation between the two may be taken as some sort of a civil contract or a companionate marriage which "is meant to solve without hypocricy and without disguise, some of the problems of sex......to make possible an honourable sex relationship........" (McIver R. M. and Page Charcles H., *Society, An Introductory Analysis*, 1962, p. 277). It is significant to note that this type of marriage does not contemplate offspring. (*op. cit.*, p. 277); hence in our context, this term is not to be taken in all its connotation. In this connection it may be remembered that the Ṛgveda knows about their companionship; cf. *RV.* 10. 95, 15 *cd.* न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता ।

28. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. XXXXVI.

29. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIII.

dramatic suspense. The uniting gem is soon regained and then is ushered in the scene of presentation of Āyus resulting into the union of the father, the mother and the son[30] and thus it justifies its nomenclature.

But, now, the real difficulty and obstacle crop up in Ūrvaśī's stay with Purūravas, when Āyus is presented, because the term of her stay with him expires as per condition and now there appears to be nothing which can either prevent the imminent inevitable separation or bring about their permanent union and consequently avert the tragedy. At this critical juncture comes Nārada to announce Indra's *anugraha* and thus all the threads of the story crowning it with the permanent union of the hero and the heroine,"[31] are knitted up. But this *anugraha* is due to the *ākasmika* reason,[32] *viz.* the imminent war between the gods and the demons. This *anugraha* raises the following points:—The very reason for which the said *anugraha* is passed tends to depict apparently Indra as a little selfish, but it may be said with H. D. Velankar that "Mahendra, who had no idea about the depth of her feelings for Purūravas, when he first put the limit on her stay, quickly realised this and very generously permitted Ūrvaśī to stay with Purūravas as long as he lived."[33] But, this selfish generosity calls forth in question Indra's *prabhāva* and tends to belittle his character.

It is also true that Indra's *anugraha* conveyed through Nārada leads to the fulfilment of the condition as laid down by the Sanskrit Drama that it should have a happy ending.[34] Thus Nārada's arrival and Indra's *anugraha* may be said to have been introduced to fulfil a technical dramaturgical necessity and tend to appear to be tagged to the drama for the above-said purpose. Thus it appears to be bereft of an intrinsic connection with the earlier events or episodes in the drama. In the preceding events it is the uniting gem which plays a significant rôle in carving out the unions which were apparently impossible. If, therefore, a due stress is given to the uniting

30. Cf. Watave, K. N., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

31. Athalye, S. B. and Bhave, S. S., *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 89.

32. Kangle, B. P., *op. cit.*, p. 105.

33. Velankar, H. D., *op. cit.*, p. LIV.

34. Cf. Mirashi, V. V., *Kālidāsa* (in Hindi), 1956, p. 174; Athalye, S. B. and Bhawe S. S., *op. cit.*, Notes p. 90; Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K. *op. cit.*, p. 60.

gem and its magical efficatious potencies are not thrown into oblivion, a miracle, which should bring about an everlasting union, must happen. And Nārada comes with Indra's message. Now, if the episode of Nārada's arrival and Indra's *anugraha* is linked up with the efficacy and magical potencies of the uniting gem, a fair justice may also be given to Kālidāsa's dramatic technique from the point of view of the plot-construction. Kālidāsa has categorically stated that whosoever bears the uniting gem will be united with his/her beloved person ere long.[35] It is equally significant to note that those are the words of a *muni* and also that the uniting gem is at present already in the royal custody. It did bring about, as noted earlier, firstly, the union of the lover and the beloved and secondly the union of the father, mother and the son. Now if it could not prevent the inevitable impending separation, the uniting gem would lose all its force, edge and significance and the words of the *muni* would also be falsified in that case. But with his superb dramatic art of the plot-construction Kālidāsa obviates this difficulty by the introduction of Nārada with a message of good tiding and keeps in tact the operation of the radiation of the magic influence of the uniting gem to effect the permanent union of the hero and the heroine. Moreover, if in the case of the union of the trio, the vulture and Āyus are responsible, some other agency of a higher order is necessary to effect a permanent union of the two. *En passant* it may be remembered that even in the case of the first reunion a *muni* was responsible. And now, therefore under these circumstances, no less a person than Nārada, who is already associated with Ūrvaśī[36] from the beginning of the drama, is better suited to the occasion to announce Indra's gracious rectification in the limit of Ūrvaśī's society with Purūravas. If thus interpreted, the *Indrānugraha* episode is a natural sequel and an outcome of the uniting gem episode, justifying its very name upto the end and giving credit and credence to the words of a *muni*.

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35. Cf. *VK.* 4.36; 5.5.

36. It was Nārada who communicated to Indra the news about Urvaśī's capture by the demon Keśin. वयस्य, केशिना हृतामुर्वंशीं नारदादुपश्रुत्य प्रत्यहरणार्थमस्याः शतक्रतुना गन्धर्वसेना समादिष्टा। *VK.* I, p. 9.

N.B.:—*VK*=*Vikramorvaśīyam*. The references to the *VK* in this paper are to the edition by S. B. Athalye and S. S. Bhawe, published in 1932 by K. B. Dhawale, Girgaon, Bombay. The figures in the brackets along with the *VK*—reference refer to those in the critical edition by H. D. Velankar published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1961.

KUBERA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA (FROM AN EARTH–SPIRIT TO A GOD)

By V. M. Bedeker*

Kuber (*K*-) has been already recognized in classical Sanskrit literature as a god, the divine guardian of the Northern Quarter. His realm is regarded as a heaven of boundless opulence and unending pleasure.[1] But a study of earlier Sanskrit Literature would show that *K.* had humble beginnings and that godhood was conferred upon him only in the later part of his career. The *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*), for instance, would show in its vast canvas the varied phases through which *K.* passed in his growth into a fullfledged divinity from obscure, not very edifying beginnings. The present study which is mainly confined to the data in the *Mbh* is an attempt to trace the development in the traits which characterize the personality of *K.*

Kubera in Vedic and Early Sanskrit Literature

Before presenting the data in the *Mbh* proper it is felt, it would be instructive to look for the traits of *K.*, if any, in Sanskrit literature which has been regarded as early as, if not earlier than the oldest parts of the *Mbh.* Such a presentation of the earlier references would provide a historical background for the data in the *Mbh* and would prove helpful in supplying a sort of criteria to analyse and arrange the material in the *Mbh* with a view to tracing the development of *K.*

What may be regarded as the earliest reference to *K.* in Vedic Literature occurs in a passage of the *Atharvaveda* (*AV.*).[2] The pas-

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1. See *Raghuvaṁśa* 4. 66 ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् । Cf. also 5. 29-30; 9. 25; also *Meghadūta* (the description of Alakā) II, 1—11.

2. सा (विराज्) उदक्रामत् । सेतरजनानागच्छत् । ताम् इतरजना उपाह्वयन्त तिरोध एहीति । तस्याः कुबेरो वैश्रवणो वत्स आसीत्........... । तां रजतनाभिः काबेरकोऽधोक् तां विरोधामवाधोक् । तां तिरोधामितरजना उपजीवन्ति । AV. VIII. 10. 28.

sage is in praise of Virāj, the goddess of the earth. It is said that Virāj came to the 'other folks' (*itara Jana*) in the form of a cow, with Kubera Vaiśravaṇa as her calf, was milked and the milk that she yielded was 'concealment' or 'hiding on which the 'other folks' subsist. The passsage probably indicates that *K.* is a spirit of 'concealment' believed in by the 'folk' i.e. the indigenous non-Aryan population in the hollows and the clefts of the earth.[3]

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,*[4] it is said that the demons or the evil spirits are the subjects of K-Vaiśravaṇa and that the evil doers and robbers throng around him.[5] The *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[6] while echoing the above description further indicates that K. Vaiśravaṇa is associated with the knowledge of spells relating to the Piśācas i.e. demons.[7] In the *Tattirīya Āraṇyaka,*[8] K. Vaiśravaṇa is characterised as the embodiment of 'concealment' (Tirodhāḥ) and as the 'King of Kings who overpowers enemies by force (*Prasahyasāhin*) and is invoked to make the enemies 'disappear' and to fulfil the desires of his devotees. The text also refers to 'a son of Kubera' (*Kaubera*) who afflicts creatures.[9]

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3. See: (1) Manfred mayrhofer: 'Probleme eines altindischen Gottennamens': *Beitrage zur Namenforschung,* Band 2 (1950-51) p. 181; (2) L. V. Schroeder quoted in (1) on page 180, (3) E. W. Hopkins, '*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 33rd Vol., p. 58.

4. 13. 4. 3. 10.

5. तस्य रक्षांसि विशः। तानि इमानि आसते इति सेलगाः पापकृतः उपसमेता भवन्ति।

6. 10. 7. 6.

7. पिशाचविद्यावेदः सोऽयम्।

8. 1. 31. 1–6.

9. अद्भ्यस्तिरोधा अजायत। तव वैश्रवणः सदा। तिरोधेहि सपत्नान् नः।...... ......हिरण्यनाभये वितुदये कौवेराय अयं बलिः।...... राजाधिराजाय प्रसह्यसाहिने। नमो वयं वैश्रवणाय कुर्महे। स मे कामान् कामकामाय मह्यं कामेश्वरो वैश्रवणो ददातु। कुवेराय वैश्रवणाय महाराजाय नमः।'

[·'सर्वप्राणिनो विशेषेण तुदति व्यथयति इति वितुदिः—सायणः]

The latter part of this passage is in later times named as 'Kubera-hṛdaya' invocation recited in the Puṣya-snāna ceremony. See P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. V, p. 796.

In this passage there is a sacrifice to Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa–Yajña). Kubera is thus to be propitiated at a ceremony celebrating the completion of the sixtieth year in the life of a man. (षष्ट्यब्दपूर्ति). See 'Kubera' by G. V. K. Aiyangar (*Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar Commemoration Vol.* 1941, p. 730).

In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[10] Vaiśravaṇa is invoked along with Īśāna for the sake of the husband, which probably suggests that K. Vaiśravaṇa along with Śiva is associated as a genie of productivity.

In the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[11] a reference is made to gods, who had been previously human beings or mortals.' According to the traditional interpretation of this passage, *K.* was one of such gods who has attained godhood by dint of great penance.[12] The *Manusmṛti*[13] also refers to K. as one among the mortals who achieved their end by practising self-discipline or selfcontrol.[14]

In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the grammarian, there are references which shed light on the peculiar character of Vaiśravaṇa Kubera. In one passage of the *Mahābhāṣya* Vaiśravaṇa along with Śiva is said to be a god of the people (*laukika*) and not a Vedic God. In another passage, Vaiśravaṇa is characterized as one having Piśācas (goblins) with him.[15]

In one of his Sūtras,[16] Pāṇini refers to devotees of a deity named Mahārāja. This Mahārāja may be Kubera Vaiśravaṇa who

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10. I. 11. 7.

11. III. 11.

12. एता एव देवता: पुंस: । वैश्रवणं ईशानं च ।। cf. कौषीतकि गृह्यसूत्र I. 11.

See "Kubera........represents a fecundating divinity, a promoter of productivity"—J. Gonda : *'Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism'* p. 195.

13. 7. 42 : "मनुष्यप्रकृतीनां च देवानां यज्ञे भुक्त्वा इत्येके ।।३।।

Haradatta in his commentary *Ujjvalā*, says anent this passage:

"ये मनुष्या भूत्वा प्रकृष्टेन तपसा देवा: संपन्ना: ते मनुष्यप्रकृतयो देवा: नन्दीश्वरकुबेरादय: ।"

14. पृथुस्तु विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्तवान्मनुरेव च । कुबेरश्च धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यं चैव गाधिज: ।

15. (a) (On Pāṇini, VI, 3. 26) "शिववैश्रवणौ । स्कन्दविशाखौ ।"

(b) (On Pāṇini, V, 2. 129) "पिशाचकी वैश्रवण:" ।

16. IV 3. 97 महाराजाट्ठञ् । (महाराज: भक्ति: अस्य माहाराजिक:)

Dr. J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Icongraphy* (1955), (p. 522) says that Pāṇini in this Sūtra seems to have in mind the *Caturmahārājas* of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts among whom Vaiśravaṇa figures as one *Mahārāja*. See also V. S. Agarwala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 361.

The references to the *Mbh* in this article unless specified otherwise, are to the critical edition of the *Mbh* published by the BORI, Poona.

is called Mahārāja in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* as referred to above. The features of *K.* as revealed by the passages in the Vedic and early Sanskrit Literature, referred to above, may now be summarised as follows :

(i) *K.* was a spirit of hiding and 'concealment'. He was associated with demons and goblins, and with such association appeared to have been regarded as a malevolent spirit to be invoked to ward off evil and dark forces.

(ii) *K.* is asociated with Īśāna or Śiva.

(iii) *K.* appears to have shed his dark, malevolent aspect and attained to a position of power and wealth. As Vaiśravaṇa, he is praised as the King of Kings who fulfills the desires of his devoted

(iv) *K.* appears to have outgrown his humble, shady position and attained to godhead. It appears that *K.* as god does not belong to the Vedic fold but to the non-Vedic; he is one of the gods of the folks.

Kubera in the Mahāb

On the background of these clues to the traits of *K.* provided by Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, it would be instructive to study the traits and characteristics which have developed around *K.* in the *Mbh.*

I. *K's love of places inaccessible to man*

Pāṇḍu with his two wives Kuntī and Mādrī lived in the company of the Sages on the Śataśṛṅga mountain beyond the Himalaya. Having practised penance there for some time, he thought of going towards the north. The sages, however, dissuaded him from undertaking that journey, which, they said, would be arduous and difficult, being among the untrodden ways. Among such regions inaccessible to man, they referred to the gardens of *K.*[17] When Bhīma, in quest of the fragrant lotus, wanted by Draupadī, arrives at the

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17. दृष्टवन्तो गिरेरस्य दुर्गान्देशान् बहून्वयम् । उद्यानानि कुबेरस्य समानि विषमाणि च । *Mbh.* 1. 3. 6-7.

lotus-pond of *K.*, he is rebuked by the guards of *K.* that the sport-pond of *K.* was forbidden to mortals.[18] Vidura, while relating the story of the hunters who, while in search of honey perished, said on the authority of the Brāhmaṇas knowing magical arts, that the jar of honey which was placed in a mountain cave on the high desolate precipice was especially a favourite of *K.*[19] K's love of inaccesible places as seen from the above instances appears to be the heritage of his past role as an earth's pint.

II. *K.—Master of the art of concealing and revealing objects*

The weapon which *K.* presented to Arjuna is said to be 'Concealment' (*antardhāna*) his favourite missile—by which the enemies were deprived of their elan and thrown into Stupor.[20] The honey, the favourite of *K.* is said to have been endowed with the power of making a blind man see.[21] In his battle with Indrajit, Rāma was helped by *K.* with a gift of 'water' which could reveal to view whatever was concealed.[22] With their eyes touched with that water, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, the monkeys and their comrades in arms, could spot out and kill the enemy. The word *'antardhāna'* which is said to be the favourite missile of *K.* is reminiscent of the Vedic *'tirodhā'* (concealment)[23] referred to above. It may be mentioned that a passage in the *Mbh.* appearing in the Appendix[24] (of the *Droṇaparvan* of the

18. आक्रीडोऽयं कुबेरस्य दयितः पुरुषर्षभ । नेह शक्यं मनुष्येण विहर्तुं मर्त्यधर्मिणा । *Mbh.* 3. 152. 4.

19. मधु पीतममाक्षिकम् । मरुत्प्रपाते विषमे निविष्टं कुम्भसंमितम् ॥ 23.
आशीविषैः रक्ष्यमाणं कुबेरदयितं भृशम् । 24. (5.62).

20. मत्तोऽपि त्वं गृहाणास्त्रमन्तर्धानं प्रियं मम ।
ओजस्तेजोद्युतिहरं प्रस्वापनमरातिहन् ॥ 33 (3.42).

21. मधु पीतममाक्षिकम् ।···कुबेरदयितं भृशम्···यत्प्राश्य···अचक्षुर्लभते चक्षुः ॥ 5. 62. 25-26.

22. (विभीषण : राममुवाच)—इदमम्भः कुबेरस्ते महाराजः प्रयच्छति ।
अन्तर्हितानां भूतानां दर्शनार्थं परंतप ॥ 10.
अनेन स्पृष्टनयनो भूतान्यन्तर्हितान्युत । भवान् द्रक्ष्यति यस्मै च भवानेतत् प्रदास्यति ॥ (3.27).

23. *A.V.* viii 10. 28.

24. अन्तर्धानं चामपात्रे दुग्धा पुण्यजनैर्विराट् ।
दोग्धा वैश्रवणस्तेषां वत्स आसीत् कुबेरकः ॥
—*Mbh.* 7 (after adhyāya 49). Appendix I, 8, lines 809—810, p. 1117

critical edition) refers in similar metaphorical language to the role of *K.* as the earth-spirit, being associated with 'concealment'. The fact that the passage has been relegated to the appendix in the critical edition shows that *K.*, in the time of the *Mbh.* had gradually outgrown the shady role of the earth-spirit and had risen in the estimation of the people to occupy the position of a demi-god.

III. *K. gradually raised to the status of an Immortal* (*god*)

In one passage of the *Mbh.*,[25] *K.* is described to have been born in the hermitage of the sage Viśravas. The hermitage was situated, in the country of Avanti, on the bank of the westward flowing river Narmadā.

A brief life–story of K. is given in another passage in *Mbh.*[26] during the narration of the story of Rāma (*Rāmopākhyāna*). K. or Vaiśravaṇa was born of Pulastya the son of Brahmā. Deserting his father, *K.* ingratiated himself with the grandfather who conferred upon him immortality, opu'ence, kingdom of the quarter, friendship with Śiva and the capital of Laṅkā along with the troops of the demons.[27] He pacified his father by sending three demon–maidservants to wait upon him. Rāvaṇa, his stepbrother born from one of the maidservants, rose up in arms against him and drove him out of Laṅkā. *K.*, therefore with his hosts of followers went to live on the mountain Gandhamādana.

This passage occurs in the Appendix as a part of 'The Story of Sixteen Kings' (Ṣoḍaśa-rājakīya) and describes the achievements of Pṛthu, one of the Sixteen Kings. It is worth noting in this connection that 'this' Story of Sixteen Kings' appears in the *Śāntiparvan* (*Mbh.* 12. 29) in the body of the critical text itself. Therein, Pṛthu is also described as one of the 16 Kings. But his achievement of milking the earth is not referred to either in the body of the critical text or in the Appendix.

25. अवन्तिषु प्रतीच्यां वै कीर्तयिष्यामि ते दिशि ।
प्रत्यक्स्रोता नदी पुण्या नर्मदा तत्र भारत ॥
निकेतः ख्यायते पुण्यो यत्र विश्रवसो मुनेः ।
जज्ञे धनपतिर्यत्र कुबेरो नरवाहनः ॥ —Mbh. 3. 87. 1–3.

26. 3. 258

27. पितामहस्तु प्रीतात्मा ददौ वैश्रवणस्य ह । अमरत्वं धनेशत्वं लोकपालत्वमेव च ॥ 15.
ईशानेन तथा सख्यं पुत्रं च नलकूबरम् ।
राजधानीनिवेशं च लङ्कां रक्षोगणान्विताम् ॥ 16.
—Mbh. 3. 258.

K. became the lord of the demons (rakṣas).[28] His lotus pond, his gardens and his palace were guarded by the demons, headed by Haiḍimba,[29] maṇimat[30] and others.

K. besides being the lord of the demons (Rakṣas), was also the lord of Yakṣas, Guhyakas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and Apsarasas. These, as compared with the rakṣas (who are rather malevolent), are benevolent semi-divine beings. The Lordship over the Yakṣas etc. is considered to be the special characteristic of *K.*[31] In his special Assembly Hall (called *Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā*), as described by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Sabhāparvan, K's retinue* consists of many species of Gandharvas such as kinnara, nara,[32] guhyaka and of Yakṣas. The names of the Yakṣas attending on *K.* in the Assembly hall mentioned in this particular adhy. sound strange[33] and suggest the weird habitat from which *K.* originally hails, as an earth-spirit surrounded by goblins and other eeric spirits. *K.* is waited upon by a host of Apsarasas who entertain him day and night with dance and music. Among the names of apsaras are found many which are familiar in classical Sanskrit Literature.[34]

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28. कुवेरमिव रक्षांसि शतक्रतुमिवामराः । ज्ञातयस्त्वानुजीवन्तु सुहृदश्च·····।। 13. 60. 25.

The rakṣasas have various names such as क्रोधवशाः (3. 152. 24) शङ्कुकर्णाः (3. 158. 36). See also 12. 122. 28.

K. is also the lord of Nairṛtas—a species of Rakṣas. *Mbh.* 12. 67. 25.

29. *Mbh.* 3. 153. 21.

30. 3. 157. 52; 13. 20. 8.

31. कुबेर इव यक्षाणां मरुतामिव वासवः 5. 153. 12.

See also 7. 5. 25; 14. 43. 10 (कुबेरः सर्वयक्षाणां राजा) *Mbh.* 2. 10. 14.

(यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय)

32. किंनरा नाम गन्धर्वा नरा नाम तथापरे ।

33. कशेरको गण्डकण्डुः, कुस्तुम्बुरुः पिशाचश्च, गजकर्णो विशालकः, वराहकर्णः सान्द्रोष्ठः, फलभक्षः फलोदकः, अङ्गचूडः शिखावर्तो हेमनेत्रो विभीषणः ।।

पुष्पाननः पिङ्गलकः शोणितोदः प्रवालकः—एते चान्ये च बहवो यक्षाः शतसहस्रशः 2. 10. 15

34. दिव्यतानेन गीतानि गान्ति दिव्यानि भारत । मिश्रकेशी च रम्भा च चित्रसेना शुचिस्मिता ।।

चारुनेत्रा घृताची च मेनका पुञ्जिकास्थला ।। विश्वाची सहजन्या च प्रम्लोचा उर्वशी इरा ।

वर्गा च सौरभेयी च समीची बुद्बुदालता । एता सहस्रशश्चान्या नृत्तगीतविशारदाः उपतिष्ठन्ति धनदं पाण्डवाप्सरसां गणाः ।। —*Mbh.* 2. 10. 9–12.

That *K.* had undisputed sway over the Yakṣas becomes clear from the story of a Yakṣa named Sthūṇa in the *Udyogaparvan.*[35] Sthūṇa, out of compassion for Śikhaṇḍin, lent him his masculine sex for a temporary period. In the meanwhile, *K.* during his tour visited the place of Sthūṇa. Sthūṇa did not come forth to meet him. Incensed at Sthūṇa's arrogance and discovering the reason of his dereliction of duty, K. caused him to retain the woman's sex permanently. After a while, however, he relented, setting the limit of his curse up to the death of Śikhaṇḍin.

Among the Yakṣa chiefs attending on *K.* are found Aṅgāraparṇa,[36] Māṇibhadra,[37] Māṇicara.[38] One of the Gandharvas named Tumburu is described as attending on *K.* and entertaining him with Sweet music.[39]

Besides the name Vaiśravaṇa, *K.* is also found bearing other names viz. Rājarāja, Naravāhana, and Ailavila.

The name Rājarāja or Rājarājan[40] is reminiscent of the names Rājādhirāja and Mahārāja by which *K.* is praised in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,*[14] He is many times called merely Rājan which appears to be his characteristic qualification. Āstīka compares the sacrifice of Janamejaya with that of Vaiśravaṇa Rājan.[42] The great Lord Janārdana, who appeared before Mārkaṇḍeya in the form of a child sitting on a branch of a banyan tree in the midst of the deluge, proclaimed to Mārkaṇḍeya that he himself was Viṣṇu, Brahmā,

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There is also a referrence in *Mbh.* (1. 208. 14) to one Apsaras named Vargā who says that she always enjoyed the favour of *K.*:

अप्सरास्मि महाबाहो देवारण्यविचारिणी। इष्टा धनपतेर्नित्यं वर्गा नाम महाबला ॥

35. See *Mbh.* 5. 193. 30 ff.
36. I. 158. 12.
37. 3. 140. 6.
38. 3. 140. 4.
39. 3. 156. 28.
40. स राजराजो लङ्कायां निवसन् नरवाहनः । *Mbh.* 3. 259. 3.
अयमम्भो गृहीत्वा तु राजराजस्य शासनात् । गुह्यकोऽस्यागतः 3. 273. 9
भ्रातरं राजराजानं महेश्वरसखं प्रभुम् । धनेश्वरं व्यपदिशन् कथं त्विह न लज्जसे । 3. 265. 23. See also 3. 158. 26
41. See note 4 Supra.
42. यज्ञस्तथा वैश्रवणस्य राज्ञः । –*Mbh.* 1. 50. 4.

Indra and Vaiśravaṇa Rājā[43] etc. Droṇa describes to Yudhṣṭhira that all kings obey the commands of *K.*[44] It appears that his epithet 'Rājarāja' was a further extension from his title of Rājan.

K.'s another epithet is naravāhana[45] (one whose vehicle is pulled or borne by naras). In the description of the assembly hall of *K.* by Nārada, there are found among the retinue of *K.* the hosts of Gandharvas who include a species called naras.[46] It is likely that the conveyance in which *K.* travelled was borne by this species of *naras* and that therefore he was called naravāhana. In the description of the assembly hall of *K.* referred to above, it is also said that the assembly hall of *K.* (*Vaiśravaṇīsabhā*) being itself borne by the guhyakas looked floating in the sky.[47]

K. is also called Ailvila.[84] Perhaps this name harks back to the times when *K.* had not attained godhood. In the *Śalyaparvan,* there is a mention of a holy place named after *K.* It is said that king Ailavila i.e. *K.* practised penance at that particular place and not only attained to the supreme position among the rich but also secured the friendship of Śiva.[9] Ilā means the earth and the epithet

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43. अहं विष्णुरहं ब्रह्मा शक्रश्चाहं सुराधिपः। अहं वैश्रवणो राजा यमः प्रेताधिपस्तथा ॥ —3. 187. 5.

44. निदेशो यस्य राजानः सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति किंकराः 5. 137. 14.

45. See *Mbh.* 3. 22. 5; 3. 156. 26; 3. 258. 14; 3. 229. 3.

46. किंनरा नाम गन्धर्वा नरा नाम तथापरे ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 14.

47. (वैश्रवणी सभा) गुह्यकैरुह्यमाना सा खे विषक्तेव दृश्यते। *Mbh.* 2. 10. 3.

48. सर्वकामदुघा नाम धेनुर्धार्यते दिशम्। उत्तरां मातले धर्म्यां तथैलविलसंज्ञिताम् ॥ *Mbh.* 5. 100. 10.

अत्र कैलामित्युक्तं। स्थानमैलविलस्य तत्……॥ *Mbh.* 5. 109 .18.

See also *Mbh.* 5. 137. 14.

King Dilīpa is also called ऐलविल-दिलीपं-चैलविलं मृतं शुश्रुम संजय। *Mbh.* 12. 29. 64.

49. *Balrāma* visited the *tīrtha* of Kubera:

"यत्र ऐलविलः प्रभुः। महत् तपस्तप्तं……कुबेरेण राज्ञा……। वरा लब्धाश्च पुष्कलाः। धनाधिपत्यं सख्यं च रुद्रेणामिततेजसा ॥ सुरत्वं लोकपालत्वं पुत्रं च नलकूबरम्। यत्र लेभे धनाधिपतिः ॥ *Mbh.* 9. 46. 22–26.

Kṣīraswāmin in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* (1. 1. 68) says that *K.* is called *Aiḍaviḍa* because his mother's name was Iḍaviḍā. (इडाविडा मातास्येति!) Monier Williams (*Skt.-Eng.-Dictionary*) says on the authority of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that *iḍaviḍā* is a name of the daughter of Tṛṇabindu and the mother of *K.*

ailavila perhaps suggests *K's* origin as the earth-spirit living in the clefts of the earth.

IV. *K's intimate relation with Śiva.*

K's friendship with Śiva figures as one of the important characteristics in the description of his greatness. It is said during the description of the *Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā* that Śiva and his consort with the host of their weird spirits and goblins are always present at the 'durbār' of *K*.[50] Brahmā, it is said, while conferring godhood, upon *K*. also bestowed upon him the privilege of Śiva's friendship.[51] *Sītā,* while rebuking Rāvaṇa for his indecent behaviour, scolded him for his shamelessness in striking the great *K*., the friend of Śiva.[52] When Śiva marched in procession, it was *K*. who held the privilege of marching in the vanguard[53] of the procession.

In one passage of the *Mbh.*,[54] *K*. is represented as a subordinate of Śiva, showing his master's worship. Before Yudhiṣṭhira set about digging for treasures of gold required for his horse-sacrifice, he made offerings of worship to Śiva which included sweet milk dishes and flesh. Along with worshipping Śiva, he also made offerings of worship to his servants who included *K*. The offerings, consisted of a dish mixed with rice and Sesamum and also of flesh.

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50. भगवान् भूतसंघैश्च वृतः शतसहस्रशः। त्र्यम्बको राजशार्दूल देवी च विगतक्लमा।

वामनैर्विकटैः कुब्जैः क्षतजाक्षैर्मनोजवैः। वृतः सखायमन्वास्ते सदैव धनदं नृप॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 20–22.

51. (पितामहः प्रीतात्मा ददौ वैश्रवणस्य) अमरत्वं धनेशत्वं लोकपालत्वमेव च। ईशानेन तथा सख्यम्॥ *Mbh.* 3. 258. 15-16.

52. भ्रातरं राजराजानं महेश्वरसखं प्रभुम्। धनेश्वरं व्यपदिशन् कथं त्विह न लज्जसे॥ *Mbh.* 3. 265. 2.

53. अग्रतस्तस्य भगवान् धनेशो गुह्यकैः सह। आस्थाय रुचिरं याति पुष्पकं नरवाहनः॥ *Mbh.* 3. 221. 5.

54. (युधिष्ठिरः) गिरीशस्य यथान्यायमुपहारमुपाहरत्। मोदकैः पायसेनाथ मांसैश्चोपाहरद् बलिम् किंकराणां ततः पश्चाच्चकार बलिमुत्तमम्। यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय मणिभद्राय चैव ह। कृसरेण समांसेन निवापैस्तिलसंयुतैः। शुशुभे स्थानमत्यर्थं देवदेवस्य पार्थिव॥ पूजयित्वा धनाध्यक्षं प्रणिपत्याभिवाद्य च। सुमनोभिर्विचित्राभिरपूपैः कृसरेण च। *Mbh.* 14. 64. 2–9.

K's intimate relation with Śiva is again suggestive of his being hailed from a weird milieu which is characteristic of Sun and his host.

V. *K's tardy recognition by the Vedic or Brahmanical hegemony*

Though *K.* attained godhood, it appears from some passages of the *Mbh.* that his divine status was grudged or disputed by some Vedic or Brahmanical circles. The story of King Mucukunda's fight with *K.*[55] shows that *K.* had at last to bow down before the Brahmanical power: Mucukunda, desirous of gauging his power, attacked *K.* (Vaiśravaṇa) with his army. *K.* sent his army of demons and spirits against Mucukunda and vanquished the latter's army. Mucukunda, thus defeated, blamed his priest Vasiṣṭha for his discomfiture. Then Vasiṣṭha with his power of penance put to rout the demon forces of *K.* *K.* himself appeared on the battlefield and taunted Mucukunda on his having borrowed the strength of a Brāhmaṇa, but when Mucukunda spiritedly replied that the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas having been born from one and the same source, the conquest of the enemy was their joint enterprise, *K.* reconciled himself to his defeat.

There is another passage in which *K.* is represented to have received recognition from Vedic circles—Indra killed Vṛtra as a result of which he incurred the sin of having killed a Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmahatyā*). He therefore, fell from his high position and had to go into

55. मुचुकुन्दो विजित्येमां पृथिवीं पृथिवीपतिः । जिज्ञासमानः स्वबलमभ्ययादलकाधिपम् ।।4।। ततो वैश्रवणो राजा रक्षांसि समवासृजत् । ते बलान्यवभृद्नन्तः प्राचरंस्तस्य सैनिकाः 5।। स हन्यमाने सैन्ये स्वे मुचुकुन्दो नराधिपः । गर्हयामास विद्वांसं पुरोहितमरिंदमः ।।6।। तत उग्रं तपस्तप्त्वा वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मवित्तमः । रक्षांस्यपावधीत्तत्र पन्थानं चाप्यविन्दत ।।7।। ततो वैश्रवणो राजा मुचुकुन्दमदर्शयत् । वध्यमानेषु सैन्येषु वचनं चेदमब्रवीत्।।8।। यद्यास्ति बाहुवीर्यं ते तद्दर्शयितुमर्हसि । किं ब्राह्मणबलेन त्वमतिमात्रं प्रवर्तसे ।।11।। मुचुकुन्दस्ततः क्रुद्धः प्रत्युवाच धनेश्वरम् । ब्रह्मक्षत्रमिदं सृष्टमेकयोनि स्वयंभुवा ।।12-13।। ताभ्यां संभूय कर्तव्यं प्रजानां परिपालनम् ।।15।। ततोऽब्रवीद्वैश्रवणो राजानं सपुरोहितम् । प्रशाधि पृथिवीं वीर मद्दत्तामाखिलामिमाम् ।। 16.17 ।।

Mbh. 12–75.

wilderness. King Nahuṣa crowned himself Indra in his place. The original Indra, who wanted to recover his sovereign place in the heaven, implored the gods of the heavenly worlds—Kubera, Yama etc. among others to help him. *K.* and the other gods offered their help against the ferocious Nahuṣa on one condition namely, that they should be entitled to a share in the offerings offered to the gods. Indra agreed to their condition by saying that they would be duly consecrated with ablution to entitle them to a place among the Vedic gods.[56] He then made *K.* the lord of the Yakṣas and possessor of untold wealth.

There is also a reference in the *Ādiparvan* to a sacrifice performed by the gods, at which *K.* also attended as one of the gods.[57]

VI. *K. the regent of a heavenly world in the north*

K. is described as residing on the mountain Gandhamādana which is situated to the north.[58]. It is said that he was made a regent of a separate heavenly world (*Lokapāla*), situated to the north. He was, therefore, called a regent of the quarter (*dikpāla*), the quarter under his dominion being specifically the north.[59] His dominion over the northern direction was considered to be so complete that the northern direction itself came to be called the direction of *K.*[60] The mountain Kailāśa became his abode.[61] He is

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56. स तान्ययावत्प्रतिभाष्य शक्रः संचोदयन्नहुषस्यान्तरेण। तत्र साह्यं दीयतां मे भवद्भिः ॥ 29 ॥ ते चाब्रुवन्नहुषो घोररूपो दृष्टीविषस्तस्य बिभीम देव । त्वं चेद्राजन्नहुषं पराजयेः तद्वै वयं भागमर्हाम शक्र ॥30॥ इन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्……यमः कुबेरश्च महाभिषेकम् । संप्राप्नुवन् त्वद्य सहैव । तेन रिपुं जयामो नहुषं घोरदृष्टिम् ॥31॥ एवं संचिन्त्य भगवान्महेन्द्रः पाकशासनः । कुबेरं सर्वयक्षाणां धनानां च प्रभुं तथा ॥ 33 ॥

आधिपत्यं ददौ शक्रः सत्कृत्य वरदस्तदा ॥ 34 ॥ *Mbh.* 5. 16.

57. पुरा वै नैमिषारण्ये देवाः सत्रमुपासते । तत्रवैवस्वतो राजञ्शामित्रमकरोत्तदा ॥1॥ ततस्तु शक्रो वरुणकुबेरः…प्रणेतारं भुवनस्य प्रजापतिम् । समाजग्मुस्तत्र देवास्तथान्ये ॥ 1 ॥ *Mbh.* 1. 189.

58. गन्धमादनश्रृङ्गेषु कुबेरः सह राक्षसैः । संवृतोऽप्सरसां संघैर्मोदते गुह्यकाधिपः॥ *Mbh.* 6, 7. 32; cf. also 3. 161. 5.

59. See 3. 258. 16; 9. 46. 26.

60. उत्तरां (दिशं) धर्म्यां तथैलविलसंज्ञिताम् ॥ कुन्तोपुत्रो धनंजयः । प्रययौ उत्तरां तस्माद्दिशंधनदपालिताम् ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 24. 1.

61. कैलासनिलयः धनाध्यक्षः । *Mbh.* 3. 42. 31; 3. 14. 11; 3. 174. 2.

called the lord of alakā which may be the capital of his dominion,[62] or his pond of lotuses near his capital.[63]

It however appears from the same passage that K. came to rule over the north gradually in the course of time and not from the beginning. It is related in one passage that Dhaumya, holding Yudhiṣṭhira by the right hand, looked towards the east and said to him: 'This eastern direction is protected by Indra and Vaiśrvaṇa.'[44] In the *Karṇaparvan,* Karṇa describes to Śalya the gods who hold dominion over different directions. In that description, there is no mention of *K.* It is the god Soma who is described in that passage as holding sway over the Northern direction.[65]

It also appears that *K.* came to occupy a place among the four gods the regents of the four quarters late in his career. It is worth noting that *K.* does not figure among the four gods in the Nala–story of the *Mbh.* The four *Lokapālas* who attended the Svayaṁvara of Damayantī were Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Yama;[66] K. has no place among them. In other passages, however, he replaces Agni and ranks as one of the four powerful gods, the regents of the quarters, who are referred to as standards of comparison for the valiant warrior.[67]

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62. कैलासभवने मंहेश्वरसखं वली । आह्वयामास कौन्तेयः संक्रुद्धमलकाधिपम् ॥
Mbh. 9. 10. 48; cf. also 12. 75. 4.

63. ……आदाय गन्धान् गन्धवहः नलिन्याश्चालकाख्यायाः मनोहृदयसंह्लादी वायुस्तमुपसेवते ॥ *Mbh.* 2. 10. 160-5.

64. इन्द्रवैश्रवणौ एतां दिशं रक्षतः ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 160-5.

65. प्राचीं दिशं श्रिता देवाः जातवेदः पुरोगमाः । दक्षिणां पितरो गुप्तां यमेन शुभकर्मणा । प्रतीचीं वरुणः पाति पालयन्नसुरान्बली । उदीचीं भगवान् सोमो ब्रह्मण्यो ब्राह्मणैः सह ॥ *Mbh.* 8. 30.76-77.

66. एवमुक्ते नैषधेन मघवान् प्रत्यभाषत । अमरान्वै निबोधास्मान्दमयन्त्यर्थमागतान् ॥ अहमिन्द्रोऽयमग्निश्च तथैवायमपांपतिः । शरीरान्तकरो नृणां यमोऽयमपि पार्थिव ॥ स वै त्वमागतानस्मान् दमयन्त्यै निवेदय । लोकपालाः सहेन्द्रास्त्वां समायान्ति दिदृक्षवः ॥

67. यमवरुणकुबेरवासवा वा यदि युगपत् सगणा महाहवे। जुगुपिषव इहैत्य पाण्डवं किमु बहुना सह तैर्जयामि तम् । *Mbh.* 8. 26. 60; cf. also 8. 68.

cf. "The grouping of Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra is older than when Kubera is substituted for Agni."
—E. W. Hopkins—*Epic Mythology* quoted by J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Iconography.*

It would be relevent in this connection to state that in some old texts, *K.* is not found included among the regent gods of the quarters. In the *Atharvaveda*,[68] Agni, Indra, Varuṇa and Soma are mentioned as the regents of the East, South, West and North respectively. In the *Gobhila-Gṛhya Sūtra*,[69] there is a mention of ten offerings made to the regents of the ten directions; the regents with their directions are as follows: Indra (East), Vāyu (South-East), Yama (South), Pitaraḥ (South-West), Varuṇa (West), Mahārāja (North-West), Soma (North), Mahendra (North-East), Vāsuki (*adhaḥ* = nether regions), and Brahmā (*ūrdhvam* = the upper regions). *K.* finds no mention among the regents of the *Atharvaveda*. If mahārāja mentioned in the *Gobhila gṛhya S.* refers to *K.*, then *K.* has under his lordship the north-west direction.

VII. *K. the lord and the guardian of treasures.*

K. besides being lord of untold wealth is also described as a guardian-god of treasures of gold and jewels. It is said that there were bars of gold 'as bright as the rays of the sun' on the side of the mountain Munjavat on the back side of the Himalaya and that they were guarded by the attendants of *K.* at his instance.[70] Yudhiṣṭhira, who wanted gold for his horse sacrifice, was advised by Vyāsa to tap the treasures of King Maruta lying buried on the side of the mountain. Before beginning to tap and dig for the treasures, Yudhiṣṭhira was asked by the Brāhmaṇas to pray Śiva and his attendants for success in their operations. Among the attendants of Śiva who are worshipped on this occassion, there is *K.* the presiding deity of wealth[71]—of Meru, the mountain of gold, a fourth part was allotted to *K.* who distributes portions of wealth from it among men.[72]

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68. *AV.* iii. 27. 1—4. cf. *Tattirīya Saṁhitā*, V—5—10.

69. XIV—IV—7—37—41 (*S. B. E.* Vol. XXX, p. 123) quoted by J. N. Banerjee in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Page 521.

70. तस्य शैलस्य (मुञ्जवतः) पार्श्वेषु । धातवो जातरूपस्य रश्मयः सवितुर्यथा । रक्ष्यन्ते ते कुबेरस्य सहायैरुद्यतायुधैः । चिकीर्षद्भिः प्रियं राजन्कुबेरस्य महात्मनः ॥ *Mbh.* 14. 8. 10-11.

71. किंकराणां ततः पश्चाच्चकार बलिमुत्तमम् । यक्षेन्द्राय कुबेराय मणिभद्राय चैव ह । पूजयित्वा धनाध्यक्षं प्रणिपत्याभिवाद्य च । प्रीतिमान्स कुरुश्रेष्ठः खानयामास तं निधिः ॥ *Mbh.* 14. 61. 5—11.

72. तस्मात् (मेरोः) कुबेरो भगवान् चतुर्थं भागमश्नुते । ततः फलांशं वित्तस्य मनुष्येभ्यः प्रयच्छति ॥ *Mbh.* 6. 7. 21.

VIII. *The Characteristic belongings of K.*

(i) The palatial house of K. is always used as a standard of comparison for the palaces of kings.[73] It has an assembly hall which has domes looking like the Kailāśa peak or a mass of white clouds. In that audience hall is seated, on the gorgeous seat provided with a footstool of wonderous beauty *K.* clad in multicoloured robes and decked with ornaments of wonderful variety, surrounded by celestial damsels.[74]

Distinguished guests were generously treated by *K.* by offering them comforts and entertainments at his palace. The sage Aṣṭāvakra lived for a year at his palace. He was pressed by *K.* to stay on but he left, bestowing on *K.* blessings of increasing riches and prosperity.[75]

(ii) The pleasure-parks of *K.* were famous. They were situated on the Gandhamādana, and Kailāśa, or near about his assembly hall.[76] The parks were full of trees like the Mandāra whose fragrance was wafted by the wind around. There were also lotus-ponds in the park. It was these rare fragrant lotuses on the Gandhamādana which had aroused the envy of Draupadī, and urged by her, Bhīma set out in quest of the fragrant lotuses and eventually encountered *K.*[77]

The name of *K's* pleasure-park current in classical Sanskrit literature is Caitraratha. In the *Mbh.* in some passages the word Caitraratha is found used as a standard of comparison for beautiful gardens or parks.[78] In one passage it appears to be the name of the park of *K.*[79]

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73. राजगृहं कुबेरभवनोपमम् । *Mbh.* 2. 52. 3; cf. also 12. 44. 10.

74. वैश्रवणीसभा कैलासशिखरोपमा । सिताभ्राशिखराकारा । वैश्रवणो राजा विचित्राभरणाम्बरः । स्त्रीसहस्रावृतः दिव्यपादोपधाने परमासने निषण्णः । *Mbh.* 2. 10—1—6.

75. *Mbh.* 13. 20. 7—27.

76. The pleasure-park is called *ākrīḍa*'. *Mbh.* 3. 151. 7; 3. 156. 27; 13—19. 16 ff; 2. 10. 7.

77. 3. 151-152.

78. 12. 312. 33; 8. 37. 10

79. (अत्र राक्षसयक्षाणां गन्धर्वाणां च) आधिपत्येन कैलासे धनदोऽप्यभिषोचितः अत्र चैत्ररथं रम्यम् ।।8-9।। *Mbh.* 5. 109.

(iii) *The vehicle of K.*

Puṣpaka, *K's* conveyance, was made by Viśvakarman; it was provided not only with seats but also beds. It's edges or borders were most artistically designed and painted.[80] In one passage, Puṣpaka is described as being carried by swans.[81] Rāvaṇa took away Puṣpaka from Kubera. *K.* cursed Rāvaṇa saying that Puṣpaka would never carry him (*Rāvaṇa*) but that it would carry his enemy who would kill him in the battle.[82] After killing Rāvaṇa Rāma returned the Puṣpaka to *K.*[83]

In one passage, *K.* is described as having used a chariot yoked by the best horses of 'Clear eyes'. The charoit is described to be as high as a mountain-peak and like the clouds in the sky.[84].

IV. *The weapons of K.*

The particular weapon of *K.* is called 'Śibikā' which may be a sort of a mace. It is said that K. threw his weapon *'Sibikā'* at Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa when the latter were aiding the fire to consume the Khāṇḍava forest.[85] In another passage, the characteristic weapon of *K.* is called 'gadā' (a mace).[86]

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80. शय्यासनवरं श्रीमत्पुष्पकं विश्वकर्मणा । विहितं चित्रपर्यन्तमातिष्ठत धनाधिपः ।। *Mbh.* 3. 158. 35.

81. वाहनं चास्य तद्दत्तं हंसयुक्तं मनोरमम् । विमानं पुष्पकं दिव्यम्··· ।। *Mbh.* 9. 46. 27.

82. विमानं पुष्पकं तस्य जहाराक्रम्य रावणः । शशाप तं वैश्रवणो न त्वामेतद् वहिष्यति ।। यस्तु त्वां समरे हन्ता तमेवैतद् वहिष्यति।। *Mbh.* 3. 259. 34-35.

83. *Mbh.* 3. 275. 68.

84. अथाभ्रघनसंकाशं गिरिकूटमिवोच्छ्रितम् । हयैः संयोजयामासुर्गन्धर्वैरुत्तमं रथम् ।। तस्य सर्वगुणोपेता विमलाक्षा हयोत्तमाः ।······स तमास्थाय भगवान् राजराजो महारथम् । प्रययौ ।··· *Mbh.* 3. 158. 23–26.

85. कालदण्डं यमो राजा शिबिकां च धनेश्वरः (जग्राह) । *Mbh.* 1. 218. 31.

Nīlakaṇṭha comments on *Śibikā* as follows: शिबिकाम् इति पाठे शिबिका गदा इति प्राञ्चः । शिबिकामिति सानुस्वारपाठे तु तत्सदृशमीषद्वक्रमायुधमिति तु तत्त्वम् । तच्च द्रविडकैवर्तेषु, प्रसिद्धं दारुमयम् । लोहमयमपि बलवत्सु संभाव्यते ।

In a star passage 157 of *Harivaṁśa* (8–34) (critical edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona), it is said that Tvaṣṭā, the architect of the gods, fashioned out of the lusture of the sun the following weapons: the 'Cakra' of Viṣṇu, Triśūla of Śiva, śibikā of K. and *śakti* of Guha.

86. वरुणः पाशभृच्चापि कुबेरो वा गदाधरः ।। *Mbh.* 6. 46. 7.

Another weapon or missile of K. referred to in the *Mbh.* is a weapon which 'conceals' or 'puts to sleep' (*antardhāna, prasvāpana*). This was the particular weapon which *K.* bestowed on Arjuna when the latter had met the four divine regents of the heavenly worlds (*Lokapāla*) after his encounter with Śiva.[87]

IX. *The household of K.*

Draupadī in her beauty is compared with the wife of *K.*[88] The wife is named *'Ṛddhi'*[89] and also 'Bhadrā'.[90]

The son of *K.* was named Nalakūbara.[91] Rambhā was the wife of Nalakūbara. *Rāvaṇa,* once attempted to seize Rambhā. He was cursed by Nalakūbara and was warned not to seize any women by force. This episode of the curse of Nalakūbara was disclosed by Trijaṭā to Sītā, while she comforted the latter by assuring her that she was already protected by the curse of Nalakūbara against Rāvaṇa.[92]

In the assembly hall (*Vaiśravaṇī Sabhā*) of K., there is a mention of Sri or Lakṣmi[93] as a member of the audience at his 'durbār'.

X. *The Heavenly world of K. as a place of resort (for some) after death*

Nārda said that he had heard from Indra the following: that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had only three more years to live and that thereafter,

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87. *Mbh.* 3. 42. 33.

88. अतीवरूपेण समन्विता त्वम्……यद्येव राज्ञो वरुणस्य पत्नी यमस्य सोमस्य धनेश्वरस्य ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 249. 2-3.

89. स्वाहायां च यथा वह्निर्यथा शच्यां स वासवः । यथा चन्द्रश्च रोहिण्यां यथाधूमोर्णया यमः । वरुणश्च यथा गौर्यां यथा चर्द्ध्यां धनेश्वरः ॥
Mbh. 5. 115. 8-9; cf. also 13. 134—3; 13. 151. 6.

90. यथा वैश्रवणी भद्रा वसिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती । यथा नारायणी लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ॥ *Mbh.* 1. 191. 6.

91. See *Mbh.* 3. 358. 16; 9. 46. 26; 2. 10—18.

92. नलकूबरशापेन रक्षिता ह्यस्यनिन्दिते । शप्तो ह्येष पुरा पापो वधूं रम्भां परामृशन् । न शक्तो विवशां नारीमुपैतमजितेन्द्रियः ॥ *Mbh.* 3. 264. 58. 59.

93. सदा भगवती च श्रीस्तथैव नलकूबरः *Mbh.* 2. 10. 18.
Nārada purāṇa (84. 12) appears to suggest that Śrī is the consort of *K.* See J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 223.

he would go with Gāndhārī to the residence of *K.* where he would be treated with great hospitality.[94] Accordingly, Dhṛtarāṣṭra with Gāndhārī is said to have gone after death to the heavenly world of *K.*[95] It is said in another passage[96] that cowards who tried to flee and were killed on the battle-field went to the world of the Guhyakas. Warriors, who died fighting on the battlefield, with heroism, went to the world of Indra.

It appears from the above references that the heavenly world of *K.* was considered to be lower in rank than the worlds of other gods like Indra.

K. in classical Sanskrit Literature

The traits and the characteristics of *K.* as represented in the classical literature are found in their succinctness in the epithets of *K.* listed in the *Amarakośa*.[97] K. is a friend of Śiva, lord of Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, and Puṇyajanas. He is also called by such names as Vaiśravaṇa, Paulastya (Son of Pulastya) and Aiḍaviḍa (*ailavila*). Being a king of kings (Yakṣas) and lord of wealth, he also bestows wealth and glory. He owns the garden named Caitraratha and a vehicle named Puṣpaka. He lives in his capital Alakā on mount Kailāśa. He has a son named Nalakūbara. All the characteristics implied in this description in the Amarakośa agree with those indicated in the developing picture of *K.* in the *Mbh.* above. The only two epithets which are not substantiated in the descriptions of the *Mbh.* are *Manuṣyadharmā* and *Ekapiñga* which mean that he

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94. वर्षाणि त्रीणि शिष्टानि राज्ञोऽस्य परमायुषः ॥ ततः कुबेरभवनं गान्धारीसहितो नृपः । विहर्ता धृतराष्ट्रोऽयं राजराजाभिपूजितः ॥ *Mbh.* 15. 27. 10-11.

95. धृतराष्ट्रो धनेशस्य लोकान्प्राप दुरासदान् ॥ धृतराष्ट्रेण सहिता गान्धारी च यशस्विनी । *Mbh.* 18. 5. 11-12.

96. ये तु संग्रामभूयिष्ठा याचमानाः पराङ्मुखाः । शस्त्रेण निधनं प्राप्ता गतास्ते गुह्यकान्प्रति ॥ *Mbh.* 11. 26. 14.

97. कुबेरस्त्र्यंबकसखो यक्षराड् गुह्यकेश्वरः । मनुष्याधर्मा धनदो राजराजो धनाधिपः ॥ किंनरेशो वैश्रवणः पौलस्त्यो नरवाहनः । यक्षैकपिङ्गैडविडश्रीदपुण्यजनेश्वराः ॥ अस्योद्यानं चैत्ररथं पुत्रस्तु नलकूबरः । कैलासः स्थानमलका पूर्विमानं तु पुष्पकम् ॥ *AK.* 1. 1. 68—70.

was like a human being in some respects and that one of his eyes was yellowish and perhaps squinting.[98]

It may be mentioned here that *K's* traits like those of a man as implied in the epithet *Manuṣyadharman* are represented in iconographical literature, in which he is shown to have moustaches. His epithet 'Ekapiñga' gets explained by a text in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa.*[99] In that text, it is said that while Śiva and his consort Umā were in privacy, K. pried at Umā with his left eye. As a result of the blinding lusture of Umā, his eye got singed and yellowish; he was thenceforth called *'ekākṣipiñgalin'* (having one eye yellowed and seared).

Iconolatrous and iconographical references to K.

With a view to getting an approximately overall picture of *K's* traits and characteristics, it would be interesting and instructive to supplement the information given above from the *Mbh.* and early Sanskrit literature with some important references to *K.* as he is represented in inconography and as an object of worship.

Kauṭilya, while describing the layout of the fortified city, says that a king should cause to be built in the centre of the city...... temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, etc.[100]

Among "the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs that are represented and labelled with identificatory inscriptions by the artists of Bharhut" is *"Kupira (Kubera)."*[101]

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98. The commentator Kṣīrasvāmin commenting on the above passage in *AK* explains the epithets *Manuṣyadharman* and *Ekapiñga* as follows:

मनुष्यस्येव धर्मः श्मश्रुलत्वादिर्यस्य मनुष्यधर्मा ।···एकपिङ्गः पिङ्गलैकनेत्रत्वात् अतो भागुरिणा हर्यक्ष उक्तः ।।

99. देव्या दग्धं प्रभावेण यच्च सव्यं तवेक्षणम् । पैङ्गल्यं यदवाप्तं हि देव्या रूपनिरीक्षणात् ।। एकाक्षिपिङ्गलीत्येव नाम स्थास्यति शाश्वतम् ।

Rām. 7. 13. 30-31.

100. शिववैश्रवणाश्विश्रीमदिराग्रहाणि च पुरमध्ये कारयेत् ।। 2. 4. 17

—*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* Part I, Edited by R. P. Kangle, University of Bombay.

101. See *'Development of Hindu Iconography,'* by J. N. Banerjee, p. 100

F. 57

In Bharhut sculpture, 'Kubera stands on the back of a malformed, potbellied Yakṣa ṣitting on his haunches.'[102]

According to some scholars, a passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali refers to the temples of *K.*[103]

Varāhamihira[104] referring to the headgear of deities says that *K.* should be *vāma-kirīṭa* i.e. his *kirīṭa* should be placed slantingly on the left side of his head. *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa,* according to *Mānasāra* 'is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central pointed knob.'[105]

The *Agnipurāṇa,*[106] while referring to respective positions of the temples of different deities in a town, enjoins that those of Yakṣa and Guha should be set up in the northern sector.

Hemādri states that the Yakṣas should be potbellied. According to him, Dhanādhipa, the king of the Yakṣas, holds a club (Gadā) in his hand.[107]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[108] refers to the following iconographic traits of K. : his northerner's dress and armour (*apicyaveśa* and ***kavacī***), his four hands (the right ones carrying a mace and a spear, the left a jewel and a pot), his fangs and moustache, and his consort Ṛddhi seated on his left lap.

"A careful study of the texts characterising *K's* images brings out several important traits: he is usually two-armed (rarely four), holding a club or mace (*gadā*) in one of his hands, accompanied

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102. *Ibid.,* p. 342.

103. 'प्रासादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम्' on Pāṇini II. 2. 34.

104. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* 57, verses 32, 47, 57. Quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 286.

105. *'Elements of Hindu Iconography'* (Vol. I by T. A. G. Rao quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 286.

106. 39. 12. See J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* pp. 338 and 362.

107. तुन्दिला द्विभुजाः कार्या निधिहस्ताः मदोत्कटाः ।····गदी वैश्रवणः ॥
Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vol. II, *Vratakhaṇḍa* Pt. I, p. 138, quoted by J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* p. 339n.

108. 3. 53. 1—7 quoted by J. N. Baberjee, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

by two *nidhis* (*Śaṅkha* and *padma*) personified or not, is sometimes terrific in appearance, has either a man (nara, no ordinary or mortal man but some mythical anthropomorphic type) or a lamb for his mount, is potbellied and long-armed........ There can be little doubt that many of these features are based on an iconographic type derived from the Kubera (Sometimes described as *Pañcika*) and the Hārītī compositions of the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra."[109]

Views on K. regarding his name Kubera and his other characteristics

The name kubera sounds strange and may be indicative of the strange, weird habitat out of which *K.* came into being and of some strange traits associated with him. Below are given the view in brief of some traditional works and of some distinguished modern scholars who have tried to investigate into the problem of *K.*

In the *Uṇādi-sūtras, K.* is derived from the root *kub* which, according to the commentator, means 'to cover'. *K.* is so called because he 'covers' or 'throws into background' the opulence of others.[110]

The lexicon *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes a verse from the *Vāyu-purāṇa,* which purports to say that *K.* was so called because he had a deformed body.[111] The views of E. W. Hopkins[112] are given in brief, below:

"*K's* name probably comes from *kub* (as *daṁśera* from *daṁś, guhera* from *guh*) to which the native authorities assign the word *kubra,* 'Cover' as hole and as forest, *kub* itself being explained as 'cover over'. *kubja* is 'bent'. *K.* is etymologically a spirit of cover, hiding. Hence he is chief Guhyaka (*guh* to hide) etymologically allied with *guhera*...... His son is Nalakūbara. Nala is nara, a spirit of water. There is a body of water underground where spirits abound.

109. J. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

110. कुम्बेर्नलोपश्च ॥ कुबेरः ॥ 62.

The commentator says: कुबि आच्छादने । अन्येषामैश्वर्यं कुम्बति इति कुबेरः ॥

111. वायुपुराणे—'कुत्सायां क्विति शब्दोऽयं शरीरं वेरमुच्यते ।
कुबेरः कुशरीरत्वात् नाम्ना तेनैव सोऽङ्कितः ॥

—शब्दकल्पद्रुम ।

112. "Sanskrit Kabairos or Kubairos and Greek Kabeiros"—by E. W. Hopkins in "*Journal of the American Oriental Society,*" Vol. 33 (1903), pp. 55–70.

Nala is identical with nara and means a waterplant (of *nalina*) or water-spirit (of *nalasetu*) .... *K.* is first represented as a sprite of concealment living on that as his sustenance and associated with similar spirits 'the good people' (*puṇya jana*).

"*K's* association with Śiva rests on a deeper basis than the hills where they live together. Both are genii of productivity. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[113] *K.* and *Īśāna* are invoked together and especially for the husband at the marriage ceremony........ *K.* is deva only in the later parts of the Epic. He is never thought of as a mere man, as he is never thought of as a god in the full sense of the term.

"In *Mahābhārata,* in marked contrast to other literature, we find lower mythology itself presented as worthy of regard. *K.,* a superior goblin, becomes a god...... The attendant spirits of Śiva have names reflecting *K's* own essential characteristics."

Manfred Mayrhofer has expressed his views on the problem of *K.* This is what he has to say, in brief:

"nala in nalakūbara (the son of Kubera): What does it mean? Does it mean 'small, young kubera'? More acceptable would be to suppose that *nala* or *naḍa* means a 'son'. It appears to be certain to me that *kūbara, Kūvara,* must have been taken as a collateral form (*nebenform*) of Kubera, from un-indogermanic name.

"There are a number of Indian words which are nearer to *Kūbara* which traditionally mean a 'humpback', e.g. *kubjah,* (Pālī) *khujjā,* (marathi) *khujā, kubra.* These words must not have come into existence in the soil of the Āryan language. They are traceable to Austro-Asiatic descent.[115] Kubera is included in this list. He is the possessor of misshapen, ugly form. He is three-legged and has only eight teeth........... Kubera is in line with Gaṇeśa who carries an Austro-Asiatic name (*Heramba-* (Prākṛt) *Herimba-Hiḍimba*) and also with his Lord Śiva

113. 1. 11. 7.

114. "Probleme eines alt-indischen Gottesnamens—" *Bertrage zur Namenforschung,* pp. 1781—181. Band 2 (1950-51) Heidelberg.

115. See F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-munda words in Sanskrit,* Amsterdam, 1948. 42ff.

whose name is Dravidian (Tamil Śiva=red). He is to be searched in the indigenous pre-Āryan Religiosität, rather than in central Asian or Indo-germanic inheritance."

L. V. *Schroeder* remarks[116] "Kubera's misshapenness is explained by the assumption that he, as earth-spirit, lived in the hollows and klefts of the earth."

Manfred Mayrhofer, while considering the word nalakūbara, refers to the meaning of 'nala' as interpreted by M. B. Emeneau. M. B. Emeneau's conclusions[117] regarding the interpretation of 'nala' are given, in brief, below:

"According to the few scholars......, the name (nala) is derived from the common noun meaning 'reed'. The etymologists in general, ignore the proper name. The lexicon—makers........perhaps imply this derivation in that they put the proper name and the common noun under one rubric.[118] Since we find that the commonly accepted derivation of the proper name is unsatisfactory, it is necessary to seek for a better. I venture to suggest a Dravidian Source. The South Indian Languages-Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Coorg, Tulu and Toda show a base *nal,* meaning "good." In Tamil, the base, as applied to persons or actions of persons connotes excellence, virtue, propriety, or beauty . . . . my suggestion is that Nala is a formation with the Sanskrit primary derivative suffix—*a* from this South Dravidian base and that the meaning is "the good man," or less probably "the handsome man". There would be nothing at all strange in finding that Southern lands not yet overspread by the culture couched in the Indo Āryan languages, had kings whose names were Dravidian (like nala) . . . . ." The Indo Āryan speakers who recorded the name (*naḍa*) in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (2.3.2.1, 2 which makes identification of *Naḍa Naiṣadha* with the *anvāhāryapacana* or the southernmost fire) knew nothing of its Dravidian origin and meaning, but, in an effort to make it meaningful within the terms of their own language, made

116. *'Indiens Literatur und Kultur in historischer Entwicklung'* p. 375, quoted by Manfred Mayrhofer (op. cit).

117. See 'A Dravidian Etymology of the Sanskrit proper name Nala'—(*University of California Publications in Classical Philology,* Vol. 12, No. 13, pp. 255—262.

118. Böhtlingk Roth, Monier Williams, Apte.

it accord in phonetics with their common noun '*naḍa*' (= reed). The Epic-composers, who spoke a somewhat different dialect from that of the Brāhmaṇa literature, either did not inherit the tradition that the proper name was homonymous with the common noun and therefore, preserved it in a form (presumably) nearer to the original".

It may be pointed out that Emeneau has not considered, along with the word 'nala,' the word nalakūbara. According to his interpretation of nala, nalakūbara would mean 'the handsome Kūbara.' In this connection, it may be noted that according to Jaina tradition nalakūbara is a spirit noted for his grace and good manners.[119] Again Nalakūbara wedded Rambhā the fairest of nymphs.

Emeneau, while suggesting that the name Nala in the story of Nala-Damayantī, has been taken from a South-Indian origin, should have, it is expected, considered other words such as Damayantī (the name of Nala's wife), Puṣkara (the name of Nala's brother) occuring in the frame of that story from the point of their etymology and origin. His hypothesis of a South-Indian origin of the word Nala would have been strengthened, if he could have also demonstrated a similar etymology of other names of persons and places intimately connected with Nala, in the frame of the story. As it is, his suggestion of a South-Indian origin of an isolated word like Nala appears to be far-fetched and fails to carry conviction.

Concluding General Remarks

Above is indicated, in brief outline, the development of *K.* from Vedic times onwards to the classical times, with special and detailed references to his career in the *Mbh.* By way of retrospect, the stages in his development and certain characteristics and trends pertaining to them may now be briefly indicated :

(i) In his name and in the description of some of his traits characterizing the beginning of his career lie embedded certain clues pointing to his origin in a milieu which appears to be non-Vedic and non-Āryan. He originally appears to be a spirit or a goblin lying concealed in the hollows and the clefts of the earth. Hiding, concealment, mysterious appearance and disappearance appear to be

119. See E. W. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

his characteristics. He must have had his rise out of the Superstitious fears of the common people or folk who had to work for their living in such occupations as digging and foodgathering in obscure, inaccessible, fearful places far away from human habitation. As his name appears to suggest, he must have inherited from the habitat in which he came into being, a dwarfish, misshapen body of a goblin. He became a chief of the goblins and had his retinue of rakṣāṁsi, nairṛtāḥ, and piśācāḥ. As vaiśravṇamahārāja, chief of the molesting spirits, he had to be propitiated with offerings.

(ii) *K's* intimate association with Śiva goes to strengthen the hypothesis of his non-Vedic, non-Āryan non-indigenous origin. The rise of the God Śiva, as it is acknowledged by competent scholars, has also issued out of a complex of beliefs and ideas entertained by the folks who inhabited or frequented the forests, the hills and the dales, obscure places and the untrodden ways. In fact, *K.* with his characteristic behaviour and the hosts of spirits or yakṣas of strange, misshapen forms who are described to have been present at his court,[120] as suggested by their queer, weird names, may well have been among the followers of Śiva. As an intimate of Śiva, *K.* was given an abode on the Himalaya and Kailāśa, the favourite resort of Śiva.

K. is bracked with Śiva as being the god of the folks (laukika). *K.* also shares with Śiva the fate of a late and tardy recognition by Vedic circles and of late admission into the comity of Vedic or Hindu divinities.

(iii) *K.* gradually came to shed off his evil or frightening traits and became a gentle, benevolent spirit. He came to include among his retinue a host of benevolent spirits such as the Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras and Gandharavas and Apsarasas.

(iv) There appears a stage in the development of *K.* which is rather intriguing and can not be satisfactorily explained in an overall picture of his career. He is described to have been a human being[121] and to have become a lord of wealth and opulence by means of self-discipline. It is possibly due to this interlude in his career as a human being, that the traits and characteristics of a human being are attributed to him, that he is called 'manuṣyadharman'

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120. See note 24 above.

121. See note 9 supra. on *Mbh.* 3. 87. 2-3.

and that accordingly he has been portrayed in iconography as having a moustache.

(v) *K*. gradually became a god and was given a dominion over one of the heavenly worlds along with other gods. First, he was not given a status on par with other Vedic gods like Indra, Varuṇa and Agni. But gradually he attained that parity with other Vedic gods. Even then, he was not immediately given a place among the lords of the four quarters (dikpālas). As has already been mentioned above, in a famous story like the *Nalopākhyāna, K.* is not included among the four lords of the quarters. But in course of time, in the Mbh itself, he was recognised as one of the lords of the quarters, and the dominion of the Northern quarter was conferred upon him.

(vi) Though as a lord of the Northern Quarter, *K*. had a heavenly world of his own, peopled with the celestial beings such as Yakṣas, Guhyakas and Apsaras provided with the magnificient park Caitraratha and a prosperous capital Alakā, still his heavenly world was considered as a place of destination for the departed souls, lower in rank and importance than the other heavenly worlds such as those of Indra and others.

(vii) The development of *K*. from Vedic times through the *Mbh* to the classical times may be said to be representative of a typically assimilative and syncronistic trend in Hindu religious thought. As the Vedic Indians, in their onward march, came into intimate contact with the indigenous folk or the populace, there was bound to be interaction between the religious ideas and beliefs and the ways of life of the two peoples. During this process of interaction, the religious and cultural beliefs and ideas of the primitive indigenous population naturally infiltrated into the larger complex pattern of the religious thought of the Vedic Indians. During such infiltration, the primitive religious beliefs were transformed, adopted and suitably accommodated within the larger religious picture of the Indo-Āryans. Thus *K*. originally a goblin occupying a place in the beliefs of the common folks, first made his way into the beliefs of the Āryans as a chief of the malevolent spirits (rakṣas, nairṛta, piśāca) to be appeased and pacified with suitable offerings. Gradually, he became the chief of comparatively benevolent spirits like the Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras and apsaras. Finally he rose to be a god, though secondary, occupying the outskirts of the Hindu pantheon.

In the process of his rise to godhood, *K's* traits no doubt underwent transformation but not to such an extent as to be out of recognition. His original trait of 'hiding' or 'concealment' (*antardhāna*) became a divine weapon having power to conceal or reveal according to one's desire objects and persons. His love of dwelling in the clefts and crevices was transformed to his fondness to reside on the inaccessible mountain-peaks. His intimate knowledge of the hiding places in the layers of the earth was transfused into his uncanny knowledge of the buried treasures underground which conferred upon him the honour of being invoked at the time of digging for treasures. The flattering reference to *K.* as the friend of Śiva appears to be a glorification of his original relation with Śiva, that great god of the indigenous populace; *K.* may have been originally one of the weird, misshapen spirits who formed the retinue of Śiva.

BHAVAPRĪTA-SANGEET

OR

A NEW LYRIC NOTE IN MAITHILI POETRY

By RAMANATHA JHA*

Vidyapati of Mithila is, indeed, the first great poet of the mediaeval time who set the fashion of composing literary songs in the spoken language of the land. It was his sweet warblings that brought in the veritable spring in the vernacular poetry of Northern India. There were two streams of poetry running side by side even at that time. The one was the Sanskrit poetry cultivated by the pandits and patronised by the high and the noble. The other was the folk-poetry composed in the native tongue mostly narrative or in songs. The poets of this folk-literature were generally not quite educated but possessed poetic talents and they were patronised by the common men and women. The practice of giving the poet's name in the final line called Bhanitā was there in the folk-poetry.

Jayadeva was the first great poet of Sanskrit who adopted the technique of folk-poetry in his *Gīta-govinda*. Vidyapati followed him and expressed the contents of Sanskrit poetry in the language actually spoken in the land in the form of songs. This is why Vidyapati was called Abhinava-Jayadeva. He made the delight which is there in Sanskrit poetry available to the common man not conversant with Sanskrit. To me the greatest ; contribution of Vidyapati towards the development of vernacular literature of this part of the country lies in the fact that he could infuse the poetic delight available only in Sanskrit into the new class of vernacular poetry which combined poetry with melody with such a consummate skill that it cou'd please both the ears and the mind of his audience. This process of adopting the folk forms for literary compositions has been the way, more or less, of all—literatures and Maithili which had only folk-literature at first, was the first among all the languages in North Eastern India to achieve the literary status by adopting the ways of Sanskrit poetry. If we look into

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the history of any one of the popular forms of mediaeval Maithili poetry, SOHAR or SAMADĀUNI, MALĀR or LAGANĪ, RĀSA or HORĪ, CAUMĀSĀ or BĀRAHAMĀSĀ etc. we shall find that they had all been floating in the country-side among the common men and women from where some gifted poet took it and rendered it into a literary composition which caught at once the fancy of all lovers of poetry by its very novelty. These folk-songs have lost much of their freshness and naivete, homeliness and perspicuity in course of this transformation but they have added to our lyric variety and luxuriance.

This process has not, however, come to close. Even at the present time there is a consistent effort to give literary grace and refinement to a very popular form of folk-poetry prevalent in Santhal–Parganas round about Deoghar by a very gifted poet and musician: Shri Bhavaprītānandji Ojha. He is the Head Priest of the shrine of Vaidyanāth at Deoghar and is held in high esteem all over the Hindu world not only for his poetic talents but for his exemplary character and pious life. Poetry has been his hobby since he was a young man fifty years ago and though he writes in Bengali also, the major portion of his poetry is couched in the dialect of Maithili spoken on the South of the Ganges in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Santhal Parganas. Bhavaprītānandji's lyrics have won him the award for folk-poetry from the Government of India but in the State of Bihar he has mostly been ignored because his language is not Hindi and people of Mithila did not know till very recently what was being done on the Eastern outskirts of Mithila in one of the most prominent dialects of Maithili. Naturally therefore the lyrics of Bhavaprītānand are known only round about Deoghar and they have not yet received that attention and celebrity which they deserve so richly by their intrinsic worth.

Quite early Bhavaprītānandji was delighted by two different types of folk-poetry sung to the accompaniment of native instruments namely JHOOMAR and GHAIRĀ. Jhoomar is accompanied with MĀNAR and GHAIRĀ with DAMPHĀ. He took these tunes and composed songs in his native dialect like all Jhoomars and Ghairās, but with literary grace, on important topics from the sublime to the ridiculous so that they are elegant in thought and diction, though folk in tune and dialectical in expression. He trained up a band of devoted artists to sing them in chorus and there is now a school of artistes in Deoghar and around who give

excellent performance of this music. In fact, on that side of the Ganges, Bhavaprīta-Sangeet has become perhaps the most popular form of musical performance.

Bhavaprītānand has written thousands of these Jhoomars and Ghairās, both as lyrics and as narrative poems. He has told the story of Rama's Banishment, Elopement of Rukmini etc. in a series of GHAIRĀS and Jhoomars so that they please the ears while they describe the whole episodes with full of feelings. What imparts special elegance to the music is the naturalness of the language in which the thoughts and feelings have so artistically been woven. The tunes are purely folk without any attempt to bring in classical grace there and they are therefore so refreshing, because so new to the ears sophisticated with the hybrid tunes heard all around.

Of the two types Jhoomar and Ghairā, the Jhoomar is still prevalent in central Mithila or even beyond. It has however a long history behind it. Vidyāpati says in one of his songs—

"गावहु हे सखि लोरि झूमरि मदन अराधने जाउ ।"

Even in *Varṇaratnākara* there is mentioned Jhoomurā or Jhoomulā which seems to have been the popular name a century before Vidyapati. The tune of a Jhoomari in central Mithila to-day is different from the tune prevalent in the eastern region of Mithila but it is similar more or less to the Bhojpurī Jhoomara. To me it appears that the tune of a Jhoomari in central Mithila has been influenced by the tune of Bhojpuri but the genuine Maithili tune has been preserved in the outskirts of Mithila. It is fact that Maithili culture has from the earliest times been influenced by the cultures on the West while it has influenced the cultures on the East. The language spoken in Champāran or Western Muzaffarpur is greatly influenced by Bhojpuri while Maithili has influenced the dialects spoken across the Ganges and the Kosī. We observe this in the use of the personal pronouns of all the three persons. The old forms of the pronouns of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons as used by Vidyāpati, हमे, तोहें and हुनि are preserved in the eastern region, in Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Santhal Perganas and have been replaced in Central Mithila by the more sophisticated forms हम, अहाँ and तों, specially of the 2nd person which has come to have four forms, अपने, अहाँ, तों— both honorific and non-honorific. I am therefore inclined to believe that in the Jhoomari of the eastern region we may have the old indigenous Maithili tunes and if so, it requires to be studied and

investigated. Maithili music which was so widely cultivated is dying out for want of proper appreciation and any revival of the indigenous forms should be welcomed and encouraged. These songs are always sung in chorus, never solo, and this is characteristic of Maithili Music. This confirms the hypothesis that these Jhoomaris are typically Maithili. Fortunately, our old and respected poet, Bhavaprītānandji has done a signal service to Maiithili by resusciating the old Jhoomari and it is indeed a treat to hear the performance of these songs by the band of trained and devoted artistes of Deoghar.

And the lyrics of Bhavaprītānand have wonderful literary grace and elegance. In fact in his hands the eastern dialect of Maithili has attained literary expression and Bhavaprītānandji is the greatest among the great artists of eastern Maithili to have lent grace and elegance to that dialect which was till the other day a local patois. Here are given below three lyrics of Bhavaprītānand, one Ghairā and two Jhoomaris and they will prove what I have tried to show above that this new lyricism in Maithili is of great significance and show conclusively that new experiments on old lines, which fact is a sign of cultural and literary renaissance, are still being carried on and if properly understood and appreciated they may lend a literary grace to our eastern dialect which will without doubt be a matter of great pride and glory to Maithili. The new experiments of Vidyapati must have given the same sensational delight to the people of Mithila of the 14th century as the new lyricism of Bhavapritanandji gives to us and in that sense we can be perfectly justified in calling Bhavaprītānandji "Abhinava-Vidyapati" as Vidyapati was called "Abhinava Jayadeva".

१—संगीत—घैरा। वादन—डम्फा।

गणेश-वन्दना

प्रथमें जे बन्दौ शिवनन्दन हो गणपति गुणाधार।
गजपति वदन त्रिलोचन, गौरी-सुत ब्रह्म-अवतार।
तरुण अरुण तन सुन्दर हो सिन्दुरासँ उजिआर।
चारि हाथें दन्त पाशाङ्कुश कलश जे वारुणी आधार।
लाल पटम्बर पहिरन हो गले रतनक हार।
कपारें जे दुतिआके चन्दा मटुक शिरें मुषिक सवार।
विघ्ननाशक श्रीविनायक हो शिरें सिन्दुरा विस्तार।
भवप्रीता वन्दे चरण प्रभु करु दुख विपद निवार॥

२—संगीत—झूमरि। वादन—मानर

कोयलिया

कोयलिया कोयलिया एहाँ काहे राती करे सोर।
एहाँ जे विधुरा बाला वहावए लोर।
मथुरामे बोलें जहाँ कालिया किशोर।
कोयलिया, कुबजीसें करए किलोर।
केलिकुञ्जें वासा बाँधि करिहें अनोर।
कोयलिया जहाँ वंसी टेरए मनचोर।
लें जाही मोरा—भौंरा—मलय झिकोर।
कोयलिया, भवप्रीता युगलभावें भोर॥

३—संगीत—झूमरि। वादन—मानर

बँसुरिया

बँसुरिया बँसुरिया तानमे जोरलें कइसें बाण।
बाँसके बँसुरिया तों नाहि आँखि कान।
बँसुरिया, तइओ कइसें अचुक निसान॥
छिनलें मदनसँ कि भेटलो दान।
बँसुरिया, जही फुलबाणें इ गुमान॥
सबदें मिलाय तीरा करे वरिषान।
बँसुरिया, लेलें कते अबला परान॥
सबद ब्रह्म मिलावय कृष्ण भगवान।
बँसुरिया, भवप्रीताके हरि-पदे ध्यान॥

AMṚTKAR: A DRAMATIST AND HIS PATRON

By DR. SHAILENDRA MOHAN JHA*

In the history of Maithili Literature, Amṛtkar has been placed among the contemporaries of Vidyāpati.[1] His Padas have been found in old anthologies. Two of them are available in 'Nepal manuscript of Vidyāpati Padāvali,[2] one in 'Rāgtaraṅgiṇī'[3] and two more in 'Rāmbhadrapur Padāvali.'[4] Up to this date only these five of his Padas are available in printed form. In the Bhanitās of these Padas, Ñamiñakar, Amṛta, Amṛtkar, Amiñakar etc. various forms of the same name have been used.[5] No doubt, all these forms pertain to a single individual. Certainly we have no reason to doubt as these varieties of spelling a singular name was quite common in the early Maithili Language.[6] So far as mentioning the names of his patrons is concerned, in the Bhanitās of his Padas we find the names of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha, and Mahārāj Bhairava Siṁha of the oinwār dynasty of Mithila.[7] From this it may be assumed that he lived on to the days of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṁha (1446 ?—1482 ?). Mahākavi Vidyāpati was alive till the days of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṁha and according to his wishes the great poet had compiled his book named

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1. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I by Dr. J. K. Mishra (Allahabad 1949), Page 196.

2. *Vide, Vidyāpati Padāvali*, Pt. I Published by Bihar Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā Pariṣad, Patna, Page 377.

3. Vide, *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* (Darbhanga 1934), Page 8.

4. Vide, *Vidyāpati Viśuddha Padāvali*, Page 75 & 91.

5. (A) भनइ ञमिञकर सुनु मधुरापति राधा चरित अपारे ।

(B) भनइ अमृत अनुरागे, कपटे कुसुमसर कौतुके गावे ।

(C) भनइ अमृतकर भलि एहु बानी ।

(D) भनइ अमिञकर नागरि नाम ।

6. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, Page 198 (ft. n. 10).

7. (A) राजा शिवसिंह रूपनराएन लखिमा देइ कण्ठहारे । (*Rāgtaraṅgiṇī*, Page 85)

(B) जसमा देवि रमाने भैरवसिंह भूप रस जाने ।।

—*Vidyāpati Viśuddha Padāvalī*, No. 68

'Durgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī'. In this way Amṛtkar happens to be a contemporary of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha, Mahārāj Bhairava Siṁha as well as of the great poet Vidyāpati. Amṛtkar served as a minister of Mahārāj Śivasiṁha and that is but an established fact. In a Pada prevalent with the Bhanitā of *'Kavikaṇṭhahār'* his (Amṛtkar's) scholarship, statesmanship, generosity and many other qualities of head and heart have been recognized.[8] On the basis of the geneology as presented by Babu Bholalal Das,[9] he was the well known son of Candrakar, a Kāyastha minister of Mahārāja Śivasiṁha and comes of the family of Śridhardāsa, a minister of Nānyadeva of the Karṇāt dynasty of Mithila.

Indeed Vidyāpati's age was a golden age for the Maithili Literature. With the patronage and inspiration of the Oinwār kings, the whole atmosphere was beaming with intellectual fervour. Amṛtkar emerged out in the same period and quite at tune with the age his heart was full of extraordinary sensibility. That was an age of lyric poetry in Maithili. The entire literature of the period is available to us in lyric form. This kind of lyric may be called *'Geya Muktaka'* (गेय मुक्तक). According to the characteristic of **'मुक्तेन मुक्तकम्'** a whole poem being free from any context with prior or post references is named *'Muktaka'* (मुक्तक) Such a sort of lyric remains **पद्यान्तर निरपेक्ष** i.e. quite free from and independent of other Padas and so it does not require any reference or any correlation with other verse in order to understand the meaning there of. The principal 'Rasa' of Vidyāpati's songs is 'Sṛṅgāra'. The names of Rādhā' and 'Kṛṣṇa' were in such a way mingled in the erotic literature that by adding the names of these well known love consorts, one can very freely assume the appropriate context. But we find even such Padas, as are found at present in the shape of independent

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8. Vide *Introduction to Vidyāpati Kāvyāloka* by Narendra Nath Das (Page— ৮). The Pada has been quoted there as follows:

नीति निपुरा गुरानाह ग्रंक मे ग्रतिशय ग्रागर ।
कोष काव्य व्याकरण ग्रधिक ग्रधिकारक सागर ।
सबकर कर सम्मान सबहुँसँ नेह बढ़ाबिग्र ।
विप्र दीन ग्रति दुखी सबहुँकाँ बिपत्ति छोड़ाबिग्र ।
कायस्थ माँ सुर सिद्ध भउ चन्द्र तुलाइब ससिधर ।
'कवि कंठहार' कल उच्चरइ ग्रमिग्र बरस्सइ ग्रमिग्रकर ।

9. Vide, 'ग्रासामी सभ्यतापर मिथिलाक प्रभाव ।' An essay published in *'Vibhūti'* I, Vol. 7, Page 15.

verses, to be the constituent songs of some drama or other and they can be fully interpreted only when we come to know the exact context and consider the same with the knowledge of the plot of the drama. We are in possession of such Padas of Amṛtkar. A Pada by the Poet found in *Nepal Padāvali* follows fully in this form :—

Dah dis bhami bhami locan āba
Tesari dosari katahu na pāba
Lagahi achali dhani bihi hari lela
Talitlatā Sāgarikā bheli
Hari Hari virahe chuila Bacharāja
Badan malān kañona karu āja
Chāndan sitalatā tāheri kāe
Takhane na bhelie hṛdaya mohi lāye
Te adhikāili mānasa ādhi
Dhak dhak kara Madanānala dhādhi
Bhanai Amiñakara nāgari nāma
Āk bikaelihi sirijala kāma.[10]

It is proper to remember the *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'* of 'Śrī Harṣa', confronting the names *'Sāgarikā'* and *'Bacharāj'* (बछराज = वत्सराज = उदयन) in this verse. 'Sāgarikā,' like lightening disappeared instantaneously showing 'Vatsarāj Udayan,' the King of *'Kauśāmbī'* her sensuous charm. For 'Udayan' this short meeting and responsive

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10. दह दिस भमि भमि लोचन आब ।
तेसरि दोसरि कतहु न पाब ।।
लगहि अछलि धनि बिहि हरि लेल ।
तलितलता सागरिका भेलि ।।ध्रु०।।
हरि हरि विरहे छुइल बछराज ।
बदन मलान कञोन करु आज ।।
चान्दन सीतलता ताहेरि काए ।
तखने न भेलिए हृदय मोहि लाए ।।
ते अधिकाइलि मानस आधि ।
धक धक कर मदनानल धाधि ।।
भनइ अमिञाकर नागरि नाम ।
आँक बिकएलिहि सिरिजल काम ।।

—*Vide, Vidyāpati Padāvali*, Part I (Bihar Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā Pariṣad, Patna) Page 378.

mood of the sweet maiden, turned into a deep separation. Truly speaking the context is that of the second Act of *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'*, when the king 'Udayan' and 'Sāgarikā' the beautiful lady saw each other for the first time in the *'Kadalīgṛha'*, abode of plantain trees.

The story value, which is required to appreciate the true sense of the above quoted 'Pada', compels one to contemplate that this is a song of a drama, not an independent verse. The tradition of writing drama interspersed with Maithili songs had been pioneered by *'Jyotirīśvara'*. His comedy named *'Dhūrttasamāgama-Nāṭaka'* is to be referred to, in this context.[11] 'Vidyāpati' accelerated this tradition by creating his *'Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka'*[12] and it seems that 'Amṛtkara' gave it force with the creation of his *'Ratnāvali-Nāṭikhā*. Maithili dramas had speciality of their own. The dialogues were in 'Sanskrit' and 'Prākṛt'. In between them were Maithili songs or poem pieces. Commonly in those songs or padas the preceding or following 'Sanskrit' 'Ślokas' were interpreted. These songs were capable of giving the required help to the common audience to understand the incident–development and plot-construction of the performance.

No other song related to the subject matter of Amṛtkar's *'Ratnāvalī-Nāṭikā'* has been published so far. But in the *'Rāṣṭrīya Abhilekhālaya'*, the National Archives of Nepal, there is a manuscript entitled *'Bhāṣā-Geeta Saṅgraha'* in which we find two Padas of Amṛtkar, definitely from the said *'Ratnāvali-Nāṭikā'*. This manuscript of *'Bhāṣā Geeta Saṅgraha'* is a newly acquired asset of the National Archives of Nepal. Earlier this collection of songs was in the personal library of Rajguru Hemraj Sarma of Nepal. Rajguru's library was later on, donated to the National Library of Nepal and then along with other manuscripts to the National Archives of Nepal. Therefore, in the published catalogue of manuscripts of the National Archives (Formerly the catalogue of the Vīr Library) this new find is yet to be included. Dr. Jayakanta Mishra in course of writing his *History of Maithili Literature* had seen this manuscript in the Library of Rajguru Hemraj Sarma and he has referred to it under the name of "*Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa-Padāvalī*".[13]

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11. Vide, *Maithili Dhūrttasamāgama-Nāṭaka,* Published by Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.

12. Vide *Gorakṣavijayanāṭaka,* Published by Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Allahabad.

13. Vide, *A History of Maithili Literature,* Vol. I Page 195.

Why Dr. Mishra named it 'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa Padāvali' without having any reference to this name has its reasons. The last song no. 146 of this *'Bhāṣā-Geeta-Saṅgraha'* is written by the poet Govinda, a court—Poet of 'Kaṁsa Nārāyaṇa, the last of the Oinwar kings of Mithila. The translation of every quatrain of this song has been rendered into Sanskrit. The last quatrain follows in this form :—

Dhani dhairaja kara Govinda bhāsa.
Sāyar sayana tusāra tarāsa.
Kaṁsanārāyaṇa bhūpati jāna.
Soramapati ati gunaka nidhāna.[14]

The Sanskrit rendering of this is as quoted below :—

धैर्यं कुरु प्रेयसि माधवस्य का शीत-भीतिः स्वप्नतः समुद्रे ।
श्रीकंसनारायणभूमिभर्त्ता वेत्तास्य गोविन्दसुभाषितस्य ।।

Perhaps the *'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa'* of this 'Śloka' induced Dr. J. K. Mishra to take the whole collection in the name of *'Kaṁsa-Nārāyaṇa-Padāvali.'* This anthology contains 146 poems of 24 different poets including Vidyāpati. As Dr. Mishra has pointed out, "No name of compiler or the date of compilation is found in the manuscript. The manuscript is in fairly beautiful 'tirhutā' and appears to be 200 years old."

One (Song no. 93) of the two songs referred to earlier is being extracted here :—

Chitra likhia anumāne.
Hamarahu nagar pujia pañcavāne.
Baḍa kautuka ehi ṭhāme.
Paratakha bhae pūjā lethi kāme.
Namo Namo kusumasare.
Hamahu pūjao dehe abhayavare.
Da-ie paṭhailihũ tātẽ.
Ehi nagarī ke na bujhia bāte

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14. धनि धैरज कर गोविन्द भास ।
सायर सयन तुसार तरास ।।
कंसनारायण भूपति जान ।
सोरमपति अति गुनक निधान ।।१४६।।

Puhuvihi achha esagarõ
Ehi sani na dekhia dosari nagarī
Sukavi Amiñakara bhāne
Kṛṣṇacaraṇa bujha gunaka nidhāne.[15]

This song is from the second Act of 'Ratnāvali Nāṭikā'. In fact in it the prose dialogue of 'Sāgarikā' has been given a lyrical tune. Queen 'Vāsavadattā has to worship 'Kāmadev', the God of Love in *'Makarandodyān' the garden of Jasmin flowers.* On that occasion, king 'Udayan' has been requested to be present there. At the same time the queen sees 'Sāgarikā'. She thinks that she (Sāgarikā) will fall in the sight of the king, to avoid from which she has been kept with much care. It was natural for the queen to think of the lustful king *'Udayan'* being attracted by a beautiful damsel like 'Sāgarikā'. So she evades 'Sāgarikā' from there, directing her to look after 'Sārikā', a tamed bird. But the clever 'Sāgarikā' had already put 'Sārikā' in the safecustody of 'Kāñcanamālā'. Truly speaking she was very eagar to see the adoration of 'Kāmadev'. 'Kāmadev' is worshipped also at her Father's home but whether the 'Pūjā' here will be performed in the same way or other was the cause of her curiosity. She contemplates to see the same stealthily. Again, till the time of final worship she engages herself in cutting flowers for the 'Pūjā' of 'Kāmadev' on her part. Later on the queen 'Vāsavadattā' worships the God of Love, embellishing the tree of 'Aśoka' with flowers, sandal, saffron and

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15. चित्र लिखिग्र ग्रनुमाने ।
हमरहु नगर पुजिग्र पँचवाने ॥
बड़ कौतुक एहि ठामे ।
परतष भए पूजा लेथि कामे ॥
नमो नमो कुसुमसरे ।
हमहु पूजग्रो देहे ग्रभयवरे ॥
दइए पठइलिहुँ तातें ।
एहि नगरी के न बुभिग्र बातें ॥
पुहुविहिँ ग्रछ एसगरों ।
एहि सनि न देखिग्र दोसरि नगरी ॥
सुकवि ग्रमिञकर भाने ।
कृष्णचरण बुझ गुनक निधाने ॥९३॥

other things. Thereafter finishing 'Kāmadeva's Pūjā', she worships the king. Seeing all these 'Sāgarikā' thinks in this way—" (with flowers). It is very late cutting flowers, so I am watching from under the tree of 'Sindhuwār'. (Seeing with surprise) 'Kāmadev' is accepting the worship, then I too am worshipping him from here with these flowers (turning and offering flowers) O God 'Kāmadev', I express my veneration to you. (Saying this and making obeisance) saw, what was to be seen. The only special aspect is that here 'Kāmadev' accepts worship presenting himself in person while at my Father's home he is worshiped in pictorial form. So let me move from here before any one sees me." Truly speaking, the king 'Udayan' was the 'Kāmadev' incarnate for the devoted 'Sāgarikā'. Amṛitkar has put here the whole prose piece from the original Sanskrit drama into a lyrical composition.

The second song (Song No. 87) also is related to the second Act of the play. The song is as follows :—

Vāsavadattā pūja-e kāma
Āili Makarand Vana abhirāma
Vadan rūpa dekhi sabe keo bola
Cāndaka maṇḍala kuṇḍala ḍola
Alakāvali saṁsaē avalamba
Timiraka ākura kī sasi bimba
Kichu Janu pūchaha adharak bāta
Amiē sicala jani surataru pāta.[16]

In the present song there is a punning of the word 'Amiē'. On the one hand it denotes Nectar; on the other hand it embodies the poetic name. In the 'Pada' the queen 'Vāsavadattā', while worshipping 'Madan' the Cupid, has been sketched. Reading the

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16. वासवदत्ता पूजए काम ।
आइलि मकरन्द वन अभिराम ॥
बदन रूप देखि सबे केओ बोल ।
चान्दक मण्डल कुण्डल डोल ॥
अलकावलि संसएँ अवलम्ब ।
तिमिरक आँकुर की ससि बिम्ब ॥
किछु जनु पूछइ अधरक बात ।
अमिएँ सिँचल जनि सुरतरु पात ॥८७॥

original drama, it becomes obvious that the song is not Maithili rendering of any 'Śloka rather an independent song of the poet, composed on the basis of king Udayan's description regarding the queen's uncommon beauty.

But what about other songs besides these three? It is also natural to be inquisitive about the wherebouts of the complete drama. Up to this date no historian has either referred to any drama by Amṛtkar or has treated him as a playwright or translator of *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'*. But in the light of the above quoted Padas it is almost certain that 'Amṛtkar', following 'Śri Harṣa's' *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'* had composed the drama of the same name. If a sincere procedure of research and examination of ancient Maithili manuscripts is adopted, undoubtedly we will be able to trace out Amṛtkar's work. The vast store of Maithili manuscripts is safely preserved in the libraries of Nepal. Therefore it is hoped that the other Padas of Amṛtkar as well as his complete drama may be discovered sometime there.

The poetic literature of Maithili is very vast. It abounds in a lot of songs. But according to the afore-given description, a conclusion may be drawn to this effect that most of these songs are from some dramas and not independent verses. Dr. Sukumar Sen much earlier has pointed this out in his work entitled *'Vidyāpati-Goṣṭhī'*.[17] As he has expressed "It can be imagined that the Pada of *'Kalikā-Vandanā'* extracted in *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* is a benedictory verse of some dramatic composition of Vidyāpati. The Pada is undoubtedly Vidyāpati's, because there is reference of हासिनि देवि पति गरुड़नरायण देवसिंह नरपति [18] in the Bhanitā. The two padas of poet Bhiṣma, in which the names of "जगनारायण-प्रभावती देवी" have been referred to, seem to be extracted from some drama based on the narrative of 'Urvaśī-Purūravā'.[19] So how many songs are independent padas and how many are from dramas is a matter related to research.

Even after accepting the existence of Amṛtkar's *'Ratnāvalī Nāṭikā'*, one thing remains to be ascertained as to, who was the inspirer of this drama? Whom it was that Amṛtkar wrote to

17. Vide, *Vidyāpati Goṣṭhī*, Hindi translation by Dr. S. M. Jha (Laheria Sarai) Page, 43.

18. Vide, *Rāgataraṅgiṇī*, Page 89-90.

19. *Ibid*, Pages 42-43, 57-58.

please? Or by whose order or request did he write it? Amṛtkar was a minister to King Śivasiṁha. In a 'Bhanitā' of his Pada we find the name of this king along with his royal consort 'Lakhimā'.[20] Similarly in one of his padas he has referred to Bhairavasiṁhā and his queen Jasamā Devī.[21] But in the afore-said three Padas of the drama there is a reference to neither Śivasiṁha nor Bhairavasiṁha. In one Pada, however, there is the reference to one 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' whom the poet has described by saying गुराक निधाने, store-house of qualities. But who was this 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ'? The very problem is that it is nowhere in the Bhanitās of Vidyāpati or any contemporary poets that the name of the person entitled 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' has been referred to. One poet named 'Catur Caturbhuj' has definitely mentioned the name 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' in one of his padas.[22] In this pada of 'Laganī' a form of folk-music, he points to this unknown personality combining with his name adjectives like रसनागर conversant with sentiments, गुणसागर, ocean of qualities and त्रिभुवन आगर, having the knowledge of the three worlds. This Pada too, has been compiled in the aforesaid *'Bhāṣā-Geeta-Saṅgrah'* (Song No. 132). As such this stands as a clear evidence of the contemporaneity of 'Caturbhuja and 'Amṛtkar'. However this does not clear off the mist around the identity of 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ'. Still it can be guessed that 'Kṛṣṇacaraṇ' might have been some dignified but less known personality related to the family of Oinwar kings or that of contemporary ministers. When the identity of this important personality which is shrouded in ignorance, will be brought to light, Maithili literature will surely find in him a great patron, a literary connoisseur and an appreciator of excellence.

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20. Vide, ft. n. 7.
21. Vide, ft. n. 7.
22. The complete poem is quoted here:

आध वदन तनु आधे ओ आध पयोधर रे ।
आँचर बसने झँपाइए गाव मधुर सरे रे ।।
पिसए बैसलि धनि कौतुके समुचित सखि संगे रे ।।
दगध मनोज जिआबए अनुषने तने भंगे रे ।।
पीन पयोधर धर भरें दुहु दुहु पेलए रे ।
मनमथ नृपति निदेसे जौवन गज खेलए रे ।।
सेद सलिलें तनु लागल अपरुब अंसुक रे ।।
धनि बेकताएल अभिनव नख खत किंशुक रे ।।
चतुर चतुरभुजे गाओल रस बुझ नागर रे ।
कृष्णचरण गुनसागर त्रिभुवन आगर रे ।।१३२।।

क्षेमेन्द्रकृत बृहत्कथामञ्जरी में भारतीय संस्कृति तथा सामाजिक आधुनिक विचारधारा

डा० (श्रीमती) प्रतिभा तिवारी

स्वर्गीय डा० उमेश मिश्र ने अपने तपःपूत जीवन के पुण्य क्षणों को भारतीय संस्कृति के विशद अध्ययन, अन्वेषण और चिन्तन में लगा कर केवल भारत के ज्ञान भंडार को ही सम्पन्न नहीं किया अपितु सम्पूर्ण जगत् के ज्ञान वैभव की वृद्धि की है। हम अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि उनके प्रशस्त पथ पर आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्रकृत बृहत्कथामञ्जरी में प्राप्त कतिपय आधुनिकतम वैज्ञानिक, दार्शनिक और सामाजिक सूक्तियों के रूप में, जिनमें आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र का स्वतन्त्र मानवीय दृष्टिकोण प्रखरता से उद्भासित है—समर्पित करते हैं।

भारतीय वाङ्मय में आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र का योगदान अत्यन्त उदात्त और महत्त्वपूर्ण है। जनता को जनार्दन मान उसके कल्याणार्थ सामाजिक, साहित्यिक, दार्शनिक विविध विषयों पर उन्होंने विभिन्न गवेषणापूर्ण ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। अपने व्यापक सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण से, आलोचनात्मक उदार प्रबोधक प्रवृत्ति से भारतीय दर्शन तथा जीवन में प्रविष्ट दुर्दान्त कुरीतियों और कमियों का स्पष्टीकरण कर उन्हें दूर करने के सुझावों से सम्पन्न किया है, जिससे वे विश्वव्यापी हों और जगत् के लिये पूर्णतया हितकारी हों।

शाश्वत काल से उत्पन्न परस्पर विरोधी तत्वों की जटिलता और विषमता को किन उपायों और प्रयोगों से दूर कर सुखसाध्य बनाया जाय तथा संसार में "प्राणी मात्र समान हैं" इस उदार भावना का प्रसार कर सन्तुलन स्थापित किया जाय जिससे सभी सुखी हों और अबाधगति से विश्वबंधुत्व की भावना बढ़े इत्यादि प्रश्नों का समाधान देश काल और पात्रानुसार क्षेमेन्द्र ने बड़े ही सुबोध और सरल तरीके से किया है। विशाल समाज का एक अंश है स्वामी सेवक वर्ग। इस वर्ग में अत्यधिक असन्तोष है क्योंकि दोनों पक्ष अन्योन्य को अपना विरोधी घातक वञ्चक समझते हैं जिससे भारतीय संस्कृति के महत्त्वपूर्ण स्तंभ स्वरूप विश्व बंधुत्व की भावना पर आघात होता है और स्वास्थ्यप्रद सम्बन्ध नहीं स्थापित होता। अतः आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र उस स्वामी वर्ग को जो धन की दृष्टि से समर्थ है, समझाते हैं "यस्योपजीव्ये न प्रीतिः कुतः तस्योपजीवके"[१] अर्थात्

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* अध्यक्षा, संस्कृत विभाग, महिला कालेज, लखनऊ।

१—बृहत्कथामञ्जरी, पृ० ५७१, श्लोक ३८२।

दो भिन्न विशाल सामाजिक वर्गों में यदि परस्पर प्रीति, विश्वास, सहिष्णुता, त्याग आदि की भावनायें न हों तो राष्ट्र का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अंग दूषित मनःस्थिति से गलित विकृत बनकर समाज, राष्ट्र और संसार का बड़ा अकल्याण करेगा, उसे निर्बल बना देगा और सर्वत्र अशान्ति का साम्राज्य स्थापित हो जावेगा अतः दो भिन्न वर्गों में भी परस्पर स्नेह के आदान-प्रदान से ही विश्वमैत्री स्थापित हो सकेगी। यही सनातन मानव धर्म है।

जब मानव व्यक्तिगत रूप से धर्म, यश, कल्याण, लाभ, हानि को अपने तक सीमित मानकर बढ़ेगा तो समष्टि रूप में स्थित समाज का कैसे भरण-पोषण और परिवर्धन हो सकेगा ? यह वस्तु केवल 'मेरी' है इससे लाभ केवल 'मेरा' होगा आदि भावनाओं से युक्त होने पर कोई अन्य के दुःख-सुख के प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व को नहीं समझेगा इससे मतिभ्रम होगा और संसार का अहित होगा। इन विचारों से युक्त क्षेमेन्द्र दर्पान्ध मतिभ्रष्ट मानव पर आक्षेप करते हुये कहते हैं—"ये सेव्यमानाः कुप्यन्ति प्रसीदन्ति च वञ्चिताः।"[२] मतिवैपरीत्य देखिये इन उच्चासनस्थ धनिक वर्गों की, जो कुपित रहते हैं उन बेचारे सेवकों से, जो सतत उनके संकेतों पर चलते-चलते अपने प्राणों की आहुति भी देने को तत्पर हैं और अयथार्थ चाटुकारिता और वञ्चना में चतुर धोखे-बाज़ों से छले जाने पर उनसे प्रसन्न रहते हैं। कैसी बुद्धि विडम्बना है इन उलूक-वाहिनी लक्ष्मीवानों की। आचार्य उन्हें सचेत करते हैं सत् असत् के प्रति अपने आक्षेपक वाग्बाणों से तथा उनके ज्ञानचक्षु उद्घाटित करते हैं उनके व्यवहारों के दुष्परिणामों के प्रति तथा दलित सेवक वर्ग को प्रोत्साहन और आत्मबल देने के लिये बड़े ही सरस शब्दों में कहते हैं—

नमोऽस्तु तस्य सेवायै सर्वसिद्धिभुवा यया।
यक्षा अपि वशं यान्ति दुर्लक्षा विषमाशयाः।[३]

अन्यत्र निराश सेवावृत्ति से परिश्रान्त दलित सेवकों की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा करते हुये कहते हैं—

अहो व्रतमिदं तीक्ष्णं योगिनः सेवकस्य च।[४]

सत्य ही यह सेवावृत्ति और योग साधन महा दुःसाध्य हैं अतः धन्य हैं सेवक-वृन्द। उनकी यह सेवावृत्ति सर्वसिद्धिकरी है। दुर्गम से दुर्गम, संदिग्ध से संदिग्ध अप्राप्य वस्तुयें भी इससे सुगम और सुखसाध्य बन जाती हैं। इन प्रोत्साहनों से असंतुष्ट वर्ग

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२. बृ० क० मं०, ५६८।
३. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १९२, श्लोक ५४२।
४. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २०७।

प्रफुल्लित हो उठता है और दूर हो जाता है असन्तुलन दो असन्तुष्ट वर्गों का। इसी संतुलन स्थापना में निहित है समाजवाद का मूलमंत्र कि सब समान हैं।

क्षेमेन्द्र भारतीय समाजवाद के वरिष्ठ समर्थकों में से हैं। राष्ट्र तथा संसार एकाकी इकाई नहीं अपितु सबसे निर्मित, सबके लिये, और सबका है। इसके विपरीत जब मनुष्य अपनी निर्बलता भूल जाता है और अन्योन्य में असमानता देखने लगता है तभी प्रवेश हो जाता है उसमें अन्यायी दर्प का, जो संगठित वर्ग का अत्यधिक नाशक और विवेचना शक्ति का ह्रासकर्ता है। अतः समष्टिवाद के समर्थक क्षेमेन्द्र धन (अर्थ) के अनुपयुक्त अनुपात के वर्गद्वय में वितरण देख अत्यन्त खिन्न होकर राष्ट्र के उस निर्धन वर्ग के प्रति धनिक समाज में संवेदना जागृत करने के लिये कहते हैं—

अहो नु धनहीनानां मरणं सुगतिः परा।
गतांसुः सेव्यते गृध्रैः न तु केनापि निर्धनः॥[५]

अन्यत्र

अहो दुःखं दारिद्र्यं मरणाधिकम्
गृध्राः प्रयान्ति च शवं नित्यं मांसोपजीविनः
शीतलैर्दीर्घनिद्रैश्च निरुच्छ्वाससुखैः शवैः
दरिद्रस्तापनिर्निद्रः सोच्छ्वासः स्पर्धते कथम्।

अर्थात् मृतक निर्धन से सुखी हैं क्योंकि उसके पास मांसभक्षी गृद्ध तो एकत्रित होते हैं किन्तु जीवित दीन दुखी निर्धन के पास तो कोई आने का साहस नहीं करता। शव निश्चय ही सौभाग्यशाली है कि वह निश्चेष्ट, निरुच्छ्वास से युक्त शीतल निद्रा की गोद में तो आश्रय पा लेता है किन्तु अभागा जीवित निर्धन महाकष्ट से साँस लेता हुआ भूख और अभावों से पीड़ित शान्तिदायिनी निद्रा के भी आश्रय से वंचित रहता है।

समाज के व्याधि और आधिरूप में स्थित लोभी, कृतघ्न, वंचक, भिखारी, तान्त्रिक, पुजारी, जुआड़ी, ज्योतिषी, वाराङ्गना आदि के प्रति भी क्षेमेन्द्र उनकी बुराइयों का, उनके आकार प्रकारों का तथा उनके विभिन्न लक्षणों का निरूपण कर संसार के भोले मानवों को सतर्क सचेत करते हैं जिससे समाज के इस दूषण का नाश हो और समाज इस विकृत अंग को त्यागकर स्वस्थ पवित्र बन संसार का सामूहिक कल्याण करे। अतः वे लोभी व्यक्ति का नग्न चित्र प्रस्तुत करते हैं—

"प्राणान् हि पणमाधाय धने धावन्ति दस्यवः"[६]

अर्थात् प्राकृतिक नियम के विपरीत अत्यन्त मूल्यवान प्राणों की भी बाजी लगाकर

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५. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १८९, श्लोक ३८५।
६. बृ० क० मं०, पृ०३३२, श्लोक ५५१।

पशु से भी अधिक निर्विवेकी लोभी जन धन संग्रह के लिये तत्पर रहता है। इस प्रकार के मानव रूपधारी दस्यु से समाज सुव्यवस्थार्थ सतर्क रहे।

कृतघ्न जनों का शब्द-चित्र भी बड़ा ही मार्मिक प्रस्तुत किया है क्षेमेन्द्र ने। जैसे—

"कुतः कृतघ्नानां हृदये करुणाङ्कुराः"[७]

ऐसा कृतघ्न मानव-वर्ग संयुक्त समाज कभी भी शारीरिक, मानसिक, आध्यात्मिक अभिवृद्धि को नहीं प्राप्त कर सकता अतः इस समाज के अंग का **सर्वथा निराकरण करना** चाहिये। जिस समाज में सत्यपरायणता नहीं होगी उसमें स्थित वर्ग की सुरक्षा निश्चिन्तिता तथा समृद्धि दिवास्वप्नवत् असंभव होगी अतः क्षेमेन्द्र ऐसे बहुरुपियों के रूप में स्थित दूषित मनोवृत्ति वाले मनुष्यों को समाज से दूर करने का और सतर्क रहने का आदेश देते हैं। यथा :

"साधुभ्रान्त्या हि मुष्णन्ति धूर्ताः सरलवञ्चकाः
नरास्त्यक्तस्वकर्माणो मोदन्ते साधुनिन्दया"[८]

अपने-अपने कर्मों को छोड़ परछिद्रान्वेषी सज्जनों की निंदा करते हैं जिससे समाज के उस सत् वर्ग के प्रति जनता में अविश्वास क्रोध और क्षोभ उत्पन्न हो और समाज अपने ही इस अविश्वास रूप कीट से गलित हो नष्ट हो जाये। ये समाज के अपवित्र अवयव बनावटी सन्यासी, साधु, पुलिस, डाक्टर संबंधी आदि अनेक कृत्रिम रूपों को धारण कर सरल व्यक्तियों को ठगते हैं अतः इनकी स्थिति से समाज निर्बल होता जाता है, इनमें परिवर्तन, संशोधन वांछनीय है। सामाजिक सुव्यवस्था के घातक छद्म-वेषी भिखारी के प्रति कवि सतर्क करते हुए कहते हैं—

रागानलेन दग्धानां वैराग्यं जायते कुतः[९]

यथार्थ में मोहममता आदि रोगों से प्रज्वलित मन में वैराग्य और जनकल्याण की भावना उत्पन्न कैसे हो सकती है? जहाँ सब समान नहीं वहाँ संतुलन कैसे हो सकता है और बिना संतुलित स्थिति के शान्ति और समृद्धि असंभव है।

पौरुष और उद्योग के घातक आलस्य और अकर्मण्यता के पोषक भाग्यवाद को दृढ़ बनाने वाले अल्पज्ञ ज्योतिषियों का सुन्दर चित्र क्षेमेन्द्र ने प्रस्तुत कर उन वंचकों से बचने की सलाह दी है। ये अँगुलियों पर झूठ-मूठ ग्रहों की गणना करते हैं और सरल प्राणियों को डरवाकर धन एकत्रित करते हैं जैसे—

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७. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ३०४, श्लोक २१२।
८. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ११४-११७, श्लोक ३४-५६।
९. बृ० क० म०, पृ० ५२१, श्लोक १४३।

"कृतकग्रहविज्ञानात्स्वांगुलीगणनापरः"[१०]

इन लोभी और निर्दयमनवालों पर किसी को विश्वास नहीं करना चाहिये क्योंकि इनमें केवल निम्न स्वार्थ से प्रेरित अधार्मिक बुद्धि ही रहती है। इनसे समाज, राष्ट्र और संसार की कभी भलाई नहीं हो सकती।

मदिरा और जुआ से जिनका विवेक नष्ट हो गया है ऐसे समाज के कुत्सित अंग मानव का अत्यन्त मार्मिक चित्रण क्षेमेन्द्र ने किया है।

"स्वजानुसंधिविन्यस्तकपोलैर्निश्चलेक्षणैः
पराजये हाहाकारकराहतमहीतलैः
अधिक्षेपपरासक्तैः शपथाकोपकंपिभिः
वक्रानेकांगविन्यासपरैः कलकलाकुलैः
भुजंगैरिव सोच्छ्वासैः पथिकैरिव धूसरैः
उन्मत्तैरिव दिग्वस्त्रैर्व्यसनैरिव धिक्कृतैः"[११]

इन जुआड़ियों के चित्र से सामाजिक आर्थिक कुव्यवस्था, व्यवसायहीनता और अविद्या स्पष्ट प्रकट होती है। इस दुर्दशाग्रस्त मानव की इस दशा का उत्तरदायित्व असंतुलित भेद-भाव रखने वाले समृद्ध समाज पर ही है। क्षेमेन्द्र इस व्यसन से दूषित मानवों का ज्ञान चक्षु खोल जीवन के परम लक्ष्य के प्रति संकेत करते हैं।

स्त्री वर्ग में स्थित अनेकों का सौभाग्य छीनने वाली तामसी वृत्ति वाली वेश्याओं से भी राष्ट्र की महान् क्षति होती है और कामुकता पाप और असतपदार्थों की वृद्धि होती है। ये भी आर्थिक असंतुलन की फलस्वरूपिणी हैं। जैसे मकरदंष्ट्राख्या—

अनेककामुकच्छिन्ननासा श्रवणभीषणा
सदाकलहनिर्लूननिशेषकचसंचया
अतीतकामुकव्रातः केशाघातव्रणान्तिका
भयदाचिताग्निमालेव कंकालीव नराशिनी
कपालमांसरसिका राक्षसी·······[१२]
"शरीरविक्रयो यासां हेतुर्द्रविणसञ्चये"[१३]

समाज के व्यावहारिक, वैज्ञानिक और आर्थिक संतुलन रखने में परम महत्त्वपूर्ण अवयव है विद्यार्थी। यदि यह बृहद् विद्यार्थी समुदाय ज्ञानार्जन करने के विपरीत भाग्य-

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१०. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १८४, श्लोक ३२३।
११. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २८२, श्लोक १७-२१।
१२. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ५२, श्लोक ८३–८६।
१३. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९९, श्लोक २५३।

वादी या अकमर्ण्य हो जाता है या संहारक प्रवृत्ति का बन जाता है तो निश्चय ही राष्ट्र की भावी सांसारिक और पारलौकिक समृद्धि क्षीण होती है अतः क्षेमेन्द्र पुनः इस स्वल्प बुद्धिवाले कोमल मतिवाले विद्यार्थियों को समझाते हैं कि क्या कभी देखा-सुना गया है किसी से बिना श्रम बिना तप के विद्योपर्जन। यदि नहीं, तो राष्ट्र के भावी कर्णधार विद्यार्थीगण अपनी शक्ति का गलत मार्ग पर अपव्यय न करें अपितु राष्ट्र के ज्ञान विज्ञान और कला की वृद्धि करें। वे कहते हैं—

"कथमश्रुतपांडित्यमब्रुवंस्त्वं समीहसे
इयं शशविषाणेच्छा व्योम्नि वा चित्रकल्पना
अनक्षरोऽपि विन्यासो यद्विद्याध्ययनं विना"[१४]

अर्थात् बिना शास्त्राध्ययन के पांडित्य प्राप्त करना उतना ही हास्यास्पद और असंभव है जितना खरगोश के सींगों का निकलना और आकाश में चित्ररचना की कल्पना करना। क्योंकि **'अभ्यासरहिता विद्या हास्यायतनम्'**। इसी प्रकार दुर्ग्राही अविवेकी कुण्ठितबुद्धि वाले राष्ट्र की सुव्यवस्था के संहारक किंकर्त्तव्यविमूढ़ विद्यार्थियों को उद्बोधित करते हुये क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं—**"सेतुः किं मूर्ख बध्यते...गंगायामोघहार्याभिः सिकताभिः कदाचन"**[१५] अर्थात् सतत बहने वाली लहरों से युक्त गंगा के प्रवाह पर बालू से सेतु बनाने की इच्छा और प्रयत्न हास्यास्पद और असम्भव है। वाह्य और आन्तरिक उन्नति के लिये विद्यार्थी को कर्मठ, जिज्ञासु, शास्त्राध्ययन में दत्तचित्त होना चाहिये अन्यथा ज्ञान प्राप्ति बालुका के सेतु के समान निरर्थक होगी। यही बुद्धि और विवेचन शक्ति मानव को पशु से उच्चतर करती है।

समाज को दीमक की तरह कमजोर बनानेवाला अभिशाप है वृद्धविवाह और बहुसंतति। इस दूषण को दूर करना सुस्वस्थ समाज का धर्म है और भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुसार वृद्धावस्था में वानप्रस्थ आश्रम सेवन के विपरीत गृहस्थाश्रम में युवती पत्नी के साथ भोग विलास में लिप्त रहने वाले वृद्ध को बहुत ही गर्हित करते हुये क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं—

"चूतवल्लया इवासंगः कीटशुष्केण शाखिनः"[१६]

अन्यत्र

"उष्ट्रस्येव विलासेन गीतेनेव खरस्य
वृद्धस्य स्मरभोगेन हास्यं कस्य न जायते"[१७]

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१४. वृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९६, श्लोक ३३९–४२।
१५. कथासरित्सागर, पृ० १८५, श्लोक १९–२१।
१६. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० २४३, श्लोक ३४०।
१७. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४९८, श्लोक ३६२।

जो राष्ट्र जनता का उचित भरण-पोषण न कर सके, उसे स्वस्थ न बना सके तो निश्चय उस राष्ट्र के उन्नायकों में कमी है। वे उत्पन्न कर रहे हैं ऐसे प्राणी जिनका संवर्धन करने में असमर्थं हैं अतः सुव्यवस्था के शोषक वृद्ध और बाल-विवाह निषिद्ध होने चाहिये। इसी प्रकार उचित साधन के बिना बहुसंतति माता-पिता के लिये चिन्ता और दुःख का विषय है। उसका निरोध आवश्यक है अतः कवि क्षेमेन्द्र लिखते हैं—

"रथ्याशूकरतुल्यानां पापिनां बहुलोऽन्वयः"[१८]

अन्त में समाजवादी क्षेमेन्द्र कहते हैं कि सबके साथ समान न्याय किया जाय जिससे राष्ट्र में असन्तोष, ईर्ष्या, द्वेष की अग्नि न भड़के, जिसमें जल कर राष्ट्र क्षार-क्षार न हो जावे—

"अर्थिनो समता यत्र तत्र न्यायो विवेच्यते
प्राप्तौ विवादपदवीं समौ सामान्यभूमिपौ"[१९]

अर्थात् जहाँ द्वैधीभाव के विपरीत वादी प्रतिवादी के रूप में राजा, प्रजा, धनी, रंक का भेद नहीं रहता, जहाँ न्यायबुद्धि द्वैधीभाव से प्रताड़ित नहीं की जाती वहीं न्याय होता है, वहीं प्राकृतिक मानव धर्म है और तभी सम्पूर्ण संसार में भेदभाव हटता है और विश्व शान्ति स्थापित होती है। यही मानवीय धर्म है, न्याय है।

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१८. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० १०६, श्लोक ३९।
१९. बृ० क० मं०, पृ० ४६०, श्लोक १३२।

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SECTION V

PHILOLOGY

THE MEANING OF VEDIC KĀRÚ–

By J. GONDA*

Some thirty years ago the German scholar Paul Thieme,[1] basing himself upon *AV.* 20. 127, 11 *índraḥ kārúm abūbudhad ū't tiṣṭha vicarā járan / mámé́d ugrásya carkṛdhi sárva ít te pṛṇād aríḥ* "Indra has woken up the proclaimer (of his praise, saying): "Rise, wander about praising; speak highly of me, the powerful one; every *ari*[2] will grant you abundant (gifts)", argued that in the Veda a *kārú-* —which in the *Petrograd Dictionary* was translated by "eulogist, poet"—must have been a wandering bard who in this stanza is enjoined to praise the god in the house of a stranger, or at least of other people. In a later publication[3] the same scholar expressed the opinion that such a wandering bard, being endowed with the divine virtue of his inspiration, must have been inviolable or rather sacrosanct and was therefore supposed to make an excellent messenger. His views were recently endorsed by Rüdiger Schmitt in a book on poetry and poetical language in (prehistoric) Indo-European times.[4] Recalling the well-known Greek word *kā'rūx* (in the Ionic and Attic dialects *kérūx*), which is usually translated by "herald", he made an attempt at demonstrating that this word and Vedic *kāru-* —which notwithstanding the *k-* extension and the long *u* in Greek have very often been considered to be etymologically identical[5]—continue an

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1. P. Thieme. *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda,* Leipzig 1938, p. 75 f. See also Geldner, *Vedische Studien,* III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 75.

2. An *ari* probably is "a member of the Āryan community with whom one or one's relatives might lawfully marry" rather than "a stranger". See E. Benveniste, in a lecture on "The study of the Indo-European vocabulary," delivered before the University of London, May 1949 (see J. Brough, *The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara,* Cambridge 1953, p. XIV).

3. Thieme, "Vorzarathustrisches bei den Zarathustriern," *in Z.D.M.G.* 107 (1957), p. 85.

4. R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indo-germanischer Zeit,* Wiesbaden 1967, p. 301 f.

5. For references see Schmitt, o.c., p. 301, n. 1740 and e.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I, Heidelberg 1954—1960, p. 845; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary,* I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 202.

original Indo-European term (*kāru-*) for the "poet". The semantic gulf between the Vedic word translated by "poet, panegyrist, reciter of eulogies" and the Greek word meaning "herald" should, he argues, be bridged over by the consideration that both functionaries essentially were wandering and that one and the same original function may have differentiated in the different cultural milieus of (prehistoric) Greece and India.

This argument gives occasion to some critical remarks. First, is it warranted to assume on the strength of a single passage that the most prominent characteristic of a Vedic *kāru-* was his ambulatory living? The large majority of the occurrences point to another semantic kernel or central meaning. A *kāru-* was to praise and extol a god or divine power in his eulogies, to honour them, rejoice them or to "be kind" to them (*ṚV.* 3, 33, 8 *ukthéṣu kāro práti no juṣasva;* see 8, 92, 19 *índrāya....stobhantu no gíraḥ / arkám arcantu kārávaḥ* "our words of praise must raise themselves for Indra; the proclaimers of his praise start a eulogy"; 3, 39, 7; 8, 94, 3; 10, 75, 1) and was expected to gain a hearing (*ṚV.* 3, 33, 9 f.). He is also said to wake up the Aśvins by means of his well-spoken or well-formed words (*ṚV.* 7, 68, 9 *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktair ágre budhānā uṣásāṃ sumanmā*). From the simile in *ṚV.* 2, 43, 1 it appears that the eulogist was, naturally enough, characterized by his voice: ominous birds answer like *kāravaḥ* raising their voices at the right moment. According to *ṚV.* 1, 178, 3 Indra, who is together with his heroic worshipper victorious in combat, hears the *kāru* who seeks his help, but the poet words this idea as follows. "Indra will hear the call of the poet in need (*śrótā hávaṃ nā'dhamānasya kāróḥ*).

It is true that the verb *carati* is again used at *ṚV.* 8, 92 33 but the context makes it quite clear that the acclamations of praise, not the movements or wandering of the eulogist are the centre of interest: *tvā'm íd dhí tvāyávo' nunónuvataś cárān / sákhāya indra kārávaḥ* "For thee alone thy faithful supporters will (continuously) follow with acclamations of praise, (thy) companions, O Indra, the proclaimers of (thy) praise". As is well-known the verb *carati* accompanied by a participle could express continuous action. Thus *ṚV.* 1, 83, 6 speaks of a *kāru-* who being skilled in praising raises his voice (*vádati kārúr ukthyaḥ*) in the house or in the compound of a sacrificer, but the text quite intelligibly omits any reference to his origin or journeys. That the eulogist travelled is without question: see probably *ṚV.* 1, 11, 6 stating that the poet returned, that

is, no doubt, went home, with gifts, and addressed (probably to make mention of his success and rendered an account of the recompenses received) the river (of his country), the *kārávaḥ* being witnesses, and 1, 165, 15 etc. where it is implied in the words "We would like to find a prosperous sacrificial enclosure the owners of which are inclined to give abundantly". Cf. also stanza 14. It is not surprising that these eulogists should have praised also their patrons (*ṚV*. 6, 45, 33).

A *kāru-* did not only deliver his eulogies, he also composed them: cf. *ṚV*. 1, 184, 4 requesting the Aśvins to stimulate the eulogy of the *kāru-* (*stómam hinotam . . .kāróḥ*). The early morning was the point of time that was especially proper to the manifestation of "visions" and inspiration; hence the invocation of the Aśvins whose matutinal character is well-known).[6] See also 1, 148, 2 where Agni's activity is the determinant factor in the poet's receiving inspiration; 3, 6, 1; 4, 16, 3;[7] 9, 10, 6. In *ṚV*. 8, 3, 18 the *kārávaḥ* are called *viprāsaḥ,* a term which denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and enthusiast seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the vibrating emotional sacred words.[8] As inspired poets the *kārávaḥ* knew more than other men (compare e.g. *ṚV*. 9, 92, 5). Yet I would hesitate to translate the appellation *kāru-* by "poet".[9]

Thus the phrases *gīrbhir gṛṇánti kārávaḥ* "the proclaimers praise (extol) with eulogies (verses, invocations)" (*ṚV*. 8, 46, 3; 8, 54, 1 and *ṚVkh*. 3, 6, 1 adding *stóbhantaḥ* "shouting"), *gṛṇántaḥ kārávo girā'* (9, 29, 2) and *gṛṇatáḥ kārū'n* (5, 33, 7)—cf. also 6, 24, 2—may be supposed to indicate in as few words as possible the most essential side of the character of this Vedic figure who in the first place was a "proclaimer of praise". I would however object to Thieme's[10] translation of *ṚV*. 6, 45, 33 *tát sú no víśve aryá ā' sádā gṛṇanti kārávaḥ* "that all bards praise (for) us well (also those) in the house

6. I refer to my book *The vision of the Vedic poets,* The Hague 1963, p. 78 ff.

7. See the note by K. F. Geldner, "Der Rig-veda übersetzt." I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 339 f. (on *ṚV*. 3, 4, 7).

8. See *The vision of the Vedic poets,* p. 39.

9. As is done by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects,* London 1912 (Varanasi 1958), I, p. 150 and Geldner, o.c., III, p. 22 (ṚV 9, 17, 6), etc.

10. Thieme, o.c., p. 74 f. For "bard" see further on.

of the stranger". Hence also the juxtaposition of *kāru-* and *jaritar-* in *ṚV.* 1, 165, 14 : Indra, addressing the Maruts, states that the inspiration or wisdom of *Mānya* (who in stanza 15 and elsewhere is said to be a *kāru-*), has called the gods near, and expects the eulogist (*jaritar-*) to start his praise upon them. In all probability *Mānya*, the *kāru-*, and the *jaritar-* are the same person. Another relevant place is *ṚV.* 7, 68, 9, *eṣá syá kārúr jarate sūktair* reference to which has already been made. As invokers the *kārávaḥ* appear also *ṚV.* 6, 46, 1 (*VS.* 27, 37) *tvā'm* (=*Indra*) *id dhi hávāmahe sātā' vajasasya kārávaḥ* "we, *kārávaḥ*, invoke thee concerning (with a view to) the acquisition of *vāja*" and *AV.* 7, 73, 1 *vayáṃ hi vāṃ . . . aśvinā hávāmahe . . . kārávaḥ*. At *ṚV.* 7, 72, 4 they are accordingly said to offer their stanzas, charged with brahman, to the same gods, viz. the Aśvins (*prá vāṃ bráhmāṇi kārávo bharante*). See also *ṚV.* 6, 21, 1 *kārór hávyam*.

Special attention may be paid to *ṚV.* 7, 82, 4 because in this stanza a clear difference is made between the charioteers who invoke Indra and Varuṇa in the encounters on the battle-field and the *kārávaḥ* who call upon the same gods "in (during) the generation of peaceful possession of property"[11] (*yuvā'm id yutsú pṛ'tanāsu váhnayo yuvā'm kṣémaya prasavé...... / kārávaḥ......havāmahe*). Judging from this place the principal occupation of these eulogists was the invocation of the gods in time of peace, but *ṚV.* 10, 61, 23 royal patrons are described as resorting, during a military expedition or, rather, a raid, to a *kāru-* —who is said to be their dearest *vipra-* —, because the eulogist was believed to be able to help them and to bring their venture to a successful close. Geldner[12] may be right in identifying this eulogist with the royal purohita who indeed often accompanied his patron to the battle-field[13].

It is further worth noticing that the activity of the *kāru-* was an important and even indispensable element of a correct and

11. Cf. my article on "The meaning of the noun *utsava-* and its relatives" in *India antiqua*, a volume of Oriental studies presented to J. Ph. Vogel, Leyden 1947, p. 146 ff., and Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, Paris 1955—1967, VII, p. 82.

12. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 231.

13. See my article on "The purohita" in *Studia Indologica* (*Volume in honour of W. Kirfel*), Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff.

effective performance of the elaborate rites. The poet of *ṚV.* 1, 31, 8 requests Agni to make after being praised (by the *kāru-*), the latter honoured in order to enable him to gain wealth and expresses the wish that the new work[14] or production (*apas*, no doubt the *kāru-'s* eulogy) may be the means by which the sacrifice may be successful. Another interesting stanza is *ṚV.* 10, 92, 7 stating that the *kārávaḥ* have fashioned Indra's vajra in the assemblage of the men (Lords): this must mean that their activity during the sacrificial sessions has strengthened Indra and stimulated him into a display of courage and heroism. Hence also *ṚV.* 1, 53, 6 in which the same god is said to have extirpated, on behalf of the *kāru-* and of the owner of sacrificial grass, i.e. the sacrificer, ten thousand of enemies (*yát kārávе dáśa vṛtrā'ṇy..... barhíṣmate ni sahásrāṇi barháyaḥ*). For the *kāru-*'s relations to Indra see also 1, 102, 9; at 5, 33, 7 this god is implored to be his protector. The compound *kārudhāyas-* "nourishing. supporting the *kāru-*" is among Indra's epithets (*ṚV.* 6, 21, 8; 6, 24, 2 etc.). Notwithstanding the somewhat vague meaning of the noun *vṛjáneṣu*[15] at *ṚV.* 2, 2, 9 so much is clear that there also an allusion is made to the *kāru-*'s activity (and that a profitable one) in the sacrificial congregations: the *dhī-* ("poem based on inspiration") of men has become swollen among the immortal denizens of heaven so as to be a milk-yielding cow for the proclaimer in the sacrificial congregations. The poet of *ṚV.* 2, 34, 7 implores the Maruts to give such a proclaimer a reward (. . . *dāta* . . . *vṛjáneṣu kārávе saním*). It is therefore not surprising that Agni, the god of inspiration (*ṚV.* 8, 39, 9), the first and the best *ṛṣi* (1, 31, 1; 3, 21, 3) and the great god of the sacrificial rite, is 1, 31, 9 invoked to be the *kāru-'s* "father" (the one who forms his person) and "providence" (*tanūkṛ'd bodhi prámatiś ca kārávе*).

That the functionary under discussion was employed on the sacrificial ground and that his voice was a valuable asset to a satisfactory performance of his task may be inferred also from the Āprī-hymn *ṚV.* 10, 110, (*AV.* 5, 12), st. 7: "the two divine hotars, well-voiced . . . fashioning the act of worship for man to wor-

14. I refer to my article on the significance of a new song, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 48, p. 275 ff.

15. For which see Renou, o.c. (=E.V.P.) III, p. 20, with whom I cannot completely agree.

ship, *kārū'*, urging in (to) the sacrificial rites......"[16] If Sāyaṇa is right in supplying after "urging" (*pracodayántau*) *ṛtvijo yajamā-nāṃś ca* "the officiants and the sacrificers"[17]—for the construction see *ṚV*. 6, 75, 13; 9, 85, 2—, the *kāru-*'s appearance on the sacrificial grounds or the performance of his duties may in this context have been regarded as urging those present to execute their particular tasks. The poet of *ṚV*. 7, 2, 7 speaks with reference to the divine hotars of two inspired seers, speakers and proclaimers of praise present at man's acts of sacrificial worship (*víprā yajñéṣu mā'nuṣeṣu kārū'*).

It is doubtful whether the *kā́ru-* may on the strength of a single text, *ṚV*. 9, 112, 3, "I am a *kāru-*, my father is physician" be said to have been a professional man.[18]

There can be no doubt whatever that the etymological connection of the term under consideration with the Vedic verb *carkarti*[19] "to make mention of, to praise, speak highly of" has been rightly established and adopted by the authors of many dictionaries.[20] The meaning of this verb is indeed in perfect harmony with that of the noun: cf. e.g. *ṚV*. 4, 39, 1 *āśúṃ dadhikrā'm tám u nú ṣṭavāma divás pṛthivyā' utá carkirāma*. "We will now praise the swift (race-horse) Dadhikrā, and we will speak highly of Heaven and Earth." Nor can any objection be taken to connecting with

16. I cannot follow W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 241 in translating: "The (two) invokers of the gods... well-voiced... urging forward at the councils the (two) singers...".

17. Uvaṭa on *VS*. 29, 32 explains *anyān ṛtvijaḥ*, Mahīdhara *ṛtvijaḥ;* R.T.H. Griffith, *The White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 297 translates: "as singers who inspire us in assemblies...".

18. Thus Macdonnell and Keith, o.c., p. 150.

19. The nouns *kārá-* "acclamation, chant of victory" and *kārin-* "praising, rejoicing" mentioned by the *Petrograd Dictionary;* H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 323; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary;* Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 201 do not exist; see (R. Pischel and) K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, Stuttgart 1889, p. 119 ff.; J. Wackernagel, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* 59 (1932), p. 20 ff. (=Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1953, p. 340 ff.); Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 103 f.

20. See e.g. A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 353; Mayrhofer, o.c., I, p. 202; 377. J. Charpentier's attempt at explaining *kārú-* as "conjurer, exorcist" and connecting it with *kṛṇoti* "in its magical sense" (*Brahman*, Uppsala 1911, p. 113, n. 1) is untenable.

these words also the noun *kīrti-* "mention, report, good report, fame, renown, glory etc."[21]

That does not however mean that the word bard, which was used not only by Thieme, but also by Renou[22] to render the Sanskrit term under discussion, is altogether felicitous. In normal English usage bard means "a Celtic tribal singer, minstrel and chronicler", but the term, although clearly of Celtic origin, has been applied also to recognized singers and reciters of other peoples. With the ancient Celts they were, according to some antique sources, distinct from the seers and the druids who specialized in a variety of intellectual, spiritual, sacerdotal, magical and prognostic activities. In Wales where the two other "learned" classes did no longer exist they developed into a close and honoured social group. In Ireland they ranked below the official court-poets who held a special place of honour as repositories of hero-sagas, national traditions, genealogies and juridical learning. However inventive a bard—in a more general sense—might be, he seems to have been regarded as a reciter or artist rather than as an author.[23] His chief concern was the maintenance of traditions, and he often claimed a divine power or the past as the source of his information. From Homer's times the often wandering and not rarely blind bard was more or less professionally employed at the courts of princes and noblemen, singing their praises and extolling their families, but his recitations were also enjoyed by the whole company present. The themes of these tales were often heroic and in time of war the bards would, in Asia and medieval Europe, accompany their patrons and inflame their soldiers against the enemy by reciting traditions of the great past. They were sometimes credited with particular, for instance

21. The etymology proposed by Mahīdhara on *VS.* 29, 32 (*kārū kurutas tau kārū*) should be rejected for semantic reasons. The choice offered, for the relationship of *kāru-*, by J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner. *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 475, between *carkarti* and the Gr. *karkairein* (which occurs only once) is either easy—namely, if the Greek verb means "to quake" (of the earth) or is an onomatopoeia—or, possibly, no real alternative—if it means "to resound" and is related to *carkarti*.

22. L. Renou, o.c., IX, p. 41 (*RV.* 9, 92, 5); XII, p. 55 (3, 6, 1) etc.; elsewhere he used "chanters": V, p. 61 (10, 92, 7) etc., and, for *viprāḥ...kārávaḥ* "inspired orators": VIII, p. 13 (9, 17, 6). The translation "singer" adopted by Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 241 (*AV.* 5, 12, 7) is better than "bard".

23. H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The growth of literature*, III, Cambridge 1940, p. 751.

magical, properties and associated with peculiar liberties or privileges. Religious authorities not infrequently viewed them with suspicion and hostility.[24]

It is clear that even if the Vedic *kāru-* normally made a living by passing from one patron to another and even if he praised the wealthy and powerful as often as he glorified the gods we had, notwithstanding a certain partial resemblance between his activities and those of the bard, better avoid translating the appellation conferred upon him by the Celtic term, whether we take this in its original sense or in the sense attached to it by the students of the history of literature.

Let us finally turn to the Greek noun *kérux* which, being translated by "herald, messenger", was quoted by Schmitt to persuade his readers into accepting his conclusion that there was in the original Indo-European period a term for "the poet". In Homeric times the *kérux* was an important aid of a king employed for a multiplicity of tasks such as convening meetings (*Iliad,* 2, 50 "(king) Agamemnon bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the place of gathering the long-haired Achaeans"); maintaining order in a meeting (2, 97 "the place of gathering was in a turmoil . . .; nine heralds shouting sought to restrain them"; 18, 503 "heralds held back the folk"); acting as officials (7, 183 f.) or as masters of the ceremonies (*Od.* 8, 62 ff.); giving attendance as seconds in a duel (Il. 7, 274, one of the Trojans and one of the Greeks, "both of them men of prudence"); taking measures with regard to sacrifices (3, 116 ff.); preparing banquets and the animals to be offered as a sacrifice (18, 558). When king Priam went to the Greeks to ransom his son who had been killed he was alone, but a herald attended him, "an elder man, to guide mules and waggon and to carry back the dead body" (24, 149 ff.). The *kérux* was also employed as a messenger or ambassador (1, 320 ff.) and accompanied others, for instance persons of rank and authority, to important negotiations etc. (*Od.* 10, 59; 102). Apparently there were then already not only private heralds, but also public officials (heralds "who work for the people"; *Od.* 19, 135). They were inviolable, and carried as their badge a staff. In later Greece they retained much of their importance, assisting magistrates (making procla-

24. For many details see C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry,* London 1952, chapter XI, p. 404 ff.

mations and keeping order) in law courts and assemblies and fulfilling a variety of other public (political, military, commercial and diplomatic) functions. In the last mentioned capacity they bore messages to other states but were not entitled to *negotiate*. According to antique sources they acted as such especially in time of war. Mention is also made of "heralds" in the employ of societies or corporations.[25] The epithets applied to the Homeric *kérux* are interesting: he is "loud-voiced" and "sounds through the air", he is "a crier" and "calls through the city", but as far as I am able to see he was never an eulogist or expected to compose hymns or poems. That he was under the protection of the god Hermes and "dear to Zeus" (Il. 8, 517) was not adduced by Schmitt as a parallel to Indra's relations to the *kāru-*. From the texts themselves, the above epithets and some derivative verbs ("to proclaim, announce, summon, declare, notify, tell") and nouns ("proclamation, announcement") it appears that the use this functionary made of his voice was (or had been) his most striking characteristic.[26] So no objection can probably be made to connecting this Greek word also, with many etymologists,[27] with the Vedic *carkarti* (see above), which is also related to German words for "informing, reporting; renown, praise, fame", and a Lithuanian word for "proclaiming".[28]

Summarizing the above disquisition I would contend that the Vedic *kārú-* and the Greek *kérux*, although their appellations were etymologically related, were, it is true, both of them "spokesmen", speaking, on behalf of patrons or others, in public obviously being the most conspicuous part of their task. In detail their functions were widely different, those of the *kérux* being more like the task of the *sūta* as represented by the authors of the *brāhmaṇas*.[29]

25. For many details see J. Oehler, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893 ff., XI, 349 ff.

26. It may be observed in passing that the English *herald* also is apparently related, not to words for "wandering" but to words for "proclaiming, praising", viz. Old High German *harēn* "to proclaim, cry aloud" and Old English *herian* "to praise".

27. See e.g. Walde-Pokorny, o.c., I, p. 353; Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg 1954—1060, p. 845.

28. I refer to J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Bern 1948—1959, p. 530 f.

29. I refer to W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 108 f.

Granting that in olden times no clear distinction was made between the man who composed poems, hymns or tales and the man who delivered them, the Vedic term *kāru-* alone— for Greek *kérux* does not support Schmitt's argument—, denoting the "proclaimer of praise", cannot, in my opinion, prove the existence, in the common father-land of all Indo-Europeans, of a poet, known by the name of **kāru-*, and mainly characterized by his wanderings.

A NOTE ON THE EPIC FOLK-ETYMOLOGY OF *RĀJAN*

By MINORU HARA*

In Brāhmaṇa literature we often meet etymological explanations of words, which are mostly meaningless, viewed from the standpoint of modern scientific etymological analysis of Indo-European Comparative Philology. Most of them are more or less a kind of *Wort-spiel,* which connect a given word arbitrarily with a similar verb-root which has originally no connection with it. But this approach to the word had a ritual, rather than a linguistic significance, because the stand-point of ancient Indian ritualists is completely different from that of linguists of the present day. The word and the object which the word indicates are looked at by the ancient Indian ritualists as if constituting a unity, and thus, the analysis of a word means nothing to them but that of the object. The full understanding of the word by means of an etymological device was believed by them to lead to the full insight into the object which the word indicated. The name and its object, that is, the name-possessor, are magically and ritually connected with each other, and the ritualists were not amusing themselves, but serious in analysing the word, seeing this attempt as a way to approach the essence of the thing.[1] Viewed from their *Weltanschauung,* this serious attempt

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1. Cf. B. Heimann, "Die Dingbeziehungen' in den alten Upaniṣaden," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 8 (Leipzig, 1931), p. 85 (Wie die Zahl, so ist auch der Name nach magischem Glauben ein Teil des Wesens, folglich fernerhin gleich dem Wesen selber....dies ist der Sinn der vielen sogenannten etymologischen Vergleichs-Spielereien).

H. Oertel, "Zum altindischen Ausdrucksverstärkungstypus satyasya satyam," (München, 1937), p. 15, note 1 (dass der Name eines Dinges sich mit dessen Wesen deckt und eine Offenbarung dieses Wesens ist...... sondern sehr ernste Versuche jener alten Denker, einen Einblick in das innerste Wesen eines Dinges zu gewinnen, allerdings auf einem Wege, der uns als ungangbar erscheint).

P. Thieme, "Brahman," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesels-chaft* 102 p. 106, note 2 (Der Name selbst ist ja nichts als eine "Formulierung." Der stellt sozusagen ihre einfachste und—eben weil elementarste—wirkungs—vollste Form dar.)

L. Renou, "Les pouvoirs de la parole dans le *Ṛgveda,*" *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* I (Paris 1955); pp. 20-21 (Tout ce qui est nom a une substance plus ou moins mystique dans le *RV*. Mais d'abord le nom est une sorte de matière concrète).

was scientific in itself, and thus, in this sense their attempt has been termed by H. Oldenberg as "pre-scientifically scientific" (*Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*). When they failed to analyse the word to their satisfaction they often attributed the difficulty to gods, say-

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J. Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (Hague, 1959), pp. 112-113 (A name is no mere specification, but rather an actuality expressed in a word).

Cf. also

R. Roth, *Jāska's Nirukta* (1852), p. 221.

Th. Aufrecht, *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Bonn, 1879), p. 432 (ad. 1, 2, 3).

S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice* (Paris, 1898), p. 38, note 6.

M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* I (Leipzig, 1907), p. 177.

B. Liebich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft* II (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 6-7.

H. Oldenberg, *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte,* Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft (Göttingen, 1919), p. 79.

For the magical belief in the name, cf. also,

J. Gonda, "A propos d' un sens magico-religieuz de skt. *guru,*" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (London, 1947), p. 127.

W. Ruben, "Schamanismus im alten Indien," *Acta Orientalis* 18, p. 187.

M. Scheller, *Vedisch priyá- und die Wortsippe frei, freien, Freund* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 74 ff.

For the belief of word as power in oath and curse, cf. also,

H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* I, *Varuṇa und die Wasser* (Göttingen 1951), p. 18.

P. Thieme, *op. cit.,* pp. 108 ff.

J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian* ojas *and Latin* *augos, *and the Indo-European Nouns in* -es/os- (Utrecht, 1952), p. 26.

Other remarks on ancient Indian speculation of the word, cf.

P. C. Chakravarti, *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* (Calcutta 1930); The *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* (Calcutta 1933).

O. Strauss, "Altindische Spekulationen über die Sprache und ihre Probleme," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 81, pp. 99—151.

V. M. Apte, "The Spoken Word," *Deccan Collgee Post-graduate Research Bulletin,* 4, pp. 275 ff.

D. Stede, "The Role of Alaṁkāra in Indian Philosophy," *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* (Calcutta 1940), pp. 131-140.

The problem of the relationship between a word and its object (*Śabdārtha-saṁbandha*) is fully discussed by medaeval Indian philosophers and grammarians. Here I only quote the opening stanza of Kalidasa's *Raghuvaṁśa* :

vāg-arthāv iva saṃpṛktau vāg-artha-pratipattaye
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatī-parameśvarau

ing that the gods were fond of subtlety (*parokṣa-kāma,* i.e., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6. 1. 1. 2).[2]

In these etymological explanations the commonest form is to put the word to be analysed in the genitive case and to construe it with its abstract form, in a manner "this is *that-ness* of *that*," i.e., "this is the reason why *that* is called *that*." We shall quote a few examples from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*

yajño vai devebhya udakrāmat tam iṣṭibhiḥ praiṣam aichan
yad iṣṭbhiḥ praiṣam aichaṃs tad iṣṭīnām iṣṭivam (1. 2. 1)
etābhir vai devān yajamāno hvayati, tad āhutīnām āhutitvam (1.2.4)
yad vāva sa tatra yathābhājanaṃ devatā amum āvahāmum āvahety āvāhayati, tad eva hotur hotṛtvam (1.2.7)

In the Epic age this tradition still perseveres and we find a number of etymological analyses of personal names and place-names. Often, they are accompanied by legendary stories which recount the origin of those names and the history of how they became so named. Some of them are mythological, as in the case of *Apsaras* and the god's name *Marut,*[3] some are historical as in the case

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2. Cf. M. Winternitz, *loc. cit.*

O. Strauss, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

3. *Apsaras* :

atha dhanvantarir nāma apsarāś ca suvarcasaḥ
apsu nirmathanād eva rasāt tasmād vara-striyaḥ
utpetur manuja-śreṣṭha tasmād apsaraso 'bhavan (*R.* 1. 44. 18)

Marut :

tasyāḥ śarīra-vivaraṃ viveśa ca puraṃdaraḥ
garbhaṃ ca saptadhā rāma bibheda paramātmavān (17)
bhidyamānas tato garbho vajreṇa śata-parvaṇā
ruroda susvaraṃ rāma tato ditir abudhyata (18)
mā rudo mā rudaś ceti garbhaṃ śakro 'bhyabhāṣata
bibheda ca mahātejā rudantam api vāsavaḥ (*R.* 1. 45. 19)
vāta-skandhā ime sapta carantu divi putrakāḥ
mārutā iti vikhyātā divya-rūpā mamātmajāḥ (R. 1. 46. 4)

As for *Hanumat,* cf. *R.* 4. 65. 22 and 7. 36. 11 and for *Kārttikeya* R. 1. 36. 25, *Skanda,* R. 1. 36. 27. For the story of *Marut,* cf. also *Harivaṁśa* (ed. by S. N. Joshi, Chitrashala Press, Poona 1936) 1. 3. 34-35.

of the King *Sagara*,[4] some are philosophical, like that of *puruṣa*,[5] some are poetical, like those of *anaṅga*[6] and *śloka*.[7] In these explanations we observe that the ritual and magical flavour faded, as is seen in the Brāhmaṇa literature, and there appeared, instead, more optimistic and mythological accounts of origins of names. Though the commonest construction of the Brāhmanical etymology, as mentioned above, is still used in the Epics occasionally, most of these explanations replaced the abstract construction by a more simple and natural construction. We further observe that even the Brāhmaṇa construction with an abstract form seems to have changed its signification. The following examples may serve to make the points clear.

māṃ sa bhakṣayate yasmād bhakṣayiṣye tam apyaham
etan māṃsasya māṃsatvam *ato budhyasva bhārata* (*MBh.* 13.117.34)

"This will eat me (in the next world), so I will eat it (now).

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4. *sapatnyā tu garas tasyai datto garbha-jighāṃsayā*
gareṇa saha tenaiva jātaḥ sa sagaro 'bhavat (*R.* 2. 102. 18)

As for *Kalmāṣapāda*, cf. *R.* 7. 65. 32-33 and *Janaka*, *R.* 7. 57. 19.

5. *puraṃ viṣahate yasmāt tasmāt puruṣa ucyate*
tam āhur vyarthanāmānaṃ strīvad ya iha jīvati (*MBh.* 5. 131. 33)
nava-dvāraṃ puraṃ puṇyam etair bhāvaiḥ samanvitam
vyāpya śete mahān ātmā tasmāt puruṣa ucyate (*MBh.* 12. 203. 35)

For the last passage, cf. also *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* 10. 8. 43.

As for *indriya*, cf. *MBh.* 12. 207. 23, *putra* 14. 93. 37 and 45.

6. *tasya gātraṃ hataṃ tatra nirdagdhasya mahātmanā*
aśarīraḥ kṛtaḥ kāmaḥ krodhād deveśvareṇa ha (13)
anaṅga iti vikhyātas tadā prabhṛti rāghava
sa cāṅga-viṣayaḥ śrīmān yatrāṅga sa mumoca (*R.* 1. 22. 14)

For the original meanings of *anaṅga* (*añj-*) and *manmatha* (*math-*), cf. S. Konow, "Anaṅga, the Bodyless Cupid," *Festchrift J. Wackernagel* (Göttingen 1923), pp. 1—8.

7. *samākṣarais caturbhir yaḥ pādair gīto maharṣiṇā*
so 'nuvyāharaṇād bhūyaḥ śokaḥ ślokatvam āgataḥ (*R.* 1. 2. 39)

For this origin of the *śloka* metre, cf. also P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Bombay, 1951), p. 320.

As for the names of the Epic singers *Kuśa* and *Lava*, cf. *R.* 7. 66. 7-8.

yas tayoḥ pūrvajo jātaḥ sa kuśair mantra-satkṛtaiḥ
nirmārjanīyas tu tadā kuśa ity asya nāma tat (7)
yaś cāvaro bhavet tābhyāṃ lavena susamāhitaḥ
nirmārjanīyo vṛddhābhir laveti ca sa nāmataḥ (8)

That is the meat-ness of meat (me-eat). Be mindful of it."

adya paśyantu rāmasya rāmatvaṃ mama saṃyuge
trayo lakāḥ sagandharvāḥ siddha-gandharva-cāraṇāḥ (*R.* 6. 100, 55).

"Today, look everybody in the three worlds the Rāma-ness of me, Rāma, in the battle-field."

In the first example which explains the meat-ness of meat, the construction and meaning is just the same as is seen in the Brāhmaṇa etymology. But in the second example, although the construction is just the same, it is used not for an etymological explanation, but for the statement of an oath. In this Rama swears to his braveness in the battle-field, using this construction. It serves here to emphasize his own prowess, although we are not quite sure of whether or not there still remains a ritual significance in this kind of a statement of an oath.

At any rate, it should be here noted that though the Indo-European etymological study reveals to us the historical back-ground of the word most scientifically, the folk-etymological explanations found in Sanskrit literature sometimes enable us to discern what sort of concrete ideas the ancient Indian had about the given concepts, the names of which they attempted to analyse by their etymological devices.

To prepare an exhaustive list of those folk-etymological explanations found in the two Epics requires vast time and space, and thus, here we limit our attention only to the word *rājan* (king).[9] and we shall see what sort of idea those epic singers cherished about a king, using passages of the last portions of the *Mahābhārata* (12—18) and the whole *Rāmāyaṇa*[10] as our basic material.

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8. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 5. 55.

māṃ sa bhakṣayitāmutra yasya māṃsam ihādmy aham
etan māṃsasya māṃsatvaṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ

Cf. also H. P. Schmidt. "The Origin of Ahiṃsā," *Mélanges d' Indianisme á la Mémoire de L. Renou* (Paris 1968), p. 629.

9. For the scientific etymology of the word, cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* II (Heidelberg. 1964, pp. 50-51.

10. References to those Epics are as follows: *Mahābhārata* (the Poona Critical edition), *Rāmāyāṇa* I—5 (the Baroda Critical Edition). 6-7 (Bombay Vulgate Edition, Nirnayasagara Press, 1909).

II

We meet in the *Mahābhārata* twice the passage which derives the word *rājan* from the root *rañj*— (make red, dye)

pṛthuṃ vainyaṃ prajā dṛṣṭvā raktāḥ smeti yad abruvan
tato rājeti nāmāsya anurāgād ajāyata (*MBh.* 12.29.131)

"On seeing Pṛthu, the son of Veṇa, people said that they felt attached (*rakta*) to him. Thus, the name "king" (*rājan*) came to existence from their attachment (*anurāga*) to him."

tena dharmottaraś cāyaṃ kṛto loko mahātmanā
rañjitāś ca prajāḥ sarvās tena rājeti śabdyate (*MBh.* 12.59 127)[11]

"By him, who was great, the world was made lawful, and people became delighted (lit. were made attached, *rañjita*). Thus, he was called a king (*rājan*)."

Another passage derives it from the root *rāj*- (shine).

yasmin dharmo virājeta taṃ rājānaṃ pracakṣate
yasmin vilīyate dharmas taṃ devā vṛṣalaṃ viduḥ (*MBh.* 12. 91.12)[12]

"The gods call him a king in whom righteousness shines. They call him a slave in whom righteousness perishes."

Of these two derivations, the former (*rañj*-) seems to be predominant. To prove this, we have a number of passages in which the

11. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, "The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 13, p. 136; J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (Leiden, 1966) p. 13, notes 99-100 and p. 129; K. V. R. Aiyangar, "The Evolution of Ancient Indian Politics", *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume* I (Patna 1926–1928), p. 178.

Cf. also *Harivaṁśa* I. 5. 30,

pitrāparañjitās tasya prajās tenānurañjitāḥ
anurāgāt tatas tasya nāma rājety ajāyata

12. It is the etymology of the word which is given in the *Nirukta* of Yāska (*rājā rājateḥ*, Nirukta II. 3).

Epic singers appear to have been conscious of this derivation from *rañj-*, while they describe a king or prescribe duties for the king.

> *tasmān nityaṃ dayā kāryā cāturvarṇye vipaścitā*
> *na tasya bhraśyate rājyaṃ guṇa-dharmānupālanāt* (*MBh*. 12. 56.36)

"Therefore, a wise man should be constantly compassionate to people of the four castes. The righteous and honest king gratifies (lit. makes attached) his subjects."

> *aviruddhām tri-vargeṇa nītim etām yudhiṣṭhira*
> *abhyuttiṣṭha śrutād asmād bhūyas tvaṃ rañjayan prajāḥ* (*MBh*. 12.136.207)

"While gratifying people, establish again this policy which is not contradictory to the three ideals of human beings."

> *yas tu rañjayate rājā paura-jānapadān guṇaiḥ*
> *na tasya bhraśyate rājyaṃ guṇa-dharmānupālanāt* (*MBh*. 12. 137.103)

"The kingdom, whose king gratifies by virtue people both urban and in the country, does not fall from the fact of preserving virtue and righteousness."[13]

The root *rañj-* is often prefixed by the prefix *anu-*,

> *khanīnetras tu vikrānto jitvā rājyaṃ akaṇṭakam*
> *nāśaknod rakṣituṃ rājyaṃ nānvarajyanta taṃ prajāḥ* (*MBh*. 14.4.8)

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13. Cf. also,

bālān api ca garbhasthān sāntvāni samudācaran
rañjayan prakṛtīḥ sarvāḥ paripāhi vasuṃdharām (*MBh*. 12. 34. 32)

abhiṣikto hi yo rājā rājyastho mitra-saṃvṛtaḥ
asuhṛt-samupeto vā sa kathaṃ rañjayet prajāḥ (12. 116. 5)

yaḥ pramāṇam atikramya pratilomaṃ narādhipaḥ
bhṛtyān sthāpayate 'buddhir na sa rañjayate prajāḥ (12. 119. 7)

rañjayasva prajāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛtīḥ pariśāntvaya
suhṛdaḥ phala-satkārair abhyarcaya yathārhataḥ (13. 152. 8)

dharmeṇa rañjayāmāsa dharma-rāja iva prajāḥ
sa lebhe karmaṇā tena parameṇa mahādyutiḥ (*Harivaṃśa* 1. 9. 58)

Cf. also *Kathāsaritsāgara* 51. 19,

tataḥ sa yauva-rājyastho dharmaika-paro vaśī
arañjayad dharma-śīlaḥ pitur abhyadhikaṃ prajāḥ

"Although the powerful Khanīnetra conquered the kingdom completely he was unable to hold the kingdom, and people felt no attachment to him."

brahmaṇyaḥ satya-vādī ca śuciḥ śama-damānvitaḥ
prajās taṃ cānvarajyanta dharma-nityaṃ manasvinam (*MBh.* 14.4.11)

"People felt attached to him who was pious, honest, innocent, self-controlled, self-restrained, intelligent and fond of righteousness."

The nominal form *rañjana* also appears in close context with *rājan*,

ādāv eva kuruśreṣṭhā rājñā rañjana-kāmyayā
devatānāṃ dvijānāṃ ca vartitavyaṃ yathā-vidhi (*MBh.* 12.56.12)

"In the first place, a king should behave himself to the gods and to Brahmins with the intention to gratify them."

loka-rañjanam evātra rājñāṃ dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ
satyasya rakṣaṇaṃ caiva vyavahārasya cārjavam (*MBh.* 12.57.11).

"To gratify people is the eternal law prescribed for kings. So also is to defend truthfulness and to be upright in worldly business."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have recorded no passage which gives an etymological definition of the word *rājan*, but seven instances are apparently conscious of its derivation from the root *rañj-*. Below, we shall list those passages according to the nature of their construction.

avekṣamāṇaś cāreṇa prajā dharmeṇa rañjayan
nādhyagacchad viśiṣṭaṃ vā tulyaṃ vā śatrum ātmnaḥ (*R.* 1. 7. 16).

"Inspecting (other's territory) by dispatching spies, and gratifying people by righteousness, he found an enemy who was neither superior, nor equal to himself."

kac cit te kuśalaṃ rājan kac cid dharmeṇa rañjayan
prajāḥ pālayase rājan rāja-vṛttena dhārmika (*R.* 1.51.7)

"I hope, you are well, and you protect as a king your people, gratifying them by righteousness, oh, righteous king."

The construction with the prefix *anu-* is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

tvayā yataḥ prajāś cemāḥ svaguṇair anurañjitāḥ
tasmāt tvaṃ puṣya-yogena yauva-rājyaṃ avāpnuhi (*R.* 2. 3. 24)

"Those people are fond of you because of your own virtues. Thus, you should be consecrated at the auspicious moment when the moon stands in connection with *Puṣya*."

ayodhyāṃ gaccha bhārata prakṛtīr anurañjaya
śatrughna-sahito vīra saha sarvair dvijātibhiḥ (*R.* 2. 99. 15)

"Go to the city of Ayodhya, accompanied with Śatrughna and all these Brahmins, and gratify your subjects."

ṛkṣa-vānara-rakṣāṃsi sthitā rāmasya śāsane
anurañjanti rājāno hy ahany ahani rāghavam (*R.* 7. 99. 11)

"Bear, monkeys, and Rakṣas remain under the command of Rāma. Princes feel attachment to Rāma as time goes on."

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have also a kind of cognate and pleonastic construction (*raktān rañjaya-*).

rakṣituṃ sumahad rājyaṃ aham ekas tu notsahe
paura-jānapadāṃś cāpi raktān rañjayituṃ tathā (*R.* 2. 104. 11)

"I am unable to protect this vast kingdom by myself alone. Nor am I able to gratify people to their gratification, people both urban and in the country."

Beside people (*prajā*), subjects (*prakṛti*) and people, both urban and in the country (*paura-jānapada*), we find an army (*bala*) which stands in the accusative case construed with the verb *rañj-*.

balaṃ ca subhṛtaṃ vīra hṛṣṭa-tuṣṭam anuddhatam
saṃbhāṣā-saṃpradānena rañjayasva narottama (*R.* 7. 64. 5)

"Keep the army well-guarded, cheered and contented, and modest. Make them feel attached to you by means of good communications and gifts."

A verbal from *rañjanīya* is used in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in construction with *śatru* (enemy to be subjugated):

śatroḥ prakhyāta-vīryasya rañjanīyasya vikramaiḥ
paśyato yuddha-lubdho' haṃ kṛtaḥ kāpuruṣas tvayā (*R.* 6. 104. 6)

"In full view of the foe famed for his prowess, who is to be won by my exploits, you have transformed me who delights in battle into a coward."

III

From the above passages it becomes clear that the word *rājan-* (king) is derived by the Epic singers from the root *rañj-*. Although there is one exceptional instance which derives it from the root *rāj-* (shine), the majority of the Epic passages apparently pre-supposed the derivation of the word from the root *rañj-*.

Now, the meaning of the root *rañj-* (*rajyati, -te*) is "to become red, coloured, tinged, dyed," and its causative from (*rañjaya*) means "to make red, dye, paint."[14] The central meaning is further extended along an emotional line[15] to mean "being emotionally tinged." "being emotionally inclined," and thus its nominal derivative *rāga* comes to mean "loving passion," "attachment." Admittedly this root *rañj-* has originally nothing to do with the word *rājan-*, viewed from the stand-point of the Indo-European Comparative Philo'ogy, but this Epic derivation arouses our interest. This derivation, though it is arbitrary, indicates that people become emotionally tinged to their king, and thus they become likened to him. The king, on his part, is supposed to make people inclined to and become attached to himse!f. It seems to be a king's duty to make people like him and to make them feel dependent upon him, otherwise he may fail to hold the kingdom as is seen in the case of the powerful Khanīnetra. This connotation of dying other's mind seems to have extended to a kind of a bribery. A king was able to make his enemy tinged emotionally to him (*rañjanīya*) and thus to subjugate the

14. Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

15. Cf. *lagna* (sticked), *s-raj*, **s-laj* (garland), < *lagati* (sticks), *lajyate* (is ashamed < becomes red), *lajjā* (shame).

enemy. In order to make people attached to him there exist various means, such as gifts (*sampradāna*), personal communications (*saṁbhāṣā*), and others, but among them virtue (*guṇa*) and righteousness (*dharma*) seem to be the most important. The king must endeavour to be charming to his subjects and to win their hearts, not only by material or physical devices, but rather by personal, ethical qualities *par excellence*.

In collecting these Epic passages a passing note is to be mentioned. That is, in comparing the passages of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* none of them are exactly the same. Although the singer of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was conscious of the etymological derivation as is given in the *Mahābhārata*, he seems to have sung the Epic independently from the oral Epic tradition of the so-called Pseudo-Epic portion of the *Mahābhārata* (12-13). This is verified at least viewed from this tiny channel of our investigation of the etymological analysis of the word *rājan*.

Further, it might be just a coincidence that the objects of the root *rañj-* often appear in the feminine gender (*prajā, prakṛti*). This is interesting, because its nominal derivative *rāga* often connotes the love between man and woman. But we must admit that it does not hold good in the case of *paura-jānapada* (m.), and *bala* (n.).*

* I would like to express my deepest thanks to Professor William Everett of Sophia University, who kindly took the trouble to read my original manuscript and to correct my English.

ŚIPRIN AND ŚIPIVIṢṬA

By Dr. Sadashiv Ambadas Dange*

The words *śiprā* and *śipiviṣṭa* have been considered to be of uncertain connotation by scholars. *Śiprā* has been rendered variously as nose, teeth, cheeks, nostrils, lips, chin and even the helmet. It rather appears to be queer that the word would have such varied connotations, though in different contexts. Some of these meanings are accepted by the traditional commentators like Veṅkaṭamādhava, Sāyaṇa, and Skandasvāmin. The Western scholars including Ludwig, Geldner, Grassmann, Griffith, Macdonell, Keith and others have followed the traditional interpretation; and yet a doubt regarding the exact implication of the word persisted. The suggestion of Frisk, that *śiprā* indicates a waggin-tail, helmet,[1] is also not satisfactory; for, it does not satisfy all references to this word in the *Ṛgveda*. A fresh investigation is, hence, necessary taking into account all such references.

About the word *śipiviṣṭa* also the same difficulty persists. The word has been taken to indicate a sober as well as a vulgar sense. Hence it is necessary to examine it afresh.

We shall start with *śiprā*, taking the following passage[2]:

ā te hanū harivaḥ śūra śipre
ruhat soma na parvatasya pṛṣṭhe.

It will be seen that the passage has both *hanū* and *śipre* in one; and naturally *śipre* (dual of *śiprā*) cannot mean the *hanū* (i.e. chin). The idea in the passage is of the rise of Soma, and is accepted by all scholars, eastern and western. It is, however, believed that Soma is to rise to both the *śipre* and the *hanū*. Geldner renders the passage as follows:[3]

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1. *La Monde Oriental*, XXX, p. 78 ff.
2. *Ṛgveda*, V. 36. 2.
3. *Der Ṛigveda*, II, p. 36.

"*Deine Backen, O trapferer Falbenherr, deine geöffneten Lippen soll der Soma* (*trank*) *besteigen, wie die Soma* (*planze*) *den Rückendes Berges*".

Now the question is, how can we imagine the word *śipre* to mean "*geöffneten Lippen*"? The verse has no word for warranting this rendering. And, even if we are to suppose *śipre* to indicate the *Lippen* (*lips*), *how to account for "geöffneten"* (Open)? Even granting that the word conveys the meaning of "opened up lips", it is difficult to imagine the soma-drink (cf. trank) rising to the lips "as the soma-plant (*planz*) rises on the mountain." The position of the soma-plant is at a height and erect, while such can never be the position of the soma-drink. Further, this rendering requires Soma to be taken twice—once in the upameya sentence; and again in the upamāna sentence. In short, Soma is compared with Soma itself, but in two different positions.

Geldner takes the word *hanū* here to mean "Backen", i.e. cheeks. It is highly doubtful if *hanū* ever means the cheeks; and even if we accept Geldner's rendering of the word as "cheeks", here, it is difficult to see the logic in saying that the drink (Soma) rises to the cheeks. Moreover, it is doubtful, if by "cheeks" we could take the inner side, where there will be the actual contact of the drink. And the utmost surprising thing with this rendering is, that we have to understand Soma (drink) reaching the "Backen" (cheeks) first, and then the "*geöffneten Lippen.*" This rendering, hence, cannot be accepted.

The rendering of Griffith is similar to that of Geldner and requires no comment. Ludwig renders *hanū* as "*kiefer*" and *śipre* as "backen." Otherwise there is no change. Sāyaṇa, obviously, is in difficulty with both *hanū* and *śipre* being side by side; for he often renders the word *śipre* as *hanū* or the *nāsike* (nose-openings) following Yāska. He seeks to surmount this difficulty by rendering *hanū* as *hanana-sādhane*" (instrumental in cutting or killing), and commenting that though the word *hanū* is itself indicative of *śiprā,* it is subordinate as the word *śiprā* is uttered again, expressly (*yady 'apy 'ayam śiprā-vaccanaḥ tathāpi punaḥ śiprā 'bhidhānād gauṇo 'yam vaktavyaḥ*). He, thus, takes *hanū* as an epithet of *śipre,* suggesting that the latter is something like an instrument. But they cannot be exactly the jaws, which is difficult to understand as *hanana-sādhana* in the case of a human being (or a god, if he is anthropomorphic

like Indra)! Let us examine the word *hanū*. The word *hanū* (in the dual) occurs only thrice more;[4] and it has the meaning of "shattering" though it indicates the jaws. Once it occurs in the plural[5] with Agni and indicates its destroying flames. Sāyaṇa wavers, however, as regards the *na* in "*somo na parvatasya pṛṣṭhe*", taking it as a negative particle rendering that Soma rises on to the *hanū śipre* (shattering jaws) and *not* on the top of the mountain (*na ruhat na ārohati tatra na tiṣṭhati ity 'arthaḥ*), and also remarks that the particle *na* may indicate a simile, though it is placed before *parvatasya*, which he believes to be the *upamāna*. Sāyaṇa is, hence, not clear in his mind about his rendering; and his effort appears to be at random. The fact is, as has been rightly followed by all other scholars, that the *upamāna* is Soma; not *parvata*. So Sāyaṇa's hesitating alternative, "*parvatasya na pṛṣṭhe*" is out of question, though his suggestion that *hanū* is the epithet of *śipre* is perfectly admissible.

The main difficulty about the interpretations noted above is, how could the Soma-drink be imagined to rise to the lips or even the shattering jaws, in the way as the plant stands or sprouts on the mountain? We are in the bounds of legitimacy in expecting *śipre*, which are *hanū themselves* (i.e. shattering or pointed), to be erect like the plant taking its rise on the mountain. This precludes the possibility of the *śipre* being either nose, nostrils, moustaches, jaws, lips etc. In other words, both *hanū* and *śipre* are to be taken as the nominative forms and *not* the accusative. To be clearer, these words are the subject, being on par with Soma. Both Soma and *śipre* (having *hanū* as the epithet) are connected with the verb *ruhat*. Though the expected form of the verb in the case of *śipre* is *ruhataḥ*, the form *ruhat* is due to the influence of Soma which follows.

We take another expression—"*vi ṣyasva śipre vi sṛjasva dhene*."[6] Here Sāyaṇa renders the word *śipre* as the "jaws" (*hanū*), and *dhene* as "*jihvopajihve*" (tongue and lower tongue). Geldner takes *śipre*, in this context, to mean "set of teeth" (gebiz), and *dhene* as "lips". Now the expression *vi ṣyasva* occurs only in one more verse in the *Ṛgveda* which occurs twice,[7] being a common portion of the Āprī

4. ṚV. IV. 18. 9; X. 79. 3 and - 152. 3.
5. VIII. 60. 13 *hanavaḥ*.
6. I. 101. 10.
7. III. 4. 9.=VII. 2. 9.

hymns of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. The expression conveys the meaning of "letting loose" or "releasing". Now it is difficult to understand the set of teeth or even the jaws being let loose for drinking! Normally even, they are not set together. If, on the other hand, we take the word *śipre* to indicate the lips, they may well be described as "loosening" for drinking; for, they are normally set together. But, in that case, what about the word *"dhene"*? Again, even if we take the word *dhene* to indicate the *jihvopajihve* (with *Sāyaṇa*) which are said to be "a means for drinking" (*dhene* from √*dhe*, to drink; Sāyaṇa—*pāna-sādhana-bhūte*), can the tongue and the lower tongue, or even the jaws, be really taken in the sense of the *sādhana* for *drinking*? It is, thus, clear that the hitherto accepted (but not doubtlessly; for, there are other alternatives as nose etc.!) rendering of *śipre* as the jaws and the lips is unhappy. This does not suit the other words viz. *dhene* and *hanū* used with it, nor does it satisfactorily explain the comparison with the rising Soma-plant.

Let us have the next expression[8] about *śipre*:

sruveva yasya hariṇī vipetatuḥ
śipre vājāya hariṇī davidhvataḥ

(whose golden *śipre* move for the drink of strength, as hasten the golden ladles).

The idea of the *śipre* that we get here is that of the containers like ladles. This expression ill suits the jaws which are fixed and, with a human (or a god conceived of as a human being) it is clearly ludicrous. If the *śipre* are as long as the ladles, one wonders if Indra could ever be called *su-śipra,* which is his favourite epithet. The description compares the *śipre* with the ladles pouring the offerings into the sacrificial fire. The *śipre* do not appear to be a part of the mouth; on the contrary, the picture that this reference produces before the eyes is, that they are an instrument for drinking Soma (cf. *dhene,* but not *jihvopajihve*!), and pour Soma into the mouth of Indra, who is voraciously fond of the drink, as the ladles pour offerings in the fire. Geldner's rendering of the word, here, as nos-

8. X. 96. 9.

trils falls out of the arena like others which connect *śipre* with this or that part of the mouth or face.

Putting together all the points that we have noted about *śipre* we arrive at the following:

(i) The word *śiprā* or *śipre* indicates a container for the purpose of drinking from (*dhene*);

(ii) The container is such as it could kill, may be, by piercing (*hanū*);

(iii) It could be taken up, and could be placed to resemble the shoot of the Soma-plant.

(iv) It could be fixed and loosened (*vi-ṣyasva, vi-sṛjasva*).

From the points we have deduced it appears that *śiprā* (or *śipre*) was a *horn-like erection on the helmet.* We have already seen that scholars have suggested "helmet" as an alternative rendering of the word but, it does not suit well with the drinking. The *Ṛgveda* attests to the fact that the *śiprā*-s were worn on the head.[9] The *śiprā*-s appear to be fixed on the head-wear to be taken down, being released, for the purpose of drinking. This goes well with the expression *"vi-ṣyasva śipre vi-sṛjasva dhene."* When Indra is invoked to drink Soma, with the expression *"papṛthyā śipre,"*[10] it indicates the forward extension of the horn-like container to get it filled with the drink, and not "filling the jaws or lips with the liquid", which is itself obscure.

Before we come to the etymology of the word *śiprā,* and compare it with other words, we may note that drinking from the horn was a widely current practice; and horns were worn on the head-wear or the helmet. Both these practices were current with the belief that the horn symbolized virility. Among others, we may note that silver-horns were worn by married men among the Druses; and in China horn-cups, called *hsi chuen* were symbolic of happiness.[11]

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9. Cf. V. 54. 11, where the Maruts are said to have them.

10. III. 32. 1.

11. Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folk-lore, and Symbols,* New York, 1962; see also James Hastings, *Encycl. Religion and Ethics* Vol. VI, p. 792. It is clear that the practice of wearing horns or something resembling horns continued. At the Bhairavakonda temple near Udayagiri, the door-keepers show horned head-wear (O.C. Ganguli and A. Goswami, *Art of the Pallavas,* Rupa & Co. 1957, p. 13). A figurine at the excavated Ter shows her braid in horn-shape (I am obliged to Dr. Deo, Head of the Department, Nagpur University for this information and for the figurine which he showed to me).

In the Vedic tradition important deities wear horns and the horned head-dress forms a part of the bride-groom's attire at the marriage,[12] even to-day in certain castes.

With this in mind, let us examine other instances of *śiprā*. When Indra is invoked as *Śiprin,* it does not add anything special to his personality if it simply means "having a chin or a moustache, or a set of teeth, or a jaw, or even a helmet." Even when Vṛtra is said to be *viśi-śipra,*[13] the probability is of the meaning being, "high among his hoard"; and *vṛṣa-śipra,* probably, indicates *śiprā* being of the bull as against the gold-siprā of the Vedic gods. It also has to be noted that all the Vedic gods are not endowed with the *śiprā*. It is prominent with Indra. The Maruts come next. Once *ayaḥ-śipra* comes for Mitrā-Varuṇā; twice it comes with the Ṛbhus (*ayaḥ-śipra* and *su-śipra*); and it is associated with Agni in a few cases.

An interesting passage about Indra is, *"vanoti śiprābhyām śipriṇīvān."*[14] Sāyaṇa renders it as to mean that Indra requests by his jaws (*hanūbhyām*) ! Geldner follows him, only changing it to, *"mit geöffneten Lippen"* (with open lips). The point is quite blunt even if the rendering is intended to convey frankness on the part of Indra. Sāyaṇa, already, feels it to be unhappy; and suggests an alternative (according to the variant to the commentary), for *vanoti* as, *"śatrūn abhibhavati"* (defeats the enemies), without commenting on the word *śiprābhyām*. Does he mean to indicate that Indra vanquishes the enemies by his jaws? Though this picturesque idea brings to our mind the exploit of the Biblical Samson, who vanquished the enemies with the jaw-bone of an ass, the rendering has rarely any propriety here. Griffith is, however, impressed by the ingenuity of the commentator, and adds flight to it by stating that "with jaws" means "with a roar or the thunder."[15] Ludwig renders the passage as, *"er kamft (für seine) mit seinen beiden Keifern,"* thus sticking to the jaw-fighting. The exact idea, however, appears to be that Indra asks for Soma with two long horn-cups. The word *śipriṇī-vān* has to be noted, though Sāyaṇa simply renders it as *śipra-vān*. Ludwig, Geldner and Griffith do not come out of the lip-jaw-image; and

12. It is called *bā-shing* (*dvi-śṛṅga*).

13. V. 45. 6.

14. Only at X. 105. 5.

15. Tr. of the *ṚV*.

Geldner thinks of the *"nüstern"* (nostrils) here. The word *śipriṇī-vān* indicates mastery over the *śipriṇī*. Now the word *śipriṇī* comes once more in the *Ṛgveda* where we read *"asmākam śipriṇīnām,"*[16] and the *śipriṇī*-s, probably, indicate the cows as Sāyaṇa suggests. The meaning will be "those having *śiprā,"* (but not "having jaws" !). The word has association, in all probability, with the horns which is a speciality of the cows and cattle. The epithet *śipriṇīvān* is unique with Indra, and may be compared with another of his unique epithet, *go-pati.* Indra is *śiprin* and is the lord of the *śipriṇī*-s. If the *śiprā* is made of gold or any other metal, and is yet horn-like, we may not be far from the truth if we see in the *śiprin* or *su-śipra* a custom of wearing the golden or metal replicas of horns. But a question may be asked. What is the propriety of the word *śiprā* when already there is the word *śṛṅga*? If both the words indicate the same thing, what is the difference—if any? Before we answer this question we shall compare a word from the Semetic language. It is *shofar,* which was indicative of a musical instrument kept in synagogues. It was actually a ram's horn flattered by heat. Dr. Cyrus Adler, who wrote a note on the word,[17] says that the etymology of the word is not clear; but he compares the word to the Assyrian word *shafer,* meaning "bright" or "clear". He further points out two words in the cuneiform list of animals, which are interesting and appear to be names of animals. One is *atūdu,* and the other is *śapparu* or *śappartu.* The quotation, as given by Dr. Adler, is as follows :—

"turāha ina qaqqadiśu u quarniśu iççábit
atūda śappar śadí śappartaśunu iççbi"

(The mountain-goat, by its head and its horn it siezes). The word *atūdu* may be compared with the Tamil word *āṭṭu* (pronounced sometimes as *āḍu*), both meaning the ram or the he-goat. Though the word *śappar* or *śappartu* has no exact parallel, including the meaning of horn, in the Sanskrit language, we may compare the word *śapha,* which indicates the hoof, especially the divided hoof of the cow. On the same analogy the word *śapha* denoted the two-pronged wooden implement used for taking away metal-pots from fire.[18] The

16. I. 30. 11.
17. *JAOS,* XIV, *proceedings,* p. clxxi ff.
18. *Ai. Br.* I. 22. 14; *Śatapatha Br.* XIV. 2. 1. 16; See *Vedic Index.*

position appears to be this, (i) **śapra*>*śapparu*/*śappartu*>shofar, indicating the horn; and (ii) **śapra*>**śaphra*>*śapha* Huf (German) /hoof (English). The probability as *śipra*>**śapra*, cannot be denied.

It appears that in one direction the meaning of the horn was retained. In *śiprā*, as in *śapha*, the original idea seems to be of piercing. Though the Sanskrit language does not show $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$, the Avesta has $\sqrt{\check{s}if}$, meaning to pierce, which indicates $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$ in the Vedic, giving *śiprā*. That *śiprā* was connected with the head is clear from the following passage from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, which refers to the six-fold consecration of the head of the sacrifice (the *havirdhāna*), in which the word *śipra* occurs.[19] In this rite a staff or a pole is fixed and a roof is constructed over it. This is addressed as *"Viṣṇoḥ pṛṣṭham asi, viṣṇo rarāṭam asi, viṣṇoḥ śipre sthaḥ,"* thus connecting *śipre* with *rarāṭa* (=*lalāṭa*, which is head). This, connected with the idea of piercing, will indicate that the *śipre* were nothing else than the horns.

We may note another word from the Avesta viz. *śufra*, or *śuwra* the eliding of the *f* being a later stage. This word has been rendered as "the plough" by Sheftelowitz[20] and Hopkins.[21] This word has been formed, according to Hopkins, from $\sqrt{\acute{s}if}$ (to pierce). Now the plough-share has a peculiar relationship with the earth in the belief of the people. It is the veritable ORGAN by which the earth is furrowed to imbibe the seed. In other words, it is the male-organ for the lady Earth.[22] The word *lāṅgala*, which indicates both the plough-share and the male-organ, may be compared. It is the very *śepa*, which itself is derived from $\sqrt{\acute{s}ip}$. It is in this peculiar sex-relationship that the word *śiprā* differs from the *śṛṅga*, though the latter was also the primitive tool for the tillage of the land prior to the use of the bull and the plough. Thus, the *śiprā* was primarily the "digger". This digger-tool itself was, in the origin, a horn of a ram or a goat, or even of a bull, indicating the virile power of the animal to fructify the land. In the latter period it was worn on the head-dress, as mark of virile distinction, in gold

19. *Mait. Saṁ.* III. 8. 7; also, *Ibid*, I. 2. 9.

20. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistic, II, 1923, p. 278.

21. *JAOS*, 1907, p. 86, N.

22. Dange, "Field and the Plough-hare", *J. Nagpur Uni.* April 1967. Vol. XVII, No. 2.

or copper as the word *ayaś-śipra* indicates. The practice was just the same as that of wearing horns, with the addition that the *śiprā* was of a pastoral origin, indicating domestication of the animals as also the cultivation of the land. Another similar word is the ***kapṛt,*** applied to the male-organ and the plough-share.[23]

From what we have stated above it appears that the Avestan √*śif*>*śufra*>*suwra* were derived from √*śip* *śiprā,* and that the Semetic word *shofar* came from *sufra.* It appears that the Assyrian word *śapparu* or *śappartu* retained the *p,* changing the original *i* to *a,* as the Avestan changed it to *u* in *sufra,* the original meaning of piercing being lost in the Assyrian and the Semetic. It has to be noted that the word has a pastoral association in all the cases. In the Semetic *shofar* and the Germanic *hoof/Huf,* it is more probable that the direction of formation was:—√*śip*>*śif*>*śufra*>hoof/Huf, with the connotation-change from the pointed piercing horn to the pointed piercing hoof.

In the case of *śipiviṣṭa* also the original concept seems to be of the piercing horn, mixed with that of the pointed and virile male-organ. The word is acclaimed to be having a double-sense. The word occurs only thrice in the *Ṛgveda.*[24] It is supposed to mean the *ray* as also the male-organ.[25] Following one of the traditional meanings of the word, Johannson[26] and Charpentier[27] have rightly taken it to mean the male-organ. Even the tradition connects it with *śepa* (membrum virile). The connotation will, then be, "one who entered the penis." It is also to be noted that the Vedic tradition connects the word prominently with the cattle. It is said that the cattle are *śipi* and *śipi-viṣṭa* is "one who has entered the cattle as their lord."[28] *Śipi-viṣṭa* is also said to be the body of Prajāpati, which is established in the cattle [*Mait. Saṁ.* I. 11. (*eṣā vai prajāpateḥ paśu-sthāḥ tanūr yat śipi-viṣṭam*)]. This clearly establishes the association, in the Vedic tradition, between the cattle and

23. *Ibid.*

24. VII. 99. 7=VII. 100. 7 and VII. 100. 7 and VII. 100. 5; 6.

25. *Nirukta,* V. 8; also Sāyaṇa on *ṚgV.* noted above.

26. *Solfätgen Indien,* p. 12 ff.

27. *Vienna Or. J.,* XXX, p. 427.

28. *Taitt. Saṁ.* VII. 5. 5, *paśavaḥ śipiḥ.....śipi-śabdaḥ paśu-vācī. teṣu svāmitvena praviṣṭaḥ.*

śipi-viṣṭa; and this is corroborated by the later tradition, which makes Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa the lord of the cows. But this does not yet clearly bring out the implication of *śipi,* which the tradition connects with *śepa.* Here we may, probably, get help from the context. The *maitt. Saṁ.* starts its chapter with an episode about the cows where further it refers to the cattle being *śipi,* as we have noted above. The cows were without horns. They sat at sacrifice with the desire to get horns. Ten months they sat thus. And the horns cropped up.[29] Here, probably, we have the suggestion that it is the *śipi* (=horn ?) that is the cause, why the *Taitt. Saṁ.* calls, later in the same context, the cattle *śipi.* The word *śipi.* (fr. $\sqrt{śip}$) indicates the "piercing one" or the "shooting one;" and, hence, was taken to denote the *ray* in the sober sense, the *guhya* sense being "the one in the piercer" or "the one in the digger," indicating the penis and also the horn-share of the land of which Viṣṇu became the lord. In this unique aspect *śipi-viṣṭa* Viṣṇu exactly tallies with Indra, who is alone the *śiprin;* and it cannot be a mere accident that there is another epithet which *no other god,* in the *ṚV.,* except Indra and Viṣṇu share. It is *sthavira.* The unique sexual implication of this epithet about Indra is clear in the *Saṃhitā*-s where the *sthavira* Indra is said to be held by the expansive Pṛthivī-Indrāṇī on her vulva.[30] It is to be noted that in the hymn from the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 100) Viṣṇu's exploit in spreading the earth, to make her fertile for man, is alluded to just before that which refers to him as *Śipi-viṣṭa.*

29. *Taitt. Saṁ.* VII. 5. 5.

30. *Mait. Saṁ.* III. 8. 4; IV. 12. 1; *Taitt. Br.* II. 4. 2, 7-8.

APROPOS THE ṚGVEDA V. 40

By DR. V. G. RAHURKAR*

The fortieth hymn in the fifth maṇḍala of the *ṚV.* is generally considered to be the family hymn[1] of the Atris. As such, a detailed study of that hymn would prove very helpful for the purpose of determining the position of Atris in the social set up of those days. This hymn is the concluding hymn of the Indra-group. Traditionally, Indra (1—4), Sūrya (5), and Atri (6—9) are mentioned as the deities of that sūkta. The hymn can be broadly divided into two parts. The first part consisting of stanzas (1—4) contains an invocation to Indra, where he is addressed with the words, *vṛṣan indra vṛṣabhir vṛtrahantama* and is entreated to drink Soma. In the fourth stanza, various epithets such as *ṛjīṣī, vajrī, vṛṣabhaḥ, turāṣāt, śuṣmī, rājā, vṛtrahā,* and *somapāvā* are employed in respect of that god, who is invited to exult in the mid-day 'savana'. The second part consists of stanzas five to nine, and is partly in a dialogue form. It describes the wondrous exploit of Atri, namely, his rescuing of the sun from the demon Svarbhānu. Sāyaṇa[2] accordingly, remarks, in his commentary to the fifth stanza as follows: *idamādicaturbhir mantrair atrīṇām karma kīrtyate.* It will be thus seen that the two parts of this hymn are not organically connected with each other. In other words, the hymn as a whole does not constitute a homogeneous unit. For our purpose, however, it is the second part, where the exploit of Atri is mentioned, that is particularly important. The stanzas in question[3] may be translated as follows:

(5) When Svarbhānu[4] of the Asura race pierced thee, O sun,

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1. Geldner, *Der Rigveda,* II, 38, observes that this hymn, which deals with the magic-freeing of the eclipsed sun by Atri, constitutes the family-hymn of the Atris.

2. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV,* VSM, III, p. 836.

3. *ṚV.* V. 40. 5—9.

4. It may be pointed out that the word Svarbhānu later on became a synonym of Rāhu. Cf.

तुल्येपराधे स्वर्भानुर्भानुमन्तं चिरेण यत् ।
हिमांशुमाशु ग्रसते तन्म्रदिम्नः स्फुटं फलम् ॥ *Śiśupālavadha* 2. 49

Amarakośa (digvarga) enumerates Svarbhānu among the five synonyms of Rāhu.

with darkness, all worlds appear like a man who is bewildered in a region with which he is not familiar (*akṣetravid*).[5]

(यत्त्वा सूर्य स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः ।
अक्षेत्रविद् यथा मुग्धो भुवनानि अदीधयुः ॥)

(6) When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical wiles of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered (rather recovered) by the fourth text (*turīyeṇa brahmaṇā*) the sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness.

(स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन् ।
गूळ्हं सूर्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविन्ददत्रिः ॥)

The phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* is very important. It means 'the fourth sacred prayer'. Great magic power was usually attributed by the seers to their hymns and prayers. The very names, brahman and mantra, by which the compositions are known would amply confirm such assumption. It can often be seen, how the god Brahmaṇaspati was a conscious priestly creation and how, through that god, the priestly community glorified the magic power of prayer.[6] Vedic priests, must have indeed been anxious generally to impress upon the people the fact that it was not merely the valour of Indra or the warriors, which helped them towards victory. In oder to be truly effective, that valour had to be necessarily aided by the magic power of prayer. Sāyaṇa interprets the phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* as 'through the fourth stanza', that is to say, through the eighth stanza in this hymn (*grāvṇo brahmā* etc.), which is the fourth stanza with reference to the stanza preceding the present one.[7] Sengupta,[8] who believes that the second part of this hymn clearly refers to the phenomena of solar eclipse, takes the words to mean, 'the fourth prayer of the day, most likely belonging to the fourth part of the day'. According to him, the solar eclipse, in question, thus came to an end in the fourth part of the day. He goes a step further and says that the word brahman here means 'a

5. The word, *akṣetravid* has been translated by Geldner (op. cit.) as 'confused regarding the location'. He also points out that the word also occurs in *AV* 7. 1. 1; *TS* 2. 1. 2. 2; *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.* 2. 48. 11; 4. 111. 1; *KS* 12. 13 and *SB* 5. 3. 2. 2.

6. Dandekar, 'Vṛtrahā Indra', *ABORI* XXXI, p. 52.

7. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya, ṚV*, VSM, II, p. 837.

8. *JRASBL*, Vol. VII, p. 92.

summer-solstice day'. In support of this he quotes the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (I. 2) where the 'Mahāvrata day' is said to be brahman and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 409-10), which says: *madhyataḥ saṁvatsarasya viṣuvati mahāvratam upāyanti.* In short, according to Sengupta, *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* means *turīyeṇa kālena brahma-divasena.* This interpretation suggested by Sengupta cannot, however, be accepted. For, it would be difficult to find any other passage in the *ṚV,* where the word, brahman, is used in this sense. Ludwig[9] interprets the phrase to mean, 'the fourth prayer of the day in addition to the usual liturgy of three prayers against an eclipse'.

If we investigate the word, *turīya,* and its meaning in the *ṚV,* we find that the word occurs in the *ṚV* ten times[10] and everywhere Sāyaṇa has interpreted it to mean *caturtha,* except at VIII. 3. 24, where he interprets it to mean 'destroying' (*turīyam śatrūṇām tūrvakam hiṁsitāram*). But the first interpretation is obviously preferable. The phrase *turīyeṇa brahmaṇā* would thus mean: 'as the result of the fourth magical formula.'[11]

The next stanza contains the words of Sūrya. He says—

(7) Let not the violator, (O Atri), swallow me through hunger with fearful darkness, for, I am thine (*tava santam*). Thou art Mitra[12] whose wealth is truth (*satyarādhāḥ*); do thou and the royal Varuṇa both protect me."

(मा मामिमं तव सन्तमत्रे दूरस्या द्रुग्धः भियसा नि गारीत् ।
त्वं मित्रः असि सत्यराधास्तौ मेहावतं वरुणश्च राजा ॥)

9. Ludwig, quoted by Griffith, *Hymns of the Rigveda,* I, p. 502, footnote.

10. *ṚV* I. 15. 10; 164.45; II. 37.4; IV. 45.1; VIII. 3.24; 52.7; 80.9; IX. 96. 19; X. 67. 1 and 85. 40.

11. Charpentier, *Brahman,* Untersuchung I—II, also expresses the same opinion. "Brahman—Baresman (bundle of grass)—magic—hymn on the one hand and Upaniṣadic Brahman on the other."

Gonda, *Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature,* p. 3. points out that the Vedic repetitions and figures of speech possess a very real and essential expressive value, they intensify the magic power or religious value of the text, have a hallowing effect, and render the text solemn.

Bergaigne (quoted by Lanman in *Festgruss Roth,* p. 190) suggests that the '*turīyam brahman*' is no more than the "One! two! three! and Pesto!" of the thimble-riggers.

12. Evidently a pun on this word is here intended.

(8) Apply the Soma-crushing stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest (*Brahmā*) Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of Svarbhānu.

(ग्राव्णः ब्रह्मा युयुजानः सपर्यन् कीरिणा देवान् नमसोपशिक्षन् ।
अत्रिः सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराधात् स्वर्भानोरप माया अघुक्षत् ।।)

(9) The Atris discovered the sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could.

(यं वै सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसा विध्यदासुरः ।
अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन् न हि अन्ये अशक्नुवन् ।।)

Let us see what exactly is suggested by stanzas 5–9. Even a superficial reading of these stanzas will lead one to the conclusion that they refer to the solar eclipse, which the seer Atri must have witnessed.

The fifth stanza describes, in a vivid manner, the confusion caused among the people when the sun was enveloped in darkness. They did not know what had happened to the sun, all of a sudden. So naturally they attributed the authorship of the mischief to Svarbhānu.[13] The sixth stanza tells us that Atri rescued the sun by means of his 'fourth sacred prayer'. The seventh stanza, which is the speech of Sūrya, suggests that the eclipse was feared to be total but that it was not so at the place where Atri observed it. Sūrya requests Atri and Varuṇa to protect him from the sorcerer who eclipses him with darkness. The eighth stanza clearly mentions that Atri placed the eye of Sūrya in the sky. This indicates that the eclipse had come to an end and that Atri was ultimately successful in defeating Svarbhānu and freeing the sun. The last stanza glorifies this achievement of the Atris—an achievement which it was impossible for others to accomplish.

It would be helpful to examine, at this stage, the views expressed by different scholars in connection with this hymn. Lanman[14] remarks that the hymn is not homogeneous and contains the substance of two separate hymns. He draws attention to a parallel

13. Lanman, *Festgruss Roth*, p. 190, interprets the word, *Svarbhānu* to mean 'having i.e. keeping or withholding the sun's beams (svar-bhānu).'

14. Lanman, op. cit., p. 187.

to this Vedic *itihāsa*-hymn occurring in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*,[15] II. 1. 10, where Buddha figures as the rescuer. He has also pointed out that the latter may be a mere imitation of what is represented in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Oldenberg[16] also says that the first four stanzas belong to the original and stanzas 5–9 are an appendix, a sort of *ākhyāna* relating to the magic about solar eclipse. Bergaigne,[17] on the other hand, is unique in his view about this hymn. He points to a sort of analogy between V. 40 and V. 78[18] because both the hymns begin with three stanzas in Uṣṇik metre with a refrain and a fourth in Triṣṭubh. Both the hymns, again, have an appearance of a magical formula. It is, however, more likely that, in V. 40, two independent fragments have been brought together, at a later stage, with a view to artificially associating Indra with an exploit with which, presumably, he was not originally connected. Such a tendency to connect the national god Indra, with every important event is often noticeable in the *ṚV*.

Svarbhānu is not mentioned at any other place in the *ṚV*. He is also not mentioned in the *AV*. The *AV* mentions some exploits of Atri in connection with the sun[19] but there is nowhere any clear reference to an eclipse. The *Brāhmaṇas*,[20] on the other hand, contain frequent allusions to Svarbhānu's evil doing and to Atri's beneficent exploit.[21]

In the *MBH*[22] we are told of an exploit of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods from distress and restore light to the

15. Ed. by Feer, p. 51.

16. *Noten*, p. 334 ff.

17. Quoted by Lanman in *Festgruss Roth*, p. 190.

18. The hymn deals with Atri's rescue from the *Ṛbīṣa* and begins with अश्विनावेह गच्छतम् ।

19. *AV* XIII. 2. 4, 12, 36.

20. Cf. *TMB*, VI. 6. 8, ŚB V. 3. 2.

21. The *Kauṣītaki Br.* (24. 3. 24) seems to provide us with a clue as regards the time, when the eclipse must have occurred. It tells us that the Atris performed a three-day rite before and after the *Viṣuvanta* and drove away the darkness of Svarbhānu. This would indicate the day on which the eclipse occurred. According to the *AB* (18. 18) and the *KB* (19.3), *Viṣuvanta* is the summer-solstice day. The *TS* (VII. 4. 8), the *TB* (V. 9) and the *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa* (23) also suggest the same thing.

22. *MBh.*, XIII. 157. 1–14.

celestial luminaries. Here, Svarbhānu, who fought on behalf of the demons, is said to have covered the sun and the moon with his arrows. The gods then approached Atri and requested him to defeat the demons and Atri did accordingly. The story thus coincides in many details with that in the *ŚB* (V. 3. 2. 2) and seems to represent the middle link in the chain of development and growth of the later Rāhu-Ketu legend out of the Vedic Svarbhānu legend.

ṚV. X. 14. IA : A FRESH APPROACH

By N. M. Kansara*

The hymns of the *Ṛgveda* have so far defied the successive attempts of most of the western scholars right from Colebrooke to Renou, since they have based their interpretations mostly on the results of the researches in the field of Comparative Philology and Comparative Religion, and on their assumptions as to the general lack of understanding or consistency on the part of Indian commentators like Sāyaṇa and others. Modern Indian interpreters of the *ṚV*. like Swāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Shri Aurobindo, Pt. Satavalekar and Ananda Coomarswami are generally rejected by modern orientalists who are rarely satisfied with anything which does not warrant the approval of the western scholars like Roth, Oldenburg, Grassmann, Geldner, Renou and so on. In such a tragic situation in the field of Vedic interpretation Dr. S. S. Bhave has struck a new path which strictly follows the Pāṇinian system as to the accents and their modifications in the Vedic morphological and syntactical structures. Most of the western orientalists have normally ignored this element which is one of the most important factors in the matter. As has been stressed by Dr. Bhave, a fresh enquiry in this light is a must. Similarly in the field of Vedic metre also, the orientalists have been taking for granted the principles laid down by Arnold as the last word in the field. It is necessary to re-examine the present outlook in view of the latest researches in the matter by scholars like Pt. Yudhisthira Mimamsaka. The following is a specimen attempt at a minute analysis of only the first quarter of the first ṛc of *ṚV*. X. 14, a very well known hymn.

The Saṁhitā text of the first quarter is:

Pareyivāṁsáṁ pravató mahīranú ;

the corresponding Pada text being—

Pareyi' vāṁsáṁ | pra'vatáḥ | mahīḥ | anú //[1]

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1. For convenience the accent 'udātta' is shown with a zero under the vowel in both the Saṁhitā as well as the Pada texts.

Here the word 'pareyivāṁsaṁ' qualifies the word 'Yamam' in the fourth quarter. It is taken to be the accusative sing. of the Perfect Participle of 'Para+$\sqrt{}$i' to go. Peterson[2] translates it in the indicative sense, viz., "Him that went". Macdonell[3] also follows Peterson in that he translates it as "who has passed away". Evidently they have rejected Sāyaṇa who takes it in the causal sense and paraphrases it as "prāpitavantam" i.e. "one who has conducted". Sāyaṇa follows Yāska[4] who has explained the word as "paryāgatavantam", which is elaborated by Durga[5] as "one who makes (them) arrive at". Mukunda Jha Baxi[6] has also supported this on the grounds of Pāṇini. Udgītha also agrees with Yāska. Inspite of all this Renou has preferred to follow Peterson and Macdonell! He translates the word as "he who is gone away".

'Pravataḥ' also has been explained variously by various scholars. Sāyaṇa explains it as "meritorious persons who performed meritorious deeds instrumental to the enjoyments here in the physical world".[7] But Peterson has rejected it as fanciful and wrong, without giving any solid reason. Bhandarkar seeks the support of Lindner when he remarks that the suffix 'vat' forms feminine abstract nouns from prepositions and adverbs, and the accent is always on the last syllable. But Bhandarkar need not have looked to Lindner when the latter himself was merely paraphrasing pāṇini whom the former could have easily resorted to for help. In V. I. 118 Pāṇini clearly shows that the termination 'vat' is accented in view of III. I. 1—3. The preposition 'pra' is unaccented as is clear from the Padapāṭha, wherein both these elements are distinctly separated by an 'avagraha' sign. Peterson and Macdonell have followed Roth in translating the word as 'height' or 'steeps' more or less arbitrarily. Both Peterson and Bhandarkar have taken the word as qualifying the next word 'mahīḥ' which they translate as 'great'. Macdonell's 'mighty' does not make much difference. All

2. Cf. *Hymns from the Ṛgveda* (7th edn.) p. 256 and 327.

3. Cf. *A Vedic Reader for Students*, pp. 164-65.

4. *Nirukta*, X. 20; परेयिवांसं पर्यागतवन्तम् ।

5. Durgavṛtti on *Nirukta* X. 20:

क्रमेण मरणादूर्ध्वं तत्तद्भोगोचितभूलोकादिप्रदेशविशेषान् प्रापितवन्तम् ।

6. Cf. "Nirukta Vivṛti" on *Nirukta* X. 20 which quotes the "Pāṇinian Sūtras" III. ii. 109 उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च and the Siddhānta-Kaumudī on it, viz., इति क्वसन्तो निपातस्तत्रोपेत्य विवक्षितमिति ।।

7. प्रवतः प्रकृष्टकर्मवतो भूलोकवर्तिभोगसाधनं पुण्यमनुष्ठितवतः पुरुषान् ।

these scholars have been groping in the dark while thinking themselves to be shading light. The relevant Pāṇinian aphorism quoted above[8] specifically lays down that the termination 'vat' is suffixed to the prepositions only when the latters convey the sense of a root i.e. action, and that the resulting form is feminine. Now the sense of the preposition 'pra' has been indicated by Yāska[9] as 'distance'. But in the present context, the termination 'vat' being suffixed to it, it indicates 'intensity' or 'excellence' of an action. And Sāyaṇa has meticulously followed Pāṇini in this case. Yāska, has chosen to paraphrase it to mean 'persons attaining to higher existences'. Both Peterson and Bhandarkar construe this word as qualifying 'mahīḥ'.

Macdonell considers 'mahīḥ' as an adjective. On comparision with *ṚV*. VI. 22. 4, *AV*. VI. 28. 3, XVIII. 3. 13 and XVIII. 4. 7 this word should mean 'world' or 'levels of existence'. *Nighaṇṭu* lists this word in four senses, viz., earth, speech, cow and 'dyāvā-pṛthivī.' The reason why both 'pravataḥ' and 'mahīḥ' are in Accusative Sing. Fem. is that both are governed by 'anu' which being a 'karmapravacanīya'—as is evident from the accent on its initial syllable—indicates the sense of 'portion' or 'region' in accordance with the Pāṇinian aphorism I. 3. 89.

In the light of the above discussion 'pravato mahīḥ' must indicate the third i.e. the lower most region of heaven which is the domain of the Pitṛs. The whole quarter will have to be translated thus; '(to Yama) who has been conducting....to the lower-most regions'. The beauty of the Vedic construction lies in the fact that 'pravato' can be construed independently also, in which case it will indicate the sense of Sāyaṇa also. And why should we presume that the Vedic poet was too barbarous to be capable of utilizing his words with utmost economy while extracting maximum shades of meanings just by its skillful disposition? Vedic poet has given ample proof of his poetic skill in the mild tinge of alliteration naturally budding forth in the easy repetition of the consonants like 'p', 'r'. The metre of this quarter, though *Tṛṣṭubh* in general as it consists of eleven syllables, is remarkably identical with the rhythm of the classical *Vaṁśastha* metre, which also is a proof positive about the poetic genius of the ṛṣi.

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8. उपसर्गाच्छन्दसि धात्वर्थे ।।५।१।११८।।
9. *Nirukta*, I. 1. आ इत्यर्वागर्थे। प्र परेत्यस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् ।
10. लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः ।।२।३।८३।।

THE WORD "GARTA" IN THE ṚGVEDA

By Dr. B. H. Kapadia*

The study of the *Ṛgveda* is very very interesting from the stand-point of Semantics. The outstanding peculiarity of the *Ṛgveda* is its Semantics, Grammar, Metre, Vocabulary, Accents etc Cultivating acquaintance with strange words is also interesting. It is proposed to discuss in this article the word *Garta* and its derivatives.

The word *Garta* occurs at the following places in the *Ṛgveda*:

आ रोहथो वरुण मित्र गर्तमतश्चक्षाथे अदितिं दितिं च। 5.62.8

O Mitra and Varuṇa! mount your elevated seat from where you behold Aditi and Diti.

नमस्वन्ता धृतदक्षाधि गर्ते मित्रासाथे वरुणेळास्वन्तः॥ 5.62.5

O, Mitra and Varuṇa! deserving reverence, sit down on your elevated seat amid oblations, ye having strong will-power.

वृष्टिद्यावा रीत्यापेषस्पती दानुमत्याः। बृहन्तं गर्तमाशाते॥ 5.68.5

Let the Heaven shower, let the water flow, O lord of food bringing heaven's gift you have occupied your large seat.

स ईं स्पृधो वनते अप्रतीतो बिभ्रद् वज्रं वृत्रहणं गभस्तौ।
तिष्ठद्धरी अध्यस्तेव गर्ते वचोयुजा वहत इन्द्रमृष्वम्॥ 6.20.9

The unassailable overcomes the opponent, he who carries the thunder-bolt that kills Vṛtra. He mounts the bay-coloured horse like a protecting house, a shelter. Yoked only by words carry the mighty Indra.

यो वां गर्तं मनसा तक्षदेतमूर्ध्वां धीतिं कृणवद् धारयच्च।
उक्षेथां मित्रावरुणा घृतेन ता राजाना सुक्षितीस्तर्पयेथाम्॥ 7.64.4

He who fashions mentally for you this seat, he who sends after the prayer and sustains it, O King Mitra and Varuṇa! sprinkle with ghee and gladden the bliss-giving dwelling places.

स्तुहि श्रुतं गर्तसदं युवानं मृगं न भीममुपहत्नुमुग्रम्। 2.33.11

* V. Vidyapeeth, Vallabha Vidyanagar.

Praise the celebrated youth seated on the elevated seat. He attacks the strong like a wild beast . . . . .

अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।
जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्सः ॥ 1.124.7

Like a brotherless sister, she goes towards men. She is like one who mounts the dais in order to win wealth like a well-dressed and smiling wife longing a husband, Uṣas uncovers her breasts like a courtesan.

From the above quotations it is known that the word *Garta* is masculine in gender and is found only in the three Maṇḍalas 5, 6 and 7. Its derivatives *Gartāsad* and *Gartāruh* occur only once in the *Ṛgveda* and that too in the 2nd and 1st Maṇḍalas respectively. The word *garta* occurs in the singular. It is found in the Acc. (thrice) and in the Loc. (twice). The gods connected with the word *garta* in the above five passages are Mitrāvaruṇā only. *Garta* has one adjective viz. Bṛhantaṁ (5.68.5). Verbs connected with it are: *ā+ruh, ā+si,* and *takṣ*. All the three verbs can very well go with a chariot or a seat of the chariot.

In *Nighaṇṭu* 3.4.3 *garta* means house (*Gartaḥ iti gṛha nāma*).

In *Nirukta* the other meanings of *garta* are: श्मशानसञ्चयः from गुरुतेः अपजूर्णो भवति Yāska quotes नोपरस्याविष्कुर्यात् यदुपरस्याविष्कुर्यात् गर्तेष्ठाः स्यात् प्रमायुको यजमानः इत्यपि निगमो भवति । रक्षोऽपि गर्त उच्यते । गृणातेः स्तुतिकर्मणः । स्तुततमं यानम् ।

So gartaḥ=Rathaḥ, a chariot and he substantiates this: आ रोहथो वरुण मित्र गर्तम् Ratha comes from *gṛ* because it is the most praiseworthy (*stutatamaṃ*) vehicle (*yānaṃ*).

The *Wöterbuch Zum Rig-veda*[1] notes the following meaning :—

(1) higher seat, throne especially the ruling seat of Mitra and Varuṇa.

(2) an elevated seat in the chariot to sit and stand. *Gartāsad* means sitting in the elevated seat of the chariot.

gartāruh means: mounting on the elevated seat of the chariot. (at fight).

1. 3rd ed., 1955. p. 387.

In *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*[2] we get :—

Garta m. grave, hole, pit, *Nir.* 3.5; *AK* 1.2.1.2; *H.* 1 364, and 2,164; *Med. t* 13 गर्तमिव पतति ; *S.Br.* 14.7.1.20, 3.6.I.18, 5.2.I.7; *Sank. Gr.* 1.15.3.2 जानुमात्रं गर्तं खत्वा *Asv. Gr.* 2.8.4.5; *Kau.* 49.66 ससत्वेषु गर्तेषु ; M.4.47 स्नानंसमाचरेन्नित्यं गर्तप्रसवरोषु च 203 ददर्श पितामहान् लम्बमानान् महागर्ते पादैरर्धैरवाङ्मुखान् ; *M.Bh.* 1. 1034, 3.8553; गर्तरुह इवोरगः ; R. 4.34.2 विवर्ते गर्ते निपपात ; *Mārk. P.* 21.9.10 अशुचिस्थानमुच्छिष्टप्रक्षेपणार्थं गर्तादिकम् ; Mit. 267.5 शेते विण्मूत्रयोर्गर्ते ; Bhag. *P.* 3, 31.5 रोमगर्तेषु (सूकरस्य) 13.33 ममावर्ते मोहगर्ते निपातिताः ; Dev. 1.40 also n.; ततस्ते पर्यवर्तंत सर्वे द्रोणरथं प्रति भयात्पतगराजस्य गर्तानीव महोरगाः ॥ also *M. Bh.* 7. 4953 f.; गर्ता *H.* 1364, *Sch. Pankt* 81. 22 ff. 82.2, 96 14.20, 142.6. At the end of an adjectival compound feminine आः निविगर्ता (गर्भा) दद्भूमिम्; *M.Bh.* 13.3184. At the end of place names P. 4. 2. 137.

(2) Ledenhohle H. and Med. *Gartanvat* (from 2 *garta*) adj. with a hole, provided with depth गर्तन्वान्यूपोऽतीक्ष्णाग्रो *S. Br.* 5.2.1.7.

Gartamit (2. गर्त + मित्) adj. immersed in a pit. *T.S.* 6.6.4.2, अगर्तमित् ; *S. Br.* 3.6.1.8.

गर्तासद् (1. गर्त + सद्) adj. sitting on a chariot, *R.V.* 2.33.11 स्तुहि श्रुतं......etc.

गर्तारुह (I. गर्त + आरुह्) adj. mounting the chariot गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् *R.V.* 1.124.7; *Nir.* 3.5.

गर्ताश्रय (2, गर्त + आश्रय m. a beast dwelling in a pit (mouse, rat) मृगगर्ताश्रयापराः *M.* 7.22.

गर्तेश (गर्त+ईश) m. lord of a pit.

गर्तेष्ठाः (गर्ते Loc. from garta+stha) adj. in a pit, i.e. placed in a pit. यदुपरस्याविष्कुर्याद्गर्तेष्ठाः स्यात्

In *Zwölf Hymmen Des Rigveda* Ernst Windisch informs[3] गर्तः m. means Grube.

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2. 2nd pt., ed. 1858 by Roth and Böhtlingk on p. 698.

3. On p. 119.

F. 67

In *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*,[4] M. Mayrhofer has to inform us :

> *Garta* (1) m. Grube, Loch/hollow, hole
>
> *Garta* (2) m. Hoher Sitz/high seat (of the king, particularly the chariot seat).

Gartāruh mounting on the stage.

Adhigartya : found on the high seat (madhu *R.V.* 5.62)

Originally it is a seat woven from Ruten (poles or rods)

Corresponding words of Dravidian origin are *Garda ;* Nepali *Gadi* throne ; Kanerese *garduge, gaddige ;* Telugu *gadde* throne etc.

In *A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit* (Vedic) I *Phonetics* Dr. Suryakanta Sastri[5] gives the following information :

> *Garta*=pit: *Karta* in some words. Media stands for the older tenuis; *garta* Seat has acquired the meaning pit also under the influence of *Karta.*

We get the following information in the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*:[6] *Gartaḥ-ṛta-tam* (1) a hollow, a hole, cave (2) a grave, the hollow of the lions (3) a kind of disease, name of a country, a part of trigartas, (4) vedic–a throne, (5) a chariot, the seat of the chariot (6.209), (6) a table for playing at dice, (7) a house, (8) the part of an assembly room.

Regarding *garta* we are informed : अत्र औचित्येन राजपुरुषैः न्यायनिर्णेतृभिः च अधिष्ठितं स्थानं उच्यते। तत् आरोहति इति गर्तारुक् So *garta* means a law court presided over by the judges who are all assisted by the officers of the king. In this light let us examine the word *gartāruk*. The word is explained in the 3rd ch. of Yāska's *Nirukta*. The explanation is गर्तारोहिणी इव धनलाभाय दक्षिणाजी गर्त्तः सभा स्थाणुः and *garta* is derived from the root gṛ-gṛṇāteḥ सत्यसंगरो भवति। तं तत्र या अपुत्रा वा अपतिका सा रोहति तां तत्राक्षैः आघ्नन्ति। सा रिक्थं लभते।

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4. On p. 327.

5. On p. 86.

6. Pt. 2 of V. M. Apte, ed. by P. K. Gode and Karve, on p. 651.

Durga explains *garta* as अक्षनिर्वपणपीठम् a raised place or a dais for throwing dice on. Thus, *garta* is the pillar of the gambling hall. According to Yāska in *gartāruk* there is a reference to a lady from the South. This lady goes to the gambling hall to get wealth. Durga explains *garta* as that board on which dice are thrown.. *Garta* derived from gṛ suggests that she has to speak truth and truth alone as such is the law of the gambling hall. Like other places this place is not one in which untruth is harboured. A lady who has no son or a husband comes here and has to tell truth regarding the throw of the dice. From her truthful behaviour she gets the money of her husband to which other relatives also lay their claim. It is suggested that her relatives here give her money for sustenance. But it is not clear whether such was the custom in the South of India only. If it was so then how can there be a reference to the South India custom in the *Ṛgveda?* Dr. Laxman Sarup[7] says that orthodox Hindus of Southern India have the custom of filling of the lap (Jholibharaṇa) of a widow with money by the members of her paternal family. The reference to the South here takes away the real value of this suggestion as it is going too far to read the peculiar custom of the South in the *Ṛgveda*. It is quite probable that the expected sense here is: like a man ascending a chariot (ratha) Uṣas goes to gain wealth.[8] While explaining Sāyaṇa has the word *Dakṣiṇājī* and Durga *Dākṣiṇātya.* Durga explains thus: such a woman sits upon the dais in the midst of the gamblers, speaks truth and the gamblers then being convinced of her righteousness and her claim to her late husband's share in the family property obtain it from her relatives who have till then denied her claim. Durga's explanation is sensible and intelligible for there is no propriety in striking a woman with dice. Dr. Sarup explains *gartāruk* as: one who fights in a chariot. Then the simile means: like a chariot-fighter the dawn comes to obtain wealth.

From the above discussion we can surmise that the word *garta* is found in all the three genders viz. m., f., and n. The meaning of the word has undergone gradual change.

In two passages Geldner has something to add: He explains *garta* as scaffold. According to Hillebrandt *gartāruk* is a female dancer, singer; according to Sāyaṇa a widow appearing before a law-

7. In *Nirukta*: *English Translation*, p. 232.

8. *Nirukta English Tr.* p. 230-1.

court, to claim her property. In any case, she is a woman who appears for money. The above information is on 1.124.7.

On 7.64.4 : *garta* is here the elevated seat in the chariot, with a synecdoche for the chariot (ratha—Sāyaṇa). It is only a metaphor for the poem. Cf. 10.135.

The word *garta* appears to have originally the meaning a chariot or an elevated seat in a chariot. Then an elevated seat in the gambling hall on which a person is required to sit in order to tell truth and truth alone. Subsequently, it meant a house, then a pit or a hollow and even a cemetry. It is only in 1.124.7 that *garta* because of *gartāruk* can mean a board or a dais on which dice were thrown. Even in the famous Akṣasūkta (10.34) this word is not found. Here is the proper place for such a word if this is the real meaning of the word. But, such a word here in this Sūkta is conspicuous by its absence.

AN ASPECT OF PĀLĪ SEMANTICS

By SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA*

Language is the vehicle of culture. Every culture-group has a language or dialect of its own. This speech usually expresses the culture of that group. But we know that no culture is static. It is changing constantly either due to some internal reasons, or due to contact with other cultures. The language of a people is also therefore changing constantly in order to cope with this change in their culture.

This particular type of change in a language is reflected more in the words and their meanings than in the other linguistic levels, phonological, morpological and syntactical. We may illustrate this aspect of language dynamics with the help of the situation in Pālī, because in this case the history and details of the culture-change are known to us.

Sanskrit is the vehicle of Hindu or Brahmanical culture, while Pālī which is the next stage in Indo-Āryan, is the vehicle of the culture of the Hīnayāna (or Old school) Buddhists. Buddha revolted against the Brahmanical path. He introduced many new concepts and rites. So it remains to be seen how the followers of this new religion who spoke an Aryan tongue adapted to a different culture, expressed these new concepts, and also named the new rites.

If we study Pālī from this point of view we find that in addition to the phonological and grammatical changes from Sanskrit, Pālī shows also many semantic variations from Sanskrit which became necessary to cope with the cultural innovations. In this semantic field Pālī, while disagreeing with Sanskrit, either follows its own tradition, or adheres to the old Vedic usage. The pattern of change in the semantic field therefore agrees in general with the pattern to be found in the fields of Pālī phonology and grammar.

The object of this paper is not to discuss the whole field of Pālī semantics. Here we will briefly discuss only those semantic adjustments that became necessary in Pālī for expressing a new faith.

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Let us take at first the Sanskrit words *jāti* and *yajña*. The word *jāti* originally meant "birth", from which developed the secondary meanings "caste", "rank by birth". The latter meanings became prominent in Classical Sanskrit literature. In Pālī the word *jāti* of course did not undergo any phonological change, but it changed its meaning. We know that Buddhism was opposed to all differences due to birth. So in Pālī the original meaning of the word (i.e. the meaning "birth") is more prominent than "rank". The secondary meanings of the word *jāti* that developed in Pālī are "rebirth", "possibility of rebirth". Thus, we read of *jāti, jarā, vyādhi, maraṇa,* etc. in Pālī literature, and also come across usages like *antimā jāti* "the last rebirth", *purimā jāti* "a former birth", etc. It is obvious that this special meaning developed in Pālī due to the dominance of the idea of rebirth in the Hīnayāna Buddhism. The Pālī word *jātaka* "account of Buddha's rebirths", is also semantically different from the Sk. word *jātaka* "one who is born".

In the case of the word *yajña,* the word changed both its form and meaning in Pālī. In Sk. it means "devotion", "worship", "sacrifice", etc. The meaning "sacrifice" is more common in Classical Sanskrit. In Pālī the form of the word changed to *yañña,* while the meaning changed to "almsgiving", "a gift to the Saṅgha or the the bhikkhu". Buddhist culture was against all cruelty to animals and therefore discarded the Hindu sacrifices. So the meaning "sacrifice" had little scope to survive in Pālī.

Many such examples may be quoted. Thus, Sk. *artha* originally meant "result", "cause", "aim", "purpose", "advantage", etc.; also Sk. *arth-* "to strive", "to desire", "to want", etc. (cf. Pā. *atthin* "desirous", "wanting anything", etc.). Later in Sk. the word *artha* more commonly means "wealth". But the Buddhists are against all sorts of wealth. So the Pā. word *attha* began to be used more commonly in the sense of "moral good", or "blessing", or "welfare in general" (cf. Sk. *paramārtha*). Thus, Pā. *atthavant* means "full of benefit", but Sk. *arthavat* means "wealthy", "full of sense", etc. When in Pālī *attha/aṭṭha* means "a meaning", it actually expresses "literal meaning", as distinct from *dhamma,* i.e. "interpreted or implied meaning". Similarly, in Pālī the word *ajjhatta* < Sk. *adhyātma,* means "internal", "personal", etc. The Sk. meaning "Supreme spirit" is not there. So, Sk. *adhyātma-rati* means "a man delighting in the contemplation of the Supreme spirit", but Pā. *ajjhatta-rata* means "with inward joy". Similarly, Sk. *ādhyātmika* means "relat-

ing to self or soul", "relating to the Supreme spirit", "spiritual", "holy", etc. But in Pā. *ajjhattika* means "personal", "inward", i.e. opposite to "outward".

The Pā. word *kamma* < Sk. *karma,* is also interesting, for apart from the original and general meanings of the word *karma,* there also developed in Pālī a special ecclesiastical sense of the word *kamma* "where it means proceedings", "ceremony performed by a lawfully constituted chapter of bhikkhus". Many new compound verbs also gained currency, e.g. *kamman karoti* "to take proceedings against", *kamman garahati* "to find fault with proceedings gone through", etc. The word *kamma* had many other semantic developments in Pālī to suit the new philosophical doctrines of the Buddhists.

The change of the Sk. word *skandha* > Pā. *kandha,* is also interesting. In Sanskrit the older meanings of the word seem to be "shoulder", "stem or trunk of a tree." But in Pā. the principal meanings are "bulk", "massiveness", "multitude . These meanings are also to be found in late Sk. literature. The plural form of the Pālī word (i.e. *kandhā*) developed some new meanings, namely, "the five constituent elements of beings," "the elements or substrata of sensory existence", "the sensorial aggregates which condition the appearance of life in any form", etc. Similarly, Pā *sankkhāra* < Sk. *saṁskāra,* in its singular and plural forms, has been used in a number of new meanings reflecting the new philosophical doctrine. The change of the Sk. word *ṛddhi* may also be noted. There it means "prosperity", "success", "good fortune , "wealth , abundance", etc. In Pālī the derivative *iddhi* developed at first the meaning, "psychic powers", viz. "to be invisible, to pass through solid things, to walk on water, etc." But Buddha discarded these mystic wonders and advocated instead wonders of education. He spoke of the *iddhi-padā,* i.e. determination to concentrate on purpose, on will, on thoughts, etc.

To form new words with the help of prefixes (propositional particles) and new combinations of free forms is another important aspect of Pālī semantics. We may illustrate this point. The word *kāya* means in Sk. "body", "trunk of tree". But in Pā. the word often means "group", "collection", "heap", etc. Since the word *kāya* is derived from the root *ci-,* the meaning of the word to be more commonly found in Pā. is the original one; cf. Pā. *mahājan-kāya* "a crowd". The retention of the original meaning seems to have been

influenced by the Buddhists' idea about the body that it is a collection of multiple elements. The semantic growth of the word does not, however, stop here. A new word is found to be formed in Pālī by prefixing *ni-* to it. The word *nikāya* is typical of Pālī. It means "body", "assemblage", "collection", etc. This word gradually developed (the secondary meaning of "collection of Buddhists' *suttas*". Another Pā. word derived from *kāya* is *sakhāya* < Sk. *sat-kāya*. The Sk. word does not have any special meanings. But in Pālī *sakkāya* means "the body in being", "individuality", etc. and *sakkāya-diṭṭhi* "heresy of individuality, speculation, etc." We may conclude this short study by citing one more example. Sk. *gṛha* "house" is changed to *ghara* in Pālī, but the word does not change its meaning. When the Pā. word *ghara,* however, is compounded with the word *bandhana,* it develops the special meaning, "marriage". This usage is peculiar to Pālī because of the Buddhists' aversion to family life.

Our main object here is to draw the attention of scholars to this aspect of semantics. In this short article we have tried to demonstrate the cultural factor in the change of meanings. We need not multiply examples, because our main issue must have been clear by now.*

* Forms and meanings have been quoted here mainly from *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by M. Monier Williams, and *Pali-English Dictionary* by T. W. Rhys Davids and Willam Stede.

A SYNTACTICAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AŚOKAN PRĀKṚT AND ARDHAMĀGADHĪ

By DR. S. N. GHOSAL*

According to Pāṇini[1] the word *anya* or any of its synonyms governs a word in the ablative case, from which distinction is to be indicated. The word *anya* or its equivalent has got the feature of an adjective and it is meant to qualify the referred object. Whitney provides the example *Ko mitrād anyaḥ,* 'who else than a friend' from the *Hitopadeśa,* which gives a very clear idea about the use of the word, which has got the function to govern a form in the ablative (*mitrāt*) case.[2] It is interesting to note that like the adjective an adverb too built with the suffix-*tra* from the very same word of distinction i.e. *anya* governs likewise an ablative case. Whitney cites an example to illustrate the phenomenon, which stands; *tad anyatra tvan ni dadhmase* (*AV*). We set this down elsewhere away from 'thee'. Here the word *anyatra* retains in tact its adverbial character, where the sense of the locative is quite predominant, but it has governed the word *tvat,* which occurs nevertheless in the very same ablative case.[3] Though we do not get any example from the grammar justifying the use of an adverb, built from the adjectival word of distinction i.e. *anyatra* in the present case, we cannot deny the phenomenon on the face of the existence of a clear example, which we have mentioned above.

It is interesting to note that in the Aśokan edicts the word *anyatra* has lost entirely its adverbial character and been reduced to a preposition. It simply conveys the sense of 'without, except' and stands as a synonym to the prepositional words *ṛte* and *vinā.* Further it does not govern a case in the ablative, as we have noted in the above-quoted example, but the one in the instrumental which has given a distinction to the form. We quote certain examples, which are assumed to clarify the situation. In the VI Rock-edict there occurs the line: *dukaram tu idaṁ añat agena parākramena* (Girnar), 'This is indeed difficult to do without great undertak-

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1. The sūtra stands as: *anyārāditararte dikśabdāñcuttarapadā jāhiyukta.* (2. 3. 29).

2. *Sanskrit Grammar,* (291 to p. 97).

3. *Ibid.*

ing.[4] In the Rock-edict X one finds: *dukaram tu kho etaṁ chudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parākramena savaṁ paricajitpā* (Girnar), 'Verily it is difficult to attain such a state by the class of men of low or high rank except by the utmost exertion by giving up all things. The Pillar—edict I also provides a similar use: *hidata Pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye aṁnata agāyā dhaṁmakāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya susūsāyā agena bhayenā agena usāhenā* (Girnar), 'The benefits of this world and the next are hard to achieve except by utmost devotion to the Law (of Piety) without examination (of one's own self) or introspection, utmost obedience, utmost effort or exertion.' There may be some doubt regarding the case of the forms *dhammakāmatāyā, palīkhāyā* and *susūsāyā,* which are likely to be confused as the forms of the abl., gen. or loc., but the same should disappear forthwith on the consideration of the words *bhayenā* and *usāhenā,* which occur unhesitatingly in the instrumental and justify the occurrence of the aforementioned word in the same very instrumental case.

In the Aśokan edict on one occasion only the word *añata* (i.e. skt. *anyatra*) has been differently used and the same has ceased to function as a preposition. Here the word has done the function of a conjunction, of which the true nature can be easily perceived from its translation. The sentence, where the word *anyatra* with this function stands, occurs in the Rock-edict X and reads: *devānaṁ piye piyadaṣā lājā yaṣo vā kivi vā no mahāthāvā manati anatā* (Girnar *añata*) *yaṁ pi yaso vā Kiti vā ichati tadatvāye ayatiye cā jane dhaṁmasusuṣā susuṣātu me dhaṁmavataṁ vā anuvidhiyotu ti* (Kalsi), 'King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the gods does not consider renown or glory as leading to great gain, except when he wishes for renown or glory that his people should harken at present and in future to the Law of piety (as propounded) by me, and conform to my instruction in the Law of piety as given by me. Here it is evident that the word *anyatra* connects two sentences and does unequivocally the function of a conjunction. But as this mode of employment stands as a solitary exception to the common use of *anyatra,* that has got the characteristics of a preposition governing a word in the instrumental case, it is not being taken into consideration while we show the identical use of *anyatra* in its prepositional function in the language of the Jaina Canons and hold brief for an agreement between the Aśokan Prākṛt and this speech.

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4. The translations of the passages of the inscriptions are taken from the book of R. G. Basak.

Now it may be stated here that this mode of application of *anyatra* as a preposition governing the instrumental case is not a feature of the Aśokan Prākṛt alone. The similar use may be noted in Ardha-māgadhī too, which is the language of the Jaina canonical texts and which the adherents of this faith call Ārṣa to show deference to their own religion and scriptures. We have observed the use of the word in this technical aspect in many places of the *Uvāsagadasāo* which perhaps vouches for its common appearance in the religious works of the Jainas. We quote here some from the later-mentioned text to demonstrate the accuracy of our statement.

As these examples are taken from one particular portion of the text, the context of these examples will be helpful to appreciate their proper significance. Ānanda, a rich house-holder, becomes inclined to lead a spiritual life after he came in contact with the Lord Mahāvīra—the great teacher of the Nirgrantha faith. But as he cannot renounce the world completely, he decides to live a temperate life by restricting his possessions. The examples in fact show how he withdrew himself from various objects of the world and set a limit to his acquisition. Some of the examples are:

nannattha (*na* + *annattaha*) *egenaṁ alla laṭṭhīmahueṇaṁ avasesaṁ dantavihiṁ paccakkhāmi* /23.

"Excepting one kind viz. a juicy or fresh stick of sweet taste I renounce the use of every other kind of tooth cleaners.[6]"

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5. The literal translation of the passage has created some confusion for which the sentence itself may be held responsible. It involves a faulty construction, since it begins with the expressions *devānaṁ piye* introducing the subject in the 3rd person but retains the word *me* at the same time by changing the character of the person from third to first. But R. K. Mookerjee has avoided the anamoly. He translates: "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king does not regard glory or fame as bringing much gain except that whatever glory or fame he desires, it would be only for this that the people might in the present time and in the future should practise obedience to Dharma and conform to the observances of Dharma." Jules Bloch has also avoided the anamoly in his translation: '*Le roi ami des dieux an regard amical ne croit pas que gloire on renommée apportent grand profit sauf qu'il désire en fait de gloire on renomée que maintenant et pour longtemps son peuple obeisse de l'obéissance à la Loi et se conforme à la pratique de la Loi.*' Trans: "The King—the friend of the gods with graceful look does not believe that glory or renown brings great profit except that he desires in fact the glory or renown that now and for long time his people obey the authority of the law and conform to the practice of the law."

6. I have given the translation of N. A. Gore, which occurs in his edition published from Bombay.

nannattha egeṇam Khīrāmalaeṇaṁ avasesaṁ phalvihiṁ paccakkhāmi / 24.

"Excepting one kind of viz. the milky pulp of Āmalaka fruit I renounce the use of every other kind of fruit."

nannattha sayapāga-sahassapāgehiṁ avasesaṁ abhaṅgaṇa vihim paccakkhāmi /25.

"Excepting oil of one hundred or one thousand ingredients I renounce the use of every other kind of unguents."

nannattha egeṇaṁ surahiṇā gaṁdhavaṭṭaeṇaṁ avasesaṁ uvvaṭṭaṇa-vihiṁ paccakkhāmi /26.

"Excepting one kind viz. a sented wheat flour I renounce the use of every other kind of powders."

nannattha egeṇaṁ khomajualenaṁ[7] *avasesaṁ vatthavihiṁ paccak-khāmi* /28

Excepting one kind viz. a pair of silken clothes, I renounce the use of clothes.

There are many sentences of this nature here. As we have shown before *nannattha* stands for *na anyatra*. One should note here that *annattha* is here a preposition, as it occurred exactly in the Aśokan inscriptions. As in the latter here too it governs the instrumental, which is known definitely from the expressions *alla-laṭṭhī-mahueṇaṁ, khīrāamalakeṇam, tellehiṁ, gaṁdhavaṭṭaeṇaṁ* and *khomajualeṇaṁ,* all of which possess the terminations of the instrumental case. As such it is clear that the use of *anyatra* a preposition governing an instrumental which we note in the Aśokan edicts, has occurred in this Jaina cannonical text too and there is perfect agreement in the application between the two works.

It is interesting to note that this usage, which was a common phenomenon in the Middle Indo-Aryan texts, has not left any trace in Sanskrit. At least we do not get any evidence that the word *anyatra* has left its adverbial character and emerged as a preposition—far less to speak of the phenomenon of its governing the instrumental case. Though no definite reason for the absence of the feature in Sanskrit can be found out, some kind of assumption

7. The translator translated the expression as 'a pair of cotton clothes' but we have put 'silken' as a substitute of 'cotton' since *Khoma* (Kṣauma) signifies the silk cloth and not the cotton one.

can be made to explain the same. This usage, which is common in M I A, might have come from an earlier speech—its predecessor. It might be the spoken Sanskrit, where the usage was prevalent; but when Sanskrit was given a definite shape the uncommon elements, though current as feature of the spoken tongue, did not find any place in the coined literary language. In this way the usage might have been ignored by the scholars, who engaged themselves in the cultivation of Sanskrit. But it served as a living idiom in Prākṛt and as the Prākṛt texts are very close to the spoken idioms they preserved it, for which we find in the mentioned texts.

Another feature may also be taken into consideration here. The instrumental case is very close to the ablative in point of significance and the difference was not perhaps rigidly maintained always —particularly in the spoken tongues. This is definitely known as from the fact that in Pāli the inst. pl. forms occupy the place of the abl. pl. and in Pkt. this phenomenon particularly happens, since the abl. pl. ending—*hiṃto* of Pkt. comes from the inst. pl. *-hiṁ* (< -bhis) + *to* (<*tas*).[6] As this distinction between the inst. and abl. was not carefully maintained always, the cultivators of Sanskrit while preserving the use of the abl. case in connection with the word *anya* indicating distinction, ignored the phenomenon of its or of any of its derivatives' governing the instrumental, which was nevertheless current in the spoken dialects. This might be the reason for the absence of the latter in Sanskrit, though Prākṛt bears definite evidence for its common use.

Even if we leave the controversial matter we are definite about our main proposition, namely that the word *anyatra* (a derivative of *anya*) which is originally adverbial in character, appears in the role of a preposition in middle Indo-Aryan and the same governs the instrumental case instead of the ablative, which is traditionally known to us from Skt. The Aśokan inscriptions and the cannonical text *uvāsagadasāo* bear unmistakable evidence for this use in pkt. and on the basis of the frequent appearance of the feature in the two texts—one composed in inscriptionl pkt. and the other in Amg, the occurrence of the same as the common practice in MIA may be quite reasonably presumed.

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8. The other case—termination for the abl. pl. is *-suṁto* which comes from the loc-ending *-su,* to which the suffix *-to* has been added. The nasal *ṁ* in the ending is euphonic. The occurrence of *-suṁto* side by side with *-hiṁto* urges one to asume the partial agreement in Pkt, but the agreement is perfect in Pāli, where the abl. pl. takes only inst. pl. forms.

PHONOLOGY OF A DACCA DIALECT

By ANIMESH K. PAL*

District of Dacca now in East Pakistan consists of four administrative sub-divisions, viz. Dacca Sadar, Narayangunje, Munshigunje and Manikgunje. A brief dialect survey of this district undertaken by me in the summer of 1960 revealed the existence of at least four different dialects of Bengali. Both Professors S. K. Chatterji and Sukumar Sen included the Bengali dialects of Dacca under the heading of Vanga or Bangali or Eastern Bengali.[1] Being born and brought up in this district I am still a speaker of one of these four dialects. The subject of study of the present paper is the dialect of which I am a native speaker and which is spoken roughly around the sub-divisions of Narayangunje and Dacca Sadar in between the Meghnā and Śītalakṣyā rivers.

THE SPEECH SOUNDS AND THEIR SIGNS

Consonants :

1. Velar unvoiced stop–*k*.
2. Velar voiced stop–*g*.
3. Dental unvoiced stop–*t*.
4. Dental voiced stop–*d*.
5. Cerebral or retroflex unvoiced stop–*T*.
6. Cerebral voiced stop–*D*.
7. Bi-labial unvoiced stop–*p*.
8. Bi-labial voiced stop–*b*.
9. Velar nasal–*N*.

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1. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language* by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Vol. 1, page 140–*table of the Bengali dialects.* and *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta* by Prof. Sukumar Sen, page 104, 4th edition.

10. Alveolar nasal—*n*.
11. Bi-labial nasal—*m*.
12. Dental unvoiced affricate—*C*.
13. Alveolar fricative—*z*.
14. Dental fricative—*s*.
15. Alveo-palatal fricative—*S*.
16. Glottal fricative—*H*.
17. Alveolar lateral—*l*.
18. Alveolar flapped—*r*.
19. Velar unvoiced aspirated stop—*kh*.
20. Dental unvoiced aspirated stop—*th*.
21. Cerebral or retroflex unvoiced aspirated stop—*Th*.
22. Bi-labial unvoiced aspirated fricative—*F*.

Consonantal allophones:

23. Guttural unvoiced fricative—*x*.
24. Labio-dental fricative—*f*.
25. Alveo-palatal unvoiced affricate—*c*.
26. Alveo-palatal voiced affricate—*j*.
27. Alveo-palatal unvoiced aspirated affricate—*ch*.

Vowels :

28. Bi-labial closed—*u*.
29. Bi-labial half closed—*o*.
30. Bi-labial half open—*O*.
31. Frontal half open—*A*.
32. Frontal half closed—*E*.
33. Frontal closed—*i*.
34. Central open—*a*.

Vowel allophones:

35. Back half closed—*ó*.

36. Frontal open—*á*.

Semi-vowel:

37. Palatal semi-vowel—*e*.

Apart from these thirty-seven sounds a rising tone is also observed in this dialect which will be indicated by a capital *V*.

Examinations of the above listed thirty-seven speech sounds revealed that some of them did not occur in all positions and that with the change of its positions in a given word certain changes might take place in a given phoneme. These are nothing but phonemic mutations under certain specific phonetic conditions. These phonemic mutations if properly observed may reveal a number of rules or principles guiding the processess of mutations. In the present paper I propose to study the behaviour of a number of speech sounds under different phonetic conditions.

MUTATIONS OF THE VOWELS

Of the nine vowel sounds found in this dialect the two allophones *ó* and *á* do not occur in all conditions. The half closed back vowel *ó* occurs only in the proximity of *i* and *u*. It never occurs in the proximity of *a, O* and *A*. We can observe a few words to understand the phenomenon. *kO* meaning to speak in the present indefinite form corresponding to first person singular *ami* will be (*ami*) *kói*. On the other hand when it corresponds to third person singular *HAe*, it changes to (*HAe*) *kOe*. *dVOr* meaning 'to catch' is another such verb root which when added to the verbal inflexion—*i* becomes *dVóri*. The root pOr meaning to fall when added to the verbal inflexion—*uk* becomes *póruk*. So, it is clear that the allophone *ó* in such cases is the result of the mutation of another phone *O* under the influence of either of the two front vowels *i* and *u*. (1) The rule here being *O* :—*ó* under the influence of *i* or *u*, this can be called a case of vowel harmony. Now we may enquire whether there are other instances of vowel harmony in this dialect. The following pairs of words formed from the same root may throw some light in this respect. *bADa* = fellow (masculine) becomes *bEDi* = fellow (feminine) because of the replacement of *a* which is the ter-

minal suffix for the masculine gender by *i*, the suffix for the feminine. Similarly, *sAra* = boy becomes *sEri* = girl in the feminine gender *pAT* means abdomen but slice of abdomen (in case of fish) in *pEDi*. So, this is also a case of vowel harmony, the rule here being (2) *A*–E under the influence of final *i*. Then *SondOr* = beautiful when changed into masculine gender becomes *Sundóirá* (*arE ó Sundóriá naeEr mazVi* = Oh ! the beautiful boatman). Here we find *o* :—*u* evidently under the influence of the following *ó* and *i*. When the very root *tho* = to put takes the verbal inflexion —*o* the formation is *thoeo* and when it takes the verbal inflexion —*e* the formation is *thoe* but when it takes the verbal influexion—*i* the formation is *thui*. Similarly, *do* = to milk becomes *doeo, doe,* and *duVi*. So the rule here is (3) *o* :—*u* under the influence of the following *i*. The verb *nE* = to take with the verbal inflexion—*i* becomes *nEi*, with—*uk* becomes *nEuk* but with *o* becomes *nAo* and with—*e* becomes *nAe*. The same will happen to the verb root *dE* = to give. So the rule here is (4) *E* or *A* under the influence of the following *o* or *e*. The remaining three vowels viz. *a, u* and *i* are immune to any kind of phonetic influence resulting in vowel harmony.

Now we have to consider the special circumstances in which the allophone *á* occurs in this dialect. As we have observed elsewhere (2) the frontal open vowel *á* occurs only in the final positions of some special types of words. These words are mostly adjectives and verbs of the non-finite form and also informal vocative forms of the names of familiar and junior persons. But their speciality does not lie in the fact of their being adjectives or verbs of the non-finite forms or personal names, instead, the speciality of these words lie in the combination of the vowel sounds found in them. The words which have *á* in the final positions must have either of the following seven diphthongs in their penultimate syllables:

1. *ui* as in *khuillá*=having opened.
2. *ói* as in *saVgóillá*=goaty.
3. *ai* as in *kaiTTá*=having cut.
4. *Ei* as in *lEikkhá*=having written,

2. "Phonemes of a Dacca dialect of Eastern Bengali and the Importance of Tone" by Animesh K. Pal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1965, Pages 39—48.

5. *au* as in *maucchá*=fishy or fish monger.

6. *óu* as in *mónnná*=informal vocative form of the personal name *mónu*.

7. *Eu* as in *kEuccá*=earth worm. The first thing to be noticed in these words is the articulation of the diphthongs in the penultimate syllables. Both the components of these diphthongs are not equally articulated. In the first four diphthongs of the given list the first component is more articulated than the second one which is but slightly articulated. Sometimes it is almost imperceptible because of slurring. But neverthe`ess the second component is actually articulated. In the last three diphthongs the second component is *u* whereas in the first four diphthongs the second component is *i*. In the last three diphthongs *u* is less articulated than *i* which is more or less clearly articulated. The second point to be noted here is the relation between the phenomena of slight or weaker articulation of the second components *i* and *u* and the occurrence of the frontal open vowel *á* in the final positions. Are these two really connected with each other? Yes, they are interconnected. In whichever word we find *á* we find it in the final position and one of those seven diphthongs occurs in the penultimate syllable and the first components of the diphthongs are more articulated than the second ones. It is quite logical to assume that the peculiar articulation of these diphthongs and the occurence of *á* in the final position is interrelated and that the weaker articulation of *i* and *u* in the penultimate syllable is responsible for the occurence of the allophone *á* which does not occur under any other circumstances.

In order to understand this particular phenomenon we have to consider two things more elaborately, viz. the real nature of *á* and why *i* and *u* are weakly articulated and how much these two sounds are articulated under this special circumstances. Now, what is *á*? It is an open frontal vowel belonging to the *a* phoneme which is but an open central vowel sound. *a* is the stable sound whereas *á* occurs in a few special cases only. We have previously observed while considering the various instances of vowel harmony that under normal circumstances *a* is immune to any kind of phonetic influence resulting in vowel harmony. But here is a case where *á*, an unstable open frontal vowel sound occurs in the proximity of *i* and *u* both of which are frontal vowel themselves. While considering the instances of vowel harmony we have also observed that *O* :—*ó*

under the influence of *i* and *u*. In the present case we have already observed that both *i* and *u* themselves are affected. As the second components of the seven diphthongs listed earlier, they are less articulated than the first components. Now, if *a* has become *á* under the influence of *i* or *u* and if in the process *i* or *u* is weakly articulated then this is a case of affecting each other mutually. It should also be noted here that in the context of vowel harmony all the three sounds—*a, u, i* were found to be immune to any kind of phonetic change resulting in vowel harmony.

The vocative case ending used in this dialect for the names of the familiar and junior persons is—*a* as is evident from the fact that *ram* becomes *rama* in the vocative case. Now let us take two other personal names—*móni* and *mónu*. In the vocative case these are found as *móinná* and *móunná*. *móni* plus *a* should *have* resulted in *mónia* and likewise *mónu* plus *u* :—*mónua*. In fact, identical formations do really occur in some Bihari and Eastern Hindi dialects. Any way, it may be assūmed that in this case *mónia* has become *móiná* and *mónua* has become *móunná*. So it may be further assumed that *i* and *u* have changed their positions, i.e. both of them are after *n* in the original words but in the vocative formations both of them are before *n*. One could call this phenomenon a simple case of vowel metathesis. But the case is evidently not so because of the fact that (1) in the process the consonant *n* has been doubled and that (2) the vocative case ending—*a* has been changed to -*á*.Can we call it a case of epenthesis? There is at least one objection to that proposition. For being a clear case of epenthesis *mónia** should have become *móinia** and *mónua** should have become **móunua;* instead, they have become *móinná* and *móunná* respectively. Let us now consider the two hypothetical epenthetic formations *móinia** and *móunua**. There are three syllables in each of these words, viz. mói—ni—a and móu-nu—a. In actual speech the first component of the diphthong *óu* or *ói* will be more articulated and the second component *i* or *u* will be less articulated. Then because of the general preference for bi-morism among the entire Bengali-speech-community there will be an attempt to lump *nia* or *nua* together. The result will be the twin phenomena of the doubling of *n* and the partial compensation of the partial loss of the original *i* or *u* by an open frontal vowel *á* derived from the original open central vowel *a*. Thus one may assume that *móinná* or *móunná* is rather a case of epenthesis. But still there may be objections to this proposition as the preference for bi-morism in the dialect under

examination has not yet been established as a fact and the emergence of the doubled *n* is not yet fully explained. So, we shall tackle the problem from another angle. The original formation is *móni* plus *a* or *mónu* plus *a*. In the resultant formation the original *i* or *u* is lost partially but the open central *a* becomes open frontal *á*. The partial loss to *i* and *u* is then compensated by the open vowel in the final position as their frontal characteristics is taken up by the open vowel which in the process becomes an open frontal vowel. Thus this may be described as an instance of an additional vowel shifting which in other words is but epenthesis. The consonant *n* in the middle of this additional vowel shifting and the partial loss of the original vowel plays a somewhat compensatory role by being doubled. The newly formed open frontal vowel is also responsible for this new development in the consonant.

Now we shall examine a non-finite verb form to observe the previously discussed phenomenon further. There is a non-finite verbal suffix *-ia* as is evident from the formation *khaia*=having eaten, where the verb root is *kha*=to eat. Although *kha* plus *ia* becomes simple *khaia*, *khel*=to play plus *ia* instead of becoming *khelia** becomes *kh-Eillá*. Evidently, *i* has changed its place, its original place being indicated by the appearence of an open frontal vowel. The consonant *l* has been doubled in the process of the additional shifting of *i* and by the influence of the newly formed open frontal vowel in the final position. Lastly, we must also examine the adjective formations resulting in identical combinations of the speech sounds. We have such adjective formations as *zaullá*=fisherman (one who uses a net) from the noun *zal*=net, *maucchá*=fishmonger from the noun *maVs*=fish; *gaucchá*=tree climber from the noun *gaVs*=tree. From the above mentioned adjective formations and also from such words as *laua*=gourd like formed from the noun *lau*= gourd; *gaVua*=one with septic wounds formed from the noun *gaVo*= septic wound and *khaua*=one who is a voracious eater formed from the verb root *kha*=to eat, it seems almost certain that the suffix used here for making adjectives is *-ua*. From such adjective as *maiTTá*= earthen formed from the noun *maDi*=earth; *Hiailiá*=foxy formed from the noun *Hial*=fox or jackal; *saVgóillá*=goaty formed from the noun *saVgO*l=goat, it seems almost certain that the suffix used here for making adjectives is *-ia*. Now again, we come across the phenomenon of an open frontal vowel *á* in the final position together with the appearance of a doubled consonant which indicates an additional vowel shifting taking place in the words cited here. Making

careful observations I have come to the conclusion that the second components of the diphthongs i.e. *u* and *i* being very weak and one of the two similar consonants being weakly articulated this phenomenon of additional vowel shifting within a word cannot be called a full scale epenthesis but it is very much epenthetic in nature. Occurences of such words as *rait*=night, *zait*=race or caste, *HauVd*= honest man (*CorEr dOS din HauVdEr Ak din*=A thief may have ten days but the honest man will have at least one day in this dialect and the occurences in the high literary Bengali with a pan-Bengali currency of such words as *rati, jāti* and *sādhu* having the same meaning may be an indication to the vowel shifting within a word which in other words is metathesis of vowels. But the change of place of vowels within a word is not generally observed in this dialect.

Only in a few cases *i* changes its place, i.e. it is shifted from the final position to an intervocalic one. For a clearer understanding of this phenomenon it is necessary to examine a few typical verbal formations such as *uraia* and *poraia*. The first one is formed from the causative verb root *ura*=to cause something to fly plus non-finite verbal suffix *-ia*. (*badam uraia dE ó mazVi baVi*=Oh boatman brother! set up your sails). But when an identical non-finite verb is formed the verb root or the resultant formation is *uira*. The following may be an apparent explanation of such a formation *or* plus *ia* :— **uria* :—*uira* because of the shifting of *i* from the penultimate to the ante—penultimate position. Similarly, *pora*=to cause something to burn plus *ia* :—*poraia* but *por*=to burn plus *ia* :—*puira*. We could have accepted these formations as regular instances of vowel metathesis but such formations are scarce and the shifting of *i* from the penultimate to the ante-penultimate position takes place only in those words where *-r-* is involved. The instances of the near epenthetic formations which we have examined earlier are not involved with *-r-* because the doubling or gemination of *-r-* is almost impossible in such cases. The metathetic formation which we have considered here hypothetically may as well be connected with the near epenthetic formations. The following table of non-finite verbal formations with the terminal suffix *ia* undoubtedly supports the last assumption. The listed verb roots are all from the dialect under investigation.

1. *Dak*=to call plus *ia* :—*Dakia* (Literary Bengali) =having called :—*Daikká* (Dacca *Dialect*).

2. *maVk*=to rub plus *ia* :—*makhia* (L.B.) =having rubbed :— *maikkhá* (D.D.).

3. *lag*=to attach plus *ia* :—*lagia* (L.B.) =having attached, for :—*laiggá* (D.D.) .

4. *kaC*=to wash plus *ia* :—*kacia* (L.B.)=having washed :—*kaiccá* (D.D.) .

5. *moVs*=to wipe plus *ia* :—*muchia* (L.B.) =having wiped :—*muicchá* (D.D.) .

6. *Haz*=to dress up plus *ia* :—*Sajia* (L.B.) =having dresed up :—*Haijjá* (D.D.) .

7. *boVz*=to understand plus *ia* :—*bujhia* (L.B.)=having understood :—*buijjá* (D.D.) .

8. *loT*=to plunder plus *ia* :—*luTia* (L.B.) =having plundered :—*luiTTá* (D.D.) .

9. *mot*=to urinate plus *ia* :—*mutiå* (L.B.*—rather a crude and uncultured usage)=having urinated :—*muittá* (D.D.) .

10. *Had*=to beseech plus *ia* :—*Sadhia* (L.B.)=having beseeched —*Haiddá* (D.D.) .

11. *kand*=to cry plus *ia* :—*kãdia* (L.B.)=having cried —*kaindá* (D.D.) .

12. *baVn*=to tie up plus *ia* :—*bãdhia* (L.B.)=having tied up :—*bainddáV* (D.D.) .

13. *kaf*=to tremble plus *ia* :—*kãpia* (L.B.) =having *trembled* :—*puira* (D.D.) .

14. *Dub*=to drown or to dip plus *ia* :—*Dubia* (L.B.) =having drowned or dipped :—*Duibbá* (D.D.).

15. *nam*=to get down plus *ia* :—*namia* (L.B.)=having got down :—*naimmá* (D.D.) .

16. *por*=to burn plus *ia* :—*puria* (L.B.) =having burnt :—*puria* (D.D.) .

17. *khEl*=to play plus *ia* :—*khElia* (L.B.)=having played :—*khEillá* (D.D.) .

18. *gOVS*=to rub plus *ia* :—*ghOSia* (L.B.) =having rubbed :—*gOViSSá* (D.D.) .

19. *kO*=to speak plus *ia* :—*kOHia* (L.B.) =having spoken :—*kóia* (D.D.).

20. *kha*=to eat plus *ia* :—*khaia* (L.B.)=having eaten :—*khaia* (D.D.).

21. *za*=**gi* (hypothetical stem) =to go plus *ia* :—*gia* (L.B.) = having gone :—*gia* (D.D.).

22. *dE*=to give p'us *ia* :—*dia* (L.B.) =having given :—*dia* (D.D.).

23. *Fo*=to lie down plus *ia* :—*Suia*=having lain down :—Fuia (D.D.).

In addition to the *-ia* formations it is interesting to note what happens to the formations with the terminal suffix *-ua*. In such words as *kaua*=crow, *khaua*=a voracious eater, *gaVua*=some one having a septic wound, *laua*=something with a shape like gourd or pumpkin, *paua*=treasure find, we come accross *-ua* ending but this may not be the terminal suffix *-ua* in all the cases. *lau* plus *ua*=*laua* may be taken as a formative model of this type. *gaVo*=wound plus *ua* :—*gaVua* and similarly *pa*=to get plus *ua* :—*paua* or *kha*=to eat plus *ua* :—*khaua, bao*=left plus *ua* :—*baua* clearly supports the formative model. But on the other hand *ua* ending found in such words as *kaua*=crow, *raua*=greedy or some one with an avarice for food, may not be the terminal suffix *-ua*. However, the *-ua* formations do not indicate any kind of vowel shifting within a word.

The modifications and mutations undergone by the vowe!s *O, a, o, E, u* and *i* have been analysed and examined and the special circumstances under which *ó, á* and *A* occur have also been observed. Now it is necessary to look into the behaviour of the consonants. Our investigations[3] have revealed that some of the consonants do not occur in all the positions in a word. A particular phoneme may be found in the final position of a word and this word when takes up an affix that particular phoneme is then no more in the final position. If this shifting of position within a word affects that phoneme in any way then it is of utmost importance to us. Ours being a descriptive study and as we do not have enough historical data regarding this dia!ect we have to depend more on such informations for building up a phonological structure of the dialect we are presently studying. We shall now consider each one of the consonants which do not occur in all the positions.

3. Ibid.

Unvoiced velar stop *k* may occur finally as in *Cóuk*=eye. But if we add instrumental case inflexion *-E* the resultant formation will not be *CóukE**. It will be *CóuxE, x* being a guttural unvoiced fricative (1) The rule here is *k* :–*x* in intervocalic positions. Unvoiced cerebral stop *T* is found in the final positions as in the word *pAT*=stomach. If genitive case inflexion *-Ar* is added to the word *pAT* then the resultant formation will be *pADAr*. This is an indication of the fact that unvoiced cerebral stop *T* becomes voiced cerebral stop *D*, (2) the rule here being *T* :–*D* in intervocalic positions. Bi-labial unvoiced stop *p* occurs finally in such words as *bap*= father. If genitive case inflexion Ar is added to that word the resultant formation will be *bafAr*. This is an indication of the fact that unvoiced bi-labial stop *p* becomes labio-dental fricative *f*. (3) The rule here is *p* :–*f* in intervocalic positions. Of the three rules the first and the third rule here is nothing but distinct spirantization and the second one is a simple case of voicing. As *k, T* and *p* do not generally occur in the intervocalic positions it is rather easy to detect the three above mentioned rules in the phonology of the dialect.

For detecting the other rules we have to observe the behaviour of the consonantal allophones which are altogether five in number. Of these five we have already observed two, viz. the guttural unvoiced fricative *x* and the labio-dental unvoiced fricative *f*. The remaining three viz. (a) alveopalatal unvoiced affricate *c*, (b) alveopalatal voiced affricate *j* and (c) alveopalatal unvoiced aspirated affricate *ch* should now be considered. These three consonantal allophones never occur singly. Whenever they occur in a word they occur only in intervocalic positions and being doubled or geminated. The alve-opalatal unvoiced aspirated affricate *ch* is not actually geminated, it is clustered with the alveopalatal unvoiced affricate *c*. In this contex it is necessary to note that several other consonants are also geminated when they occur in intervocalic positions. These are :–1. *k*, 2. *T*, 3. *p*, The velar unvoiced aspirated stop *kh* also occurs intervocally being clustered with *k*. In addition on to these consonants 1. *g*, 2. *t*, 3. *d*, 4. *n*, 5. *b*, 6. *m*, 7. 1, and 8. *S*. also occur in geminated form in the intervocalic positions. However, first we shall consider the three allophones *c, ch, j*. The table of the non-finite verbal formations with the terminal suffix *-is* given earlier includes four formations where these three consonantal sounds are involved. These are *kaiccá, muicchá, Haijjá, buijjá*. It is interesting to note that in *kaiccá* the root is *kaC* and the suffix is *-ia*. Similarly, we find *moVs, Haz* and *boVz* in three remaining forma-

tions. In the four given near epenthetic formations the rules are (4) *C* :—*cc*, (5) *s* :—*cch* and (6) *z* :—*jj*. How can one account for such developments? Here at least, two fathers are concerned, viz. gemination and mutation of the consonants, i.e. alveo-palatalization of the dental affricate, affricatization of the dental unvoiced and the voiced fricatives. This tendency is contrary to the general tendency of spirantization which is apparent from the number of fricatives found in this dialect, (in all seven, viz. *z, s, S, H, F, x* and *ʃ*) and from the fact that except the dental affricate *C* affricates are normally absent in this dialect. The other eight consonants, *g, t, d, n, b, m,* l and *S* occur singly in intervocalic positions but these are also found in geminated forms in the intervocalic positions. These do not indicate any kind of mutation on the part of the consonants. In this context it is to be noted that certain words of literary Bengali containing intervocalic single consonants when used in this dialect show geminated consonants in place of the single consonants such as *bãka* (L.B.) :—bAkka (D.D.) =crude, *bati* (L.B.) .—*batti* (D.D.) =lamp, Hati (L.B.) :—*aVtt* (D.D.) =elephant, *lathi* (L.B.) :—*latti* (D.D.) = kick, guli (L.B) :—*gulli* (D.D.) —bullet. Only *th* :—*tt* seems to be a compensation to the loss of aspiration. In other cases reason for gemination is hard to explain.

Of all the consonant sounds used in this dialect *k, T, p* and *S* are most succeptible to mutation. We have analysed the behaviours of the first three sounds earlier. Some words of literary Bengali which have *S* in the initial and *k* in the following positions when used in this dialect show that S :—*H* and *k* :—*g* such as *SOkOl* (*L.B.*) s—*HIgOl* (D.D.) =all, *Sak* (L.B.) :—*Hag* (D.D,) =edible green leaves, etc The initial alveo-palatal sibilant of the literary Bengali generally changes to *H* in this dialect as is evident from such words—*S*=*la* (*L.B.*) :—*HOla* (D.D.) —narrow stick, *SĀola* (L.B.) :—*HAola* (D.D.) =water-weed, *Sap* (L.B.) :—*Hap* (D.D.) =snake, *Sial* (L.B.) :—*Hial* (D.D.) =jackal, *SuOr* (L.B.) :—*HuOr* (D.D.) =pig, *SE* (L.B.) :—*HAe* (D.D.) =he, *Sona* (L.B.) :—*Hona* (D.D.) =hearing. However, the intervocalic *S* of the literary Bengali remains unchanged in the dialect as in *SESE* (L.B.) —*HASA* (D.D.) =in the end, *baSa* (D.D.) =rented house, bird's nest. But in a few words the mutation of the initial *S* of the L.B. is rather erratic. In *So* (L.B.) :—*Fo* (D.D.) =to sleep, *S* :—*F,* in *Sola* (L.B.) :—*Fola* as well as *Hola* (D.D.) =dry and unskinned wood of jute, *S* :—*F* as well as *H,* in *SikOl* (L.B.) :—*SikOl* (D.D.) =chain, *S*:—*s*. The *c* and *j* of the literary Bengali become *C* and *z* respectively in this dialect such as

in *cakOr* (L.B.) :—*CaxOr* (D.D.) =servant, *bhaja* (L.B.) :—*baVza* (D.D.) =fry, etc. The nasalized vowels of the literary Bengali are generally completely denasalized without any trace of the nasal element such as in *HãS* (L.B.) :—*aVS* (D.D.) =duck, *pãc* (L.B.) :—*pas* (D.D.) =five, etc. But in a few cases after the denasalization an alveolar nasal *n* is brought in as is evident from *cãdEr* (L.B.) :—*CandAr* (D.D.) =of the moon, *kãdE* (L.B.) :—*kandA* (D.D.) =cries (3rd per. sing.), etc.

No voiced aspirates occur in this dialect. The unvoiced aspirated stops *kh, th* and *Th* however, are found only in initial positions. The bi-labial unvoiced aspirated fricative *F* occurs in all the positions. *kh* occurs only in a few words in the intervocalic position but not singly. In a word like *kharakkhara*=instanteneously we come across *kh* first in the initial position and then in the intervocalic position being clustered with *k*. The voiced and the unvoiced aspirated stops of the literary Bengali except *kh, th, Th* in the initial positions is disaspirated and the disaspiration is compensated with a rising tone on the immediate vowel.[4] The bi-la-bial unvoiced aspirated stop *ph* of the literary Bengali becomes F in this dialect.

Key to the signs used :

=for meaning, —: for coming from, :— for becoming, for nasal **vowel,** ∠ for reference, * for hypothetical formation.

4. Ibid.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF CAARPEḶUTTU IN TAMIL GRAMMARS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

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1. In this paper we attempt to present a historical study of Ca : rpḷuttu in Tamil. Materials on which our present study is based were collected from the following sources :

1. Tolka : ppiyam.
2. Tolka : ppiyam, eluttatika : rakkurippu—P. S. Subramania Sastri.
3. Vi : raco : ḷiyam—microfilm.
4. Nannu : l.
5. Nannu : l, Caṅkaranamacciva : yar (CN.) commentary.
6. Nannu : l, Civanja : namunivar (CM.) Viruttiyurai.
7. History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil, P. S. S. Sastri.
8. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages, Caldwell.
9. Phonemics of old Tamil, C. R. Sankaran.
10. On a : ytam, C. R. Sankaran, Tamil Culture, Vol. 9. No. 1. 1961.
11. Review of Dravidian Etymological dictionary, Bh. Krishnamurthy, Language 39.
12. Phonemes of purana : nu : ru—A reconstruction—V. I. Subramoniam—mimeographed.

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13. Phonemic variations of kurriyalukaram in Tamil, M. Shanmugham Pillai—Indian Linguistics, Reprinted edition, Vol. III.

This study is incomplete because the following books were not accessible to us:

1. Ne : mina : tham.
2. Pirayo : kavive : kam.
3. Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam.
4. Ilakaṇakkottu.
5. Ya : pparuṅkalam.
6. Ya : pparunkalakkarikai.
7. Tonnul viḷakkam.
8. Commentaries on these works.

References from these books found in this paper were taken from P.S.S. Sastri's "History". The information from these books that we failed to get at present will be, we hope, presented in great detail not at a distant future. We have included here the modern discussions on Ca:rpeḷuttu to make the history up-to-date.

2.0. mutal eḷuttu (primary sounds) and Ca : rpeḷuttu (dependent sounds).

2.1. Tolka : ppiyar enumerates 30 primary sounds beginning from 'a' and classifies them into two classes, viz. vowels and consonants.[1] The author of Vi : raco : ḷiyam accepts this classification and places a : ytam between vowels and consonants.[2] The placement of a : ytam between these two classes of sounds and the absence of a : ytam in the list of Ca : rpeḷuttu led P. S. Sastri to state that, according to Vi : raco : ḷiyam, the primary sounds in Tamil are 31.[3] But the sūtra does not clearly mention that Tamil—primary sounds are

1. *Tolka:ppiyam,* sūtra 1, 8 and 9—Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publishing. Madras, 1954.

2. *Vi : racoḷilam,* s. 1. microfilm, Deccan College, Poona.

3. P. S. S. Sastri, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil,* Madras, p. 11.

31, as Se : mina : tham does.[4] The placement of a : ytam between vowels and consonants in the alphabet may be due to the writing system of Tamil prevailing in the age of the author of Vi : raco :-ḷiyam. "Other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyar".[5]

2.2. *Ca : repeḷuttu.*

According to Tolka : ppiyar, only 3 sounds are to be considered as Car : peḷuttu. They are Kurriya'ikaram (shorter–i), kurriyalukaram (shorter–u) and a : ytam.[6] Vi : raco : ḷiyam lists II. Iḷampu : raṇar 226, Ne : mina : tham 224, Nannu : l 369 and Iḷakkaṇa viḷakkam 240.[7]

They are given in the following chart :

Chart of Ca : repḷuttu

	Tol.	Vi:r.	Ne:m	Ilam/Nac.	Nan.	Ilak	CM.
k. ikaram	1	1	1	1	37	1	1
k. ukaram	1	1	1	1	36	1	1
a: ytam	1	..	..	1	8	1	1
uyirmey	..	..	216	216	216	216	..
uyiraḷapu	..	7	7	7	21	7	..
orralapu	..	..	16	..	42	11	..
ai. kurukkam	..	1	1	..	3	1	..
au. kurukkam	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
m. kurukkam	..	..	..	..	3	1	..
a : ytam kurukkam	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
Total	3	11	244	226	369	240	3

From this chart, it is evident that the later day grammarians as well as commentators not only do not differ from Tol. in numbering the Ca : repḷuttu but also have their own method to count them.

4. *Neminatham*, s. 1.
5. Sastri, p. 11.
6. *Tol.* s. 1, 2.
7. Sastri, p. 15, 16.

Whether this enumeration is based on any sound reason or not is to be investigated. We are treating all these sounds in different sections here.

2.3. Definition :

Tolka : ppiyar obviously appears to define Ca : rpeḷuttu as a sound which depends on the following or preceding sound for its pronunciation because it has no independent place of articulation. Nannu : la : r does not define a Ca : rpeḷuttu and it is clear too that he fails to understand the definition given by Tol.[8] According to Tol. the pronunciations of *ko ikaram* and *k. ukaram* and different from that of short *i* and *u*. But Nannu : la : r,[9] states that *k. ikaram* and *ukaram* are produced exactly at the same place where short *i* and *u* are produced.

2.4. To Mailaina : thar, one of the Commentators of *Nannu :-l*, the ca:rpeḷuttu is other than mutual eḷuttu because it is always used with another sound.[10] - P.S.S. Sastri quotes a statement made by an old commentator of Nannu : l which means "a ca : rpeḷuttu is one which has undergone modification by one part of it combining another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound."[11] "*tammoṭu ta : m Carntum, iṭam ca : rntum, parruko : ṭu ca : rntum vika : ratta : l varutalin*"). The author of *Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam* takes this definition without any alteration. CN. defines a ca : rpeḷuttu as a sound which is the modification of its mutual eḷuttu. "CM. entirely agrees with Tol."[12]

3.0. *Kurriyal-ikaram.*

3.1. *Tolka : ppiyar :*

k. ikaram which has ½ matra, occurs in two places. One of them is the expletive *miya :* in the words *ke : nmiya, ce : nmiya :* etc. where it occurs after /m/.[13] The other place is in sandhi, where

8. *Tol.* s. 101.
9. In sūtra No. 87.
10. Sastri, p. 12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
13. *Tol.* s. 34.

this k. ikaram, before /Y/ reduces its matra.[14] The k. ikaram which we find in sandhi is a variation of k. ukaram. In other words, k.-ukaram changes into k. ikaram before /Y/ in sandhi and receives less matra. The pronunciation of this k. ikaram is varying according to its preceding sound; e.g. *na : ṭiya : tu, na : kiya : tu*. The pronunciation of '*i*' in the first set of examples is not the same as the pronunciation of the '*i*' in the second set of examples, the reason being the preceding sound. From Tol. sutra No. 2, it can be inferred that k. ikaram and ukaram had dots above their heads in writing to differentiate them from short *i* and *u*.[15]

3.2. Regarding the matra, place of articulation and the change of /*u*/ into /*i*/ before /*Y*/, vi : raco : ḷiyam fully agrees with Tol.[16] Sūtra 93 of Nannu : l, deals with k. ikaram. Both the /*i*/ which is the result of change of /*u*/ before /*Y*/ and the /*i*/ that occurs after /*m*/ in the expletive '*miya* :' are called k. ikaram. The place of articulation is the same as for the short *i*.[17] Having ½ matra, it occurs in 37 places.[17a] CN. explains these 37 places as follows: Since k. ukaram has 36 places, k. ikaram also has 36 because all the 36 k. ukaram before /*Y*/ in sandhi change into k. ikaram. The 37th occurrence of ikaram is found in *miya* :[17b]

3.3. P.S.S. Sastri thinks that "this k. ikaram may have been originally in the parent Dravidian languages as glide almost similar to /*u*/ and it may have been represented by /*i*/ wherever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel /*Y*/."[18]

4.0. *kurriyalukaram.*

4.1. *Tolka : ppiyar :*

Having ½ matra, it occurs mostly finally after a stop. This stop is preceded by either at single long vowel, or vowels, or identical stop, or homorganic nasals or semi-vowels including laterals or a :-ytam.[19] For production it depends on the preceding stop which is

14. *Ibid.*, s. 35, 410.
15. Ibid, s. 105.
16. VII s. 5, 3.
17. *Nannu* : I, s. 87.
18. Sastri, p. 33.
19. *Tol.* s. 36, 406.

a "must."[20] Accordingly, it has six variants, i.e. the pronunciation of the k. ukaram after /*k*/ differs from the pronunciation of the k/ukaram after /*c*/ and so on. It can also occur initially [really it is medial] in the word '*nuntai*' where it fluctuates with short /*u*/. Sūtra 68 indicates that there is a difference of meaning when short /*u*/ is used instead of k. ukaram and that this difference is nullified in the word '*nuntai*'. Therefore, according to Tol. short /*u*/ and shorter /*u*/ (k. ukaram) are different phonemes so that different symbols are used in writing : Naccina : rkkiniyar, one of the commentators of Tol. cites few examples to demonstrate this contrast.[20a] e.g. *ka* : *tŭ*=*ear*. *ka* : *tu*=kill, murder etc.

4.2. *Vi* : *raco* : *ḷiyam*.

k. ukaram has ½ matra which can further be reduced in sandhi before a word beginning with /*Y*/.[21] It occurs after all stops, each of which may be preceded by a sequence of sounds or by a single long vowel. The commentator adds a word '*i* : *rrile* :' which means 'final' to the word '*Vanmai*', found in the *sūtra* and writes that if the /*u*/ occurs finally after stops, then it will become shorter and get the name k. ukaram. This k.ukaram can disappear before a vowel in sandhi.[22]

4.3. *Nannu* : *l*

According to S. 87, the places of articulation for k. ukaram and the short /*u*/ are the same. k. ukaram has ½ matra [s. 89]. As far as the occurrences of k. ukaram are concerned, nannu : l agrees with Tol. and Vii. Basing on the number of occurrences, pavananthiya : r, the author of *nannu* : *l*, states that there are 36 k. ukaram. He does not speak of word-initial k. ukaram. CM. agrees with Tol. in interpreting the /*u*/ in '*nuntai*' as a *k.ukaram*. From his commentary,[23] it seems that few grammarians consider the penultimate syllable, instead of the penultimate letter or phoneme as Tol., Vii and nannu : l have done to count the number of k. ukaram. According

20. *Ibid.*, s. 101.
21. vii. s. 3 and 5.
22. *Ibid.*, s. 21.
23. *Nan.* s. 94 CM. *virutti.*

to them, k. ukaram has seven places to occur. They can be put as follows :—

7.	[C] vv—Cu	/na :/ku, a :—ṭu/
2.	[C] vvC—Cu	/na : k — ku, ak : — ku/
3.	[C] v—CV—Cu	/Va — ra — ku/
4.	[C] V—CVC—Cu	/a — rak — ku/
5.	[C] V—Cvv—Cu	/a — co : — ku/
6.	[C] V—CvvC—Cu	/na — ma : k — ku/
7.	[C] VC—Cu	/ak — ku/

[C = Consonant; V=Vowel ; [. . . . . .]=optional unit] vv=a long vowel.

4.4. Names given by them to the k. ukaram of this classifications are:

1. neṭil—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
2. neṭil—orrin—ki : l—kurriyalukaram,
3. kuril—iṇai—ki : l—kurriyal ukaram,
4. kuril—iṇai—orrin—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
5. kuril—neṭil—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
6. kuril—neṭil—orrin—ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram,
7. kurrorrin ki : l—kurriyal—ukaram.

The names given by *Tol.* and others are :—

neṭil toṭar kurriyal ukaram,

uyir—toṭar k. ukaram,

van—toṭar k. ukaram,

men–toṭar k.ukaram,

iṭai–toṭar k.ukaram,

a : ytat–toṭar k.ukaram.

They can be roughly equated as follows :—

1.	Neṭil toṭar	Neṭil ki :l
2.	uyir toṭar	kuṟil iṇai—ki : l
		kuṟil neṭil–ki : ḷ
3.	van toṭar	neṭil orru—ki : l
	men toṭar	kurilanai orrn-ki : l
	itai toṭar	kuril-neṭil orru-ki : l
	a : ytat toṭar	kurrorru kki : l

4.5. The final /*u*/ in the words like *piṇṇakku, cuṇṇāmpu, paṭṭānku viḷayya : tu, irumpūtu* etc. can be, according to this classification, called *neṭilorrinki : l k. ukaram* (1, 2, 3) and *neṭilki : l k. ukaram* (4, 5). Tol. Nan. may call them *vantoṭar, mentoṭar* (2, 3) and *neṭil toṭar*.

4.6. CM. rejects this type of classification as he feels that it fails to accommodate the words like po : vatu, varuvatu, onpatu, etc., in any of these classifications.

4.7. In external sandhi a k. ukaram may disappear before a vowel—beginning word (s. 164) or admit a consonantal addition or omission or change. Sūtra 185 states that mentoṭar k. ukaram will take an increment '*ai*' before a word starting with a stop. CN. gives an example to this, 'paṇṭaikka : lam' and states that '*ai*' occurs not only in external sandhi but also in internal sandhi, for example, *orrai, iraṭṭai*. Before /*Y*/ it changes into /*i*/ (s. 164). A short /*u*/ will also disappear in certain cases. Though Nan. does not speak of the shape of k.ukaram. CN. agrees with Tol and writes that it has a dot. He repudiates Ilampu : raṇar who interprets s. 105 of Tol. in a different way. M. Shanmugam Pillai has also the same view when he points out the misunderstanding of Ilampu : raṇar of this sūtra.[24]

4.8. Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, while discussing in his book the phonology of the language of To!ka : ppiyar, remarks : "These peculiar sounds, k.ukaram, k.ikaram . . . . are not

24. M. S. Pillai, *Indian Linguistics*, Reprinted Edition Vol. 3, p. 686.

phonemes. They are merely positional variants of the phonemes already discussed. Shorter *u* and *i*, when not mere releases, are allophones of *u* . . . ." and he equates the term Carrpeḷuttu with "allophones".[25] This equation requires further clarification Regarding the phonemic status of k.ukaram, there prevails a difference of opinion. For instance, M. S. Pillai, in his article, on "Kurriyalukaram", mentioned above, observes: "The final kurriyalukaram is a separate phoneme different from the close, rounded, back vowel–*u* whereas the initial kurriyalukaram is an allophone of the close, rounded back vowel–*u*". This explanation agrees with Tol's statement in S. 68. 'In modern Tamil there is the complete loss of this phoneme i.e. even the final kurriyalukaram has become an allophone".[26] Some dialects show a contrast between short /*u*/ and shorter /*u*/.[27]

5.0. *a : ytam.*

5.1. *Tolka : ppiyam* :

It occurs, in a word, between a short vowel and a stop followed by a vowel. (S. 38). Due to the following stop it gets different pronunciation. (s. 101). That is, the occurrence of a :ytam requires the necessary condition of a preceding vowel and the sufficient condition of a following stop. For the pronunciation of k.ikaram and k. ukaram the preceding stops are sufficient, while in the case of the a : ytam the following stop is sufficient. Āytam retains its ½ matra in sandhi. It also occurs in the words meaning 'shape', 'music' etc. and retains its ½ matra (s. 40). /*l*/ before /*t*/ and /*v*/ before /*t*/ change into a : ytam (S. 369, 379). In the word for 'ten', pattu, a :-ytam can be sustituted for the first /*t*/. Hence pa :tu (s. 390). According to s. 399. *a* /*ḷ*/ can change into a : ytam before /*t*/. From these sutras, it is obvious that Tol. considers a : ytam as a substitute for /*t, l, l, v*/ in sandhi. Sūtra 313 gives a clue to trace out the derivation of the word a : ytam and to find out the meaning. It says that 'aytal' means 'minuteness', or the minimum duration at the threshold of speech perception, i.e. 'difference–limen' (*uḷḷatan nuṇckkam*). The root *'ay of aytal'* may be the root of a : ytam

25. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, *A History of Tamil Language*, Deccan College, Poona, p. 73.

26. M.S. Pillai, *Indian Linguistics*, p. 689.

27. *T. P. M.*, p. 205.

because it also has a minute sound (in our sense) which can not be pronounced independently.

5.2. While dealing with the phonetic quality and the phonemic status of a : ytam in the age of Tolka : ppiyar, Prof. T. P. M. states that a : ytam is a voiceless fricative and is an allophone of the long plosive.[28] After quoting a statement made by an old commentator, he writes that "a : ytam indicates that plosive following should be pronounced as a fricative."[29] This statement differs from that of Tolka : ppiyar who states that a : ytam is phonetically depending on its following stops, which can, mathematically be described as the sufficient condition. Then, can we say that once a :-ytam was pronounced according to its following stops and that, in later days, it fricativizes the following stop? Can we say that it leads into the wider problem of the influence of the neighbouring sounds of one another in the process of speech—a problem which needs a detailed investigation within the frame work of information theory? The assignment of a : ytam as an allophone of long plosive needs further investigation.

5.3. *Vi : raco : liyam.*

S.1. puts a : ytam between vowels and consonants. The commentator calls it taninilai or a : kenam. Another sutra states that a : ytam can occur after demonstratives and has ½ matra.

5.4. *Nannu : l*

Āytam is an open sound produced in the head.[30] Iḷakkaṇa Viḷakkam agrees with Nannu : l.[31] Sutra 90 of Nannu : l speaks of the distribution of a : ytam. This sutra is taken from Tol. so that there is no controversy regarding the distribution. Nannu : la : r classifies a : ytam into two : 1. full a : ytam or murra : ytam 2. short a : ytam or a : ytakkurukkam. Murra : ytam has eight occurrences and ½ matra. Āytamkkurukkam, having ¼ matra, occurs 2 places. CN. explains the places as follows :

28. *Ibid*, p. 73.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
30. *Nan.* s. 87.
31. *Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam*, s. 13.

Murra : ytam occurs before six stops and in sandhi and in a place where a prosodical change is admissible.[32] The a : ytam which replaces /l, ḷ/ before /t/ in sandhi is called a : ytakkurukkam. Hence in two places /l, ḷ/ before /th/ become not only /r and ṭ/ respectively, but also become a : ytam (s. 228). According to s. 235, /v/ after demonstrative and interrogative ba es changes into a : ytam; e.g. *av+katiya=a : katiya*. The first /t/ of pattu may change into a : ytam (s. 195). Hence, *l* : *ḷ=r*: ṭ=.: *v*=.˙.; *t*=.˙.. Here nan. fully agrees with Tol.

5.5. In the post-cankam period a : ytam becomes a syllabic sound.[33] In Perunkatai we have an a :ytam as a separate sound rhyming with /y/.[34] Another evidence from Ve : lvikkuḍigrant (No. 152) [25] shows that a : ytam is replaced by /y/ e.g. *iydeludi* from *i*.˙. *deludi*. In modern Tamil it is used to represent the English sound /f/. e.g. .: *prancu*, French.

5.6. Modern views :

5.7. Caldwell consider it as a letter, half-vowel-half-consonant corresponding in some respects to the Skt. visarga and states that it is pronounced like guttural h.[36]

5.8. P.S.S. sastri seems to equate this with Skt. Jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya.[37] He takes it as an arrested voiceless spirant and rejects Caldwell's 'guttural-like sound theory' and Nannu : la :-r's 'head-theory'. But the derivation of a : ytam from a : ytal invalidates his equations.

5.9. By applying the principle of 'phonemic overlapping' V.I. Subramoniam treats it as an allophone of /l, ḷ, v/ and by this assignment, he reduces the morpho-phonemic rules to certain extent.[38]

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32. *Nan.* s. 90 Commentary.

33. *T. P. M.*, p. 135.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

35. Sastri, p. 68.

36. Galdwell, *comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, Madras 1961, p. 130.

37. Sastri, p. 66.

38. V. I. Subramoniam, *Phonemes of puranānūru*, mimeographed copy.

5.10. We may state here the possibility of two broad based views regarding the intriguing question of a : ytam. One of them may be designated as the phenomenological and the other as the non-phenomenological. Bh. Krishnamurthy who obviously subscribes to the first view reconstructs a proto-dravidian laryngeal *H* and gives this value to a : ytam.[39] This '*H*', he observes seems to have a sibilant colouring in certain correspondence; e.g. *Ta. ekku* 'to pull with finger' (as cotton), *Kui, e :spa* 'to pluck'.

5.11. The other view, non-phenomenological, has led to alpha-phoneme/phonoid theory. The theory of alpha-phoneme/phonoid which concerns with a speech continuum at motivational of what at the activational level would be acoustico-articulatory 'events' in any consonant-vowel configuration with the theoretical acoustico-articulatory time-interval of zero between the consonant and the vowel during actual utterance deals at a far deeper level with interesting questions, for instance, as the possibility of the articulatory-time differing from the acoustical-time.[40]

5.12. The a : ytam-phenomenon of which the a : ytam is particular case, is now viewed as a generalized phenomenon in human speech marking, at activational level, physically the transient stage between the consonant and the vowel, approximating to the mathematically constructed conceptual limit, at the motivational level, 'between' the consonant and the vowel in any consonant-vowel configuration.[41] In other words, the a : ytam-phenomenon for which

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39. Bh. Krishnamurthy, Review of D.E.D., Lang. 39.

40. C. R. Sankaran, *Phonemics of old Tamil,* Deccan College Monograph Series 7, 1951, p. 37.

41. C. R. Sankaran, *Phonemics of old Tamil,* p. 27.

(a) C. R. Sankaran and L. H. Strong: "A Critique of experimental techniques, methods and analyses in the study of structure in Speech," Deccan College Building Centenary and Jubilee Series 40, Poona, 1965; pp. 44-55.

See also C. R. Sankaran, *The determination of the ultimate 'Unit' of Speech, Phonetica* 14: 82—90 (1966).

Cf. also *"Alpha-Phonoid and Alpha-Phoneme"* (with N. K. Patil) Phonetica 17 : 15—23 (1967).

For a survey of the Alpha-Phoneme/Phonoid theory and the attempt towards the determination of its potential "use" and "importance" within the frame of linguistics, see M. Remmel's *"On the Alpha-Phonoid (Alpha-Phoneme) Theory,"* Terminologia Indica 1 : 52—66 (1967).

(b) C. R. Sankaran, *Process of Speech, Deccan College,* Poona 1963, pp. 6, 10. 12, 23—26, 36 and 53.

a : ytam as a speech-sound is a 'pointer', leads us to the determination of the Ultimate 'unit' of Speech[41a] in the speech process, beyond and more subtle than the very obvious 'phonetic-phonemic', level of linguistics, as it seems to us that Tolka : ppiyar treats a : ytam both as a speech-sound and as a phenomenon.

5.13. A clear-cut interpretation of the phrase 'pirappin a : kkam' used by Tol. in s. 83 as the composition of articu'atory 'Unit' and accoustic 'Unit' into one being a : kkam and this composition bringing into existence a new entity—the phonemeis 'pirappu' will be helpfu! to an insightful understanding of this a : ytam phenomenon. Later day grammarians and commentators mistook 'pirappin a :-kkam for pirappitam. One may appreciate the author of Tolka :-ppiyam for the rare insight he has displayed in his work regarding the treatment of the old Tamil spoken in his time. One may also note that the alpha-phoneme/phonoid theory is substantiated by Tolka : ppiyar's phrase 'pirappin a : kkam' and by the placement of a : ytam by Vii., between vowels and consonants.

6.0. *uyirmey and other ca : rpeḷuttu.*

6.0. Nannu : la : r treats uyirmey, uyiraḷapeṭai, orraḷapeṭai, ai, au and ma kurrukkañkaḷ and a : ytakkurukkam as Ca : rpḷuttu. Ilampu : raṇar, Naccinarkiniyar and the author of Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam follow him in the treatment of uyirmey as Ca : rpeḷuttu. CM. critically remarks that there is no purpose served by taking uyirmey as ca : rpeḷuttu, that uyiraḷapeṭai is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its mātra, that orraḷapeṭai is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the ma : tra and the shortened *ai* and *au* and *m* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as *ai, au* and *m* respectively, but vary only in their quantity.[42]

6.2. CM's criticism seems valid because uyirmey is nothing but a combination of vowel and consonant having separate places of articulation. If we treat uyirmey or aḷapeṭai as ca : rpeḷuttu then we should also have to treat long vowels as ca : rpeḷuttu.

6.3. In writing uyirmey is formed out of a consonant which drops its dot and gives place to a vowel. It gets one ma : tra only

42. Sastri, p. 16.

When it is pronounced, the contoid preceds the vocoid.[43] Nan. s. 91 and 92 deal with aḷapeṭai. A short vowel is added to its preceding long vowel for elongation in word-initial, medial and final positions. It has three ma : tra. Tol. clearly states that no sound will have 3 ma : tras (S. 5). /ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n m, v, y, l, ḷ and a : ytam/ will get more ma : tras for lengthening the sounds, *ai* and *au* reduce their ma : tras from 2 to 1 when they occur in word medial and final positions (nan.s.95. /*m*/ becomes short before /*n, n, v*/ (S.96). It will have $\frac{1}{4}$ ma : tra as a : ytakkurukkam.

6.4. No rigorous method is adopted by the grammarians and commentators to identify and to enumerate the ca : rpreḷuttu. Therefore we find a difference in the number of ca : rpeḷuttu. While nannu : la : r counts all the occurrences of car : peḷuttu for giving the total number of them, other count only the units. (vide Chart). Thus far we have only presented a brief history of Ca : rpeḷuttu needing a still further elaborately critical study which alone can explain the exact role played by these sounds in Tamil language. We hope that we would be able also to present such a study in the near future.*

43. Nan., s. 89.

* The present paper is a revised version of a paper read at the seminar on grammatical theories in Tamil held at Annamalai University in 1966.

CHANGE OF OIA 5TH. CONJ.>9TH. CONJ. IN PĀLI

By SRI RAVI PRAKASH*

The M.I.A. period forms a crucial period in the history of Indo-Āryan. At this very juncture, the O.I.A. system was changed and the new system started and this period is known as early M.I.A. In early M.I.A., we assign the following dialects:

1. Aśokan Prākṛts as seen in the inscriptions of Aśoka.
2. Pālī — in the canonical and non—canonical literature of the Hīnayāna Buddhists.
3. Ardhamāgadhī as found in the canons of the Śvetāmbara Jains.
4. Paiśācī in the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa.

This phenomena of the change of Skt. 5th>9th. conj. is very frequent in Pālī and can be attested only in the early period of Pālī literature. A few relic forms are found in vogue in the later works of Pālī, but these forms seem to be artificially used by the later writers. Gieger[1] enumerates a few forms of the O.I.A. 5th. and 8th. Conj. as well (*Śaknoti* 5, *prāpnuyāt* 5, *manoti* 8, etc.) which have gone over to the ninth conj. in Pālī. Edgerton[2] also refers to this very fact and has given no explanation for the change. He, however, points out that *munāti* and *tunāti* have been transferred from the 8th. (according to him, which belonged to this conj. originally), to the 9th. in M.I.A., since both forms had a base morpheme in—no in Skt. and were quite identical with the 5th. Conj. which had a homophonous —no base suffix. The change of —no> —nā can not be assigned as a phonetic change. Hence, we presume that it must have its origin in some analogical creation. The examples of such changes are:

3 Sg. Skt. *Cinoti* (*Vicināti. P*), Skt. *dhunoti* (*dhunāti. P*) Skt. *Sṛṇoti*. (*Sunāti* P.), *Skt. āpnoti*. (*pāpunāti* P), 2 Sg. Skt. *Śṛṇosi*

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1. Geiger 147, 149.
2. Edgerton *Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Grammar*, 28.15.

(*Suṇāsi* P), I Sg. Skt. *Sṛṇomi* (*Suṇāmi* P), Skt. *āpnomi* (*pāpunāmi* P). We postulate the following causes for this change. In Cl. Skt. itself a similar alternation between the 5th. and 9th. conj. is seen in case of the roots √dhu *dhunoti*∼ *dhunāti* and √Stṛ *Stṛṇoti* ∼ *stṛṇāti*. But we do not attest such types of alternation in Pālī and this Free variation in Skt. is likely to lead the growth of *–nā* forms in Pālī.

(2) It is just possible that the distinction between the 5th. and 9th. conj. was no more felt in numerous forms of these roots in Pālī. The rootes of both the conjugation i.e. 5th. and 9th. are alike e.g. √*ci* (5 u Skt) Pālī *Cineyya*, √*krī* (9u Skt.) Pālī *Kiṇeyya*. Due to the merger of these forms, it is natural that both were considered as belonging to the same type and their base forms with *–nā* were extended to verbs.*

* Conj=Conjugation, P=Pālī, Skt.=Sanskrit.

संस्कृत भाषा में प्रयुक्त कुछ प्राचीनतम विदेशी शब्द

डा० भोलानाथ तिवारी†

अनेक भारतीय पंडितों के न मानने के बावजूद आधुनिक विद्वान् इस सम्बन्ध में प्राय: एकमत हैं कि आर्य भारत में कहीं बाहर से आए। भारोपीय परिवार के मूल निवासी, जिन्हें संस्कृत 'वीर', आयरिश 'फ़ेर', लैटिन 'उइर' तथा जर्मन 'वेर' आदि के आधार पर विरोस* की संज्ञा दी गई है, एक साथ कहाँ रहते थे, कहना कठिन है। भाषाशास्त्र, प्राचीन भूगोल, पुरातत्त्व, प्राचीन जलवायुविज्ञान तथा ज्योतिष आदि के आधार पर, इस प्रसंग में अनेक मत प्रकट किए गये हैं। यों मध्य एशिया वाला पुराना मत आजकल फिर कुछ अधिक मान्य माना जा रहा है, जिसे नवीन एवं अत्यन्त प्रौढ़ भाषिक प्रमाणों के आधार पर ब्रान्देन्स्ताइन ने प्रस्तुत किया है।[1]

मूल स्थान चाहे जो भी रहा हो, भाषिक समानताओं से यह बात स्पष्ट है कि कभी संस्कृत, अवेस्ती, ग्रीक आदि विभिन्न भारोपीय भाषाओं के प्रयोक्ता एक साथ रहते थे, तथा इनके शब्द-समूह से अन्य भाषा-परिवारों के शब्द-समूह की तुलना के आधार पर यह भी अनुमान लगता है कि ये लोग अन्य परिवार के भाषा-भाषियों के सम्पर्क में भी आए थे, और उनसे इनका शब्दों का आदान-प्रदान भी हुआ था।

सुमेरी शब्द—सुमेरी लोग विश्व के प्राचीनतम सभ्य लोगों में हैं। कुछ विद्वानों के अनुसार तो इनकी सभ्यता ७००० ई० पू० में ही पर्याप्त विकसित हो चुकी थी।[२] इनका केन्द्र दजला-फरात की घाटी में था। सुमेरी लोग उन प्राचीनतम लोगों में से एक थे जिनके सम्पर्क में भारोपीय लोग आए। सुमेरी गाय-बैल से परिचित थे, किन्तु उनके सम्पर्क में आने के पूर्व तक भारोपीय इनसे परिचित न थे। कदाचित सुमेरियो से ही भारोपीयों ने गाय-बैल का उपयोग सीखा। स्वभावत: इसके साथ भारोपीयों ने गाय-बैल का द्योतक शब्द भी सुमेरियों से ग्रहण किया। गाय-बैल के लिए प्राचीन सुमेरी शब्द 'गुद्' था, जो बाद में 'द्' ध्वनि के लोप से 'गू' रह गया था। यह शब्द मूल भारोपीय भाषा में आकर *ग्वाउ हुआ जिससे संस्कृत 'गौ', ग्रीक 'बोउस', लैटिन 'बोस', केल्टिक 'बो', प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन 'कुवो', अँग्रेजी 'काउ', आर्मेनियन 'कोउ', प्राचीन रूसी 'गोवे', फ़ारसी 'गाव' तथा लेटिश 'गुओउस' आदि विकसित हुए हैं। इस प्रकार आर्य संस्कृति का एक प्रमुख शब्द 'गौ' मूलत: अपना न होकर सुमेरियों का है।

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† ई ४।२३ मॉडल टाउन, दिल्ली।

1. Die erste indogermanische wanderung, 1936.

२. द एनसाइक्लोपीडिया अमेरिकाना, १९४४, खंड २६, पृ० १२।

संस्कृत 'परशु' या ग्रीक 'पेलेकुस' इस प्रकार का दूसरा शब्द है। मूलतः यह शब्द सुमेरी 'बलग' (कुल्हाड़ी) था। वहाँ से यह अक्कदी भाषा में आया जहाँ इसे हम 'पिलक्कु' (ब 7 प; ग 7 क) रूप में पाते हैं। अक्कदी से यह भारोपीय मूल भाषा में आया जहाँ इसका सम्भावित रूप *"पेलेकु" है। ग्रीक पेलेकुस तथा संस्कृत 'परशु' इसी से सम्बन्धित हैं।

तीसरा सुमेरी शब्द 'उरुदु' (=ताँबा) है। इसे भी भारोपीय लोगों ने सुमेरियों से लिया। इसके पूर्व, भारोपीय लोग ताँबे के प्रयोग से अपरिचित थे। मूल भारोपीय भाषा में इस शब्द का रूप *उरुध था, जो बाद में *रउधु, *रोधु, *रोध हो गया। इससे संस्कृत में कई शब्द बने। 'रोध' का अर्थ ताँबा के अतिरिक्त ताँबे के रंग के आधार पर 'लाल' या अन्य 'लालवस्तु' भी हो गया। अंग्रेजी रेड, जर्मन 'रॉट' 'डच रूड' तथा संस्कृत 'रुधिर' इस 'रोध' से ही विकसित हुए हैं। हिन्दी शब्द 'लोहू' प्रायः संस्कृत 'रुधिर से विकसित माना जाता है, किन्तु मेरे विचार में प्राचीन भारोपीय शब्द *रोधु के स्वार्थेप्रत्यय क-युक्त रूप *रोधुक (र 7 ल; ध 7 ह; लोहुकं 7 लोहुअ 7 लोहू) से ही इसका विकास हुआ है। संस्कृत 'लोह' भी मूलतः *रोध ही है। इस प्रकार संस्कृत 'रुधिर' एवं 'लोह' तथा हिन्दी 'लोहा' 'लोहू' मूलतः सुमेरी शब्द हैं।

अंतिम सुमेरी शब्द 'अस्तेर' (=तारा) है। सुमेरी लोग ज्योतिष में बहुत बढ़े-चढ़े थे। इस क्षेत्र में इन्होंने विश्व की अनेक संस्कृतियों को प्रभावित किया। इस प्रभाव के फलस्वरूप ही सुमेरी 'अस्तेर' शब्द भारोपीय भाषाओं में आया जो अंग्रेजी 'स्टार', लैटिन 'स्तेल्ला', जर्मन 'स्टर्न', ऐंग्लोसैक्सन 'स्टेओरा', फारसी 'सितारः' तथा संस्कृत 'तारा' आदि रूपों में मिलता है।

सुमेरी से मूल भारोपीय भाषा ने और भी कुछ शब्द ग्रहण किए, किन्तु वे शब्द संस्कृत में नहीं मिलते, अतः यहाँ उनकी चर्चा नहीं की जा रही है।

एजिअन शब्द—प्राचीनकाल में एजिअन संस्कृति यूरोप की सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्कृति थी। इसका केन्द्र क्रीट था। साथ ही यह आस-पास के द्वीपों तथा यूरोपीय महाद्वीप के समीपवर्ती कुछ अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी फैली हुई थी। सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से यूरोप में इसका लगभग वही स्थान है, जो भारत में आस्ट्रिक संस्कृति का है। पूरी योरपीय संस्कृति के मूलभूत उपादानों पर इसकी बड़ी गहरी छाप है। यूनान तथा उसके आस-पास के भौगोलिक नामों में अनेक इसकी देन हैं। इस संस्कृति का काल मोटे रूप से ३००० ई० पू० से ११०० ई० पू० तक माना जाता है। मूल भारोपीय भाषा ने एजिअन से भी कुछ शब्द लिए, जिनमें एक के सम्बन्ध में कुछ निश्चय के साथ कहा जा सकता है। यह शब्द है मूल भारोपीय *आयोस या *अयेस, जो सं० 'अयस्' (प्रारम्भ में इसका अर्थ ताँबा था, बाद में यह 'लोहा' या 'अच्छा लोहा' (इस्पात) के लिए प्रयुक्त होने लगा), अवेस्ती, 'अयह्', लैटिन 'अयेस्' (=ताँबा), गॉथिक 'अइज़' आदि रूपों में मिलता है। यह *आयोस या *अयेस मूलतः एजिअन 'अलस्य' है। यह बात भी विचित्र है कि 'अलस्य' वस्तुतः एजिअन या उसके एक भाग का नाम था,

जहाँ ताँबा बहुत होता था। कारपेंटियर[3] तथा पोकोर्नी[4] का तो अनुमान है कि साइप्रस (जो प्राचीन काल में ताँबे के लिए बहुत प्रसिद्ध था) का ही पुराना नाम 'अलस्य' था। अर्थात् जैसे 'मिस्र' के आधार पर 'मिस्री', 'सूरत' से 'सुर्ती', या 'किशमिश' से 'किशमिश' आदि नाम पड़े हैं, उसी प्रकार 'अलस्य' में मिलनेवाला ताँबा (अलस्य) कदाचित् कम सफाई के कारण विशेष लाल न होता था। सुमेरी ताँबा (रोध) उसकी तुलना में अधिक साफ, अतः अधिक लाल होता था। ये दोनों ही प्रकार के ताँबे भारोपीय लोगों को क्रमशः उपर्युक्त संस्कृतियों से मिले थे।

यूराली शब्द—यूराली भाषा-परिवार की भाषाओं से भी भारोपीय भाषा-भाषियों का कभी संपर्क हुआ था। किन्तु यह संपर्क कदाचित् परवर्ती काल में हुआ, और विशेषतः भारोपीय परिवार की पूर्वी शाखासे हुआ, जिसमें भारत-ईरानी आती हैं। यूराली तथा भारत-ईरानी का संपर्क कदाचित् उपर्युक्त की तुलना में बहुत अधिक था। इसी कारण शब्दों का आदान-प्रदान भी अपेक्षाकृत बहुत अधिक हुआ। दोनों परिवारों के कुछ उल्लेख्य समान शब्द नीचे दिए जाते हैं :

यूराली	भारोपीय
१—फ़िनिश 'मेते' (मधु)	संस्कृत 'मधु', ग्रीक 'मेधु', रूसी 'म्योत'
२—फिनिश 'वेते' (पानी) इस्तो० 'वेसि'	अँग्रेजी 'वाटर,' गॉथिक 'वाटो', संस्कृत 'उदक', रूसी 'वदा'
३—फिनिश 'तोरन' (तृण)	संस्कृत 'तृण'
४—१०० के लिए सत, सात, शदो, सो, सु, शु आदि	संस्कृत 'शत', फा० 'सद', रूसी 'स्तो', हि० 'सौ' आदि
५—मगियार 'आर्व' (परित्यक्त-बच्चा), फिनिश 'ओर्वो'	संस्कृत 'अर्भ'
६—मगियार 'हब' (झाग)	संस्कृत 'कफ', फा० 'कफ़', अंग्रेजी 'कफ़'
७—फिनिश 'कुओप्प' (गड्ढा)	संस्कृत 'कूप'
८—मगियार 'अरन्य' (सोना) वोगुल 'सुरेङ' 'सरेङ' मोर्दविन 'सिरङे; 'जिरयन,' वोतयक 'जरङी'	संस्कृत 'हिरण्य,' अवेस्ता 'ज़रन्य,' फा० 'ज़र'

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३. बुलेटिन ऑव् द स्कूल ऑव् ओरियंटल स्टडीज, लन्दन इन्स्टीट्यूट, खंड ४, पृष्ठ १५६।

४. द चाइल्ड, आर्यन्ज़, प्रथम संस्करण, पृष्ठ ८७।

यूराली	भारोपीय
९—मगियार 'स्ज़िलन्क', फिनिश 'सले'	संस्कृत 'शलाका'
१०—मोर्दविन 'अज़ोर' (बड़ा) इस्तोनियन 'सूर', वोतयक 'उज़िर'	सं० 'असुर', अवेस्ता 'अहुर'
११—फिनिश 'वसर' (हथौड़ा), मोर्दविन 'उज़र', इस्तोनियन 'वसर'	संस्कृत 'वज्र', अवेस्ता 'वजर' (गदा)
१२—फिनिश 'पोर्सस', इस्तोनियन 'पोर्सस' (छोटा सूअर)	लैटिन 'पोर्कस', अंग्रेजी 'पोर्क'
१३—फिनिश 'ओरस', 'वरस' (सूअर)	संस्कृत 'वाराह', अवेस्ता 'वराज़'
१४—मगियार 'ओस्तोर' (कोड़ा), इस्तोनियन 'ओता', 'ओदा' (जैवलिन)	संस्कृत 'अस्त्र', अवेस्ता 'अश्त्रा'
१५—मगियार 'सोर' (मदिरा) वोतयक 'सुर', वोगुल 'सोर'	संस्कृत 'सुरा', अवेस्ता 'हुरा'
१६—मोर्दविन 'सेद' (पुल), इस्तोनियन 'सिल्द'	संस्कृत 'सेतु', अवेस्ता 'अएतु'
१७—मोर्दविन 'वर्गस', ज़िरिअन 'वोर्कस'	संस्कृत 'वृक', अवेस्ता 'वह्लक'
१८—फ़िनिश 'कल' (मछली), इस्तोनियन 'कला'	अवेस्ता 'कर', प्रशन 'कलिस', अंग्रेजी 'ह्वेल', उच्च जर्मन 'वल'
१९—वोगुल 'तास' (अजनबी)	संस्कृत 'दास'
२०—मोर्दविन 'मेक्श' (मधुमक्खी), इस्तोनियन 'मेसि' (मधु), मगियार 'मेज़' (शहद)	संस्कृत 'मक्षिका' अवेस्ता 'मख्शी'
२१—इस्तोनियन 'सोक्क' (बकरा), मोर्दविन 'शव' (बकरा)	संस्कृत 'छाग'
२२—फ़िनिश 'सिइक-नेन' (ठूँड़), मोर्दविन 'शुव'	सं० शूक

इन दोनों परिवारों की भाषाओं में इतना अधिक शब्द-साम्य संयोगतः नहीं हो सकता। स्पष्ट ही यह आपसी लेन-देन का परिणाम है। सभी बातों पर विचार करने पर यह अनुमान लगता है कि इनमें अधिकांश शब्द तो ऐसे हैं, जो मूलतः भारोपीय के हैं, और यूराली में गृहीत हैं, किन्तु, 'मक्षिका,' 'शूक,' 'छाग', 'कफ', 'कूप', 'शलाका',

'तृण,' 'हिरण्य' तथा 'वाराह' मूलतः यूराली परिवार के हैं, अर्थात् संस्कृत आदि में ये अपने शब्द न होकर विदेशी हैं।

इस प्रसंग में 'एक' शब्द भी विचारणीय है। संख्यावाचक शब्दों में २ से १० तक, २०, ३० आदि तथा 'सौ' ऐसे हैं, जो भारोपीय परिवार की अधिकांश भाषाओं में बहुत कुछ समानता रखते हैं। जैसे संस्कृत 'द्व', ग्रीक 'दुव', लैटिन 'दुओ', अवेस्ता 'द्वा', रूसी 'द्वा', अंग्रेजी 'टू', फारसी 'दू', या संस्कृत 'सप्त,' अवेस्ता 'हफ़्त', लैटिन 'सेप्तम', 'गॉथिक' 'सिबुन', अँग्रेजी 'सेवन' आदि; किन्तु 'एक' में ऐसी बात नहीं है। ग्रीक 'ओइनोस', लैटिन 'उनुस', जर्मन 'आइन', रूसी 'अदिन', अँग्रेजी 'वन', वेल्स अन,' ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन 'ऐन' या डच, आइरिश, गॉथिक, लिथुआनियन, आइसलैंडिक, इतालवी, फ्रांसीसी, रूमानियन, प्रशन, चर्च स्लाव, स्वेडिश, लेटिश, डैनिश, ब्रीटन आदि सभी में –न– ध्वनि है, जब कि केवल फ़ारसी 'यक', संस्कृत 'एक' एवं हिब्री 'आइक' में –क– ध्वनि है। कुछ लोगों ने *ओइ–को'[५] की कल्पना की है, किन्तु मुझे लगता है कि 'एक' भी कदाचित् यूराली की ही देन है। यूराल की भाषाओं में 'एक' के लिए शब्द ध्वन्यात्मक दृष्टि से 'एक' से बहुत दूर नहीं हैं।

वोगुल	—	'अक'
हुंगेरियन	—	'एगी'
ओतियक	—	'ओग'
समोइएदे	—	'ओकुर'
इस्तोनियन	—	'उक्स'
फिनिश	—	'उक्सी', 'यक्सी'

अनेक विद्वान् द्रविड़ परिवार को भी यूराली से संबद्ध मानते हैं,[६] और उसमें भी –क– वाले शब्द एक के लिए (पारजी, 'ओक', तेलुगु 'ओका') हैं। जैसा कि ऊपर की तुलनात्मक सूची में संकेतिक है, १०० के लिए शब्द यूराली में भारोपीय परिवार से गया है। इस प्रकार भारोपीय ने १०० के लिए शब्द दिया है तथा १ के लिए लिया है। यद्यपि यह लेना बहुत ही असाधारण एवं आश्चर्यजनक है।

गोधूम : एक विवादास्पद शब्द—मूल योरपीय लोग 'जौ' से परिचित थे। इसके लिए मूल शब्द *येवो था, जिससे सं० 'यव', अवेस्ता 'यव', लिथुआनियन 'जवइँ', ग्रीक 'जेअ' आदि शब्द विकसित हुए हैं। भारोपीय परिवार की मुख्य भाषाओं में 'गेहूँ' के

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५. ए डिक्शनरी ऑव् सेलेक्टेड सिनॉनिम्ज़ इन द प्रिंसिपल इंडोयूरोपियन लैंग्वेजेज़—सी० डी० बक, प्रथम संस्करण, पृ० ९३७

६. द्रष्टव्य हैं : फ़ाउण्डेशन आँव लैंग्वेज—ग्रे, दूसरा संस्करण, पृ० ३८८; ओरिजिन ऐंड स्प्रेड ऑव द तामिल्स—दिक्षितार, पृ० ५ (प्रथम संस्करण); जर्नल ऑव् द अमेरिकन ओरिएंटल सोसाइटी, भाग ७, पृ० २७२ तथा भाग ६५, पृ० ५९; द आर्यन्ज—चाइल्ड (प्रथम संस्करण) पृ० ८९ आदि।

लिए समान शब्द नहीं हैं, अतः ऐसी संभावना है कि इस परिवार से इस अनाज का परिचय अधिक पुराना नहीं है। धार्मिक कृत्यों में 'जौ' का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान तथा गेहूँ का पूर्ण वहिष्कार भी इसी बात का संकेत करता है। उल्लेख्य है कि अक्षत के रूप में चावल का धार्मिक महत्व आर्य-परम्परा का न होकर आर्येतर भारतीय-परम्परा का प्रभाव मात्र है। 'गेहूँ' के लिए समान शब्द केवल भारत-ईरानी शाखा में हैं (संस्कृत 'गोधूम', अवेस्ता 'गन्तुम', फारसी 'गन्दुम') जिसका आशय यह हुआ कि यह शाखा जब अन्यों से अलग हो गई तो इसका 'गेहूँ' से परिचय हुआ। एक संभावना यह है कि मूल शाखा से अलग होकर ये लोग असीरियों के सम्पर्क में आए और उन्हीं के माध्यम से ये गेहूँ से परिचित हुए। असीरी भाषा में 'गेहूँ' के लिए 'शेउम' शब्द है। सम्भव है 'गोधूम' 'गन्तुम' आदि उसी से सम्बद्ध हो। इस संबंध में मेरा एक अपना अनुमान भी है। सम्भव है भारत-ईरानी शाखा को जङ्गली गेहूँ घास के रूप में मिला हो, और आरम्भ में इसे सुखाकर मच्छर आदि से अपनी गो-सम्पत्ति को बचाने के लिए ये धुवाँ करते रहे हों एवं इसी कारण इसे 'गो धूम' कहा गया हो। इसके अन्त की उपयोगिता का पता उन्हें कदाचित् बाद में चला। आज भी गाँवों में बरसात में पशुओं को मच्छर से बचाने के लिए लोग घास सुलगाकर धुआँ करते हैं। पाणिनीय पण्डित 'गोधूम' की व्युत्पत्ति 'गुध् + ऊम्' से मानते हैं। 'गुध्' धातु का अर्थ रोकना, खेलना, लपेटना, घेरना आदि है। इस प्रकार पाणिनीय व्युत्पत्ति से इसका अर्थ स्पष्ट नहीं होता। ऐसी स्थिति में या तो यह विदेशी शब्द है या गो + धूम से बना शब्द है।

SECTION VI

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

SOCIAL WORLD IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

By A. D. PUSALKER*

A veritable encyclopaedia of Indian culture, the *Mahābhārata* rightly declares: *Yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na tatkvacit*[1] (whatever is included here may be found elsewhere; but what is not to be found here, cannot be got anywhere else). It is a thesaurus of ancient myths, tales, legends, of philosophy, religion, social ideas, manners and customs, of social and political institutions, of old beliefs and traditions, etc. In re-creating the social world from the data furnished by the *Mahābhārata,* we have clearly to distinguish between the different ages represented by the epic, namely the period of the actual Bhārata war and that of the composition of the epic. The first period or the date of the Bhārata war may roughly be taken to be 1000 B.C., while the second period or the date of the *Mahābhārata* may be placed between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D.

Among the peculiar social customs of the age of the Bhārata war or of still earlier period revealed in the *Mahābhārata,* special mention may be made of promiscuity, polyandry and *niyoga* or levirate. Though some passages in the epic suggest the existence of promiscuity at an early period, it is very difficult to say whether it actually existed in some sections of the society or whether it is a mere possibility intellectually conceived by the poet. The tradition of polyandry, however, appears to have been so firmly rooted, at least in a section of the society, that the poet could not ignore it. The marriage of Draupadī was an essential part of the story and the poet tries to justify it in several ways. His attempts to explain it away show that though in vogue in ancient times polyandry had fallen into disuse during the period of the epic . It is interesting to observe that the practice of several brothers marrying one female is still prevalent to some extent among certain tribes in Kashmir, Tibet and Nilgiris.[2] The custom of *niyoga* or levirate whereby a

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1. *Mbh.* (*Mahābhārata,* Critical Edition), I. 56. 33.

2. Cf. Altekar, *Position of Women, Banaras,* 1956, p. 114; Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India,* p. 30, n. 1.

childless widow approached her deceased husband's brother for issue appears to have been fairly common in ancient India as elsewhere in the ancient world. The *Mahābhārata* is replete with instances, but it appears that the system was gradually passing into desuetude, and several restrictions were being placed for its operation.

While passing from the social conditions of the period of the Bhārata war to those of the age of the *Mahābhārata,* we find that they present a social world with practically the same features of castes and orders, family life, forms of marriage, position of women, etc., as we get from other contemporary sources. Instead of repeating the information, an attempt is made here to focuss attention to the special aspects as delineated in the *Mahābhārata.*

Though the four primary castes and mixed castes were known, social divisions had not yet become so rigid as in later times. In refreshing contrast to the passages in which the *Mahābhārata* records the general view that the Brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone and he deserves respect from all, there are others which revolt against the caste-system dependent on birth alone and severely criticize it. These passages challenge the extravagant Brahmanical pretensions and supersitious theories. Great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. "That Śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness, and *dharma* is a Brāhmaṇa in my opinion," says the author of the *Mahābhārata,* "for a Brāhmaṇa is so by his character."[3] Lord Kṛṣṇa has also declared that he created the four castes having regard to the distribution of qualities and actions.[4] It appears that the regulations with regard to occupations of different castes were not strictly followed, and different castes could follow any vocations with impunity.

In education, the Gurukula system appears to have been in vogue. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of numerous hermitages (*āśramas*), famous among them being the Naimiṣa under Kulapati Śaunaka, and one of Kaṇva on the Mālinī. Pupils from distant parts of the country gathered for instructions at these hermitages, which consisted of several departments including divinity, political science and economics, military science, astronomy, botany, transport and conveyances. There are several references which also indicate that

3. *Mbh.,* III. 206. 12.

4. *Mbh.,* VI. 26. 13 (=*Bhagavadgītā,* IV. 13).

in addition to academic subjects and those already mentioned, instruction was given in archery, medicine, astrology, engineering, agriculture, arts and crafts, etc. The *Mahābhārata* enjoins that persons of all the four castes should listen to discourses on the Vedas.[5] Due attention was paid to the education of women who were able to reach high level of academic perfection. They were taught such arts as dancing, singing, and instrumental music.

Though the usual eight forms of marriage are enumerated, the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Brāhma, Kṣātra, Gāndharva, Āsura, and Rākṣasa as being current, the last two being regarded as sinful.[6] The Brāhma perhaps included the Daiva and Ārṣa of the Sūtra times. In the Kṣātra, which was prescribed for both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, it appears that the bride was offered to one who successfully accomplished certain feat of skill and valour prescribed by the father of the bride.

Though marriages in the same caste were praised, there were no restrictions with regard to intercaste marriages in the anuloma order, or hypergamy, i.e. where a male of the higher caste married a female of the lower one. The progeny of such marriages was held to belong to the caste of the father, i.e. the higher caste. The pratiloma marriages, i.e. of the females of a higher caste with males of the lower one, were condemned and looked down as reprehensible.

In the *Mahābhārata* we witness the first germs of the tendency whereby the Sanyāsa was reserved only for the three higher castes and later for the Brāhmaṇas alone. Four kinds of ascetics, namely Kuṭīcaka, Bahūdaka, Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa, are mentioned, of which each succeeding one was superior to the one preceding.[7] The *Mahābhārata* propounds conflicting views about the eligibility of a Śūdra to embrace Sanyāsa.[8]

Despite some passages in disparagement of women in general, one of the special features of the epic may be said to be its liberal attitude towards women. Women were regarded as objects of

5. *Mbh.*, XII. 314, 45-46.
6. *Mbh.*, I. 67. 8–12.
7. Mbh., XIII. 129. 29.
8. *Mbh.*, XII. 63. 12–14; XV. 33. 32.

great veneration, symbols of supreme auspiciousness, virtue incarnate, lights of the family, beauty and wealth of the home, and objects of special care and attention. They were accorded a place of honour, enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom, and mixed freely at socio-religious gatherings. No special restrictions or disabilities were attached to them only on account of their sex. They enjoyed equal rights with men in all sphere, and wielded a great deal of influence in social and political matters.

The birth of a female child was not always looked upon as a source of misery, but goddess of fortune was held to reside in an unmarried daughter. There were no child marriages in that period. The epic heroines received liberal education, and had some voice in the choice of their spouses. High ideals of conjugal life were placed before the society, and the wife was spoken as the best friend of man.[9]

Though remarriages in general were condemned, virgin widow was allowed to remarry. Her sons were held to be fully entitled to offer oblations both to gods and manes.[10] That the widows were treated fairly would appear from the fact that the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are described as having the hair on the head decently arranged.[11] The discouragement of the remarriage of widows resulted in the growth of the custom of Satī. In the *Mahābhārata*, with the exceptions of Mādrī, four wives of Vasudeva and five of Kṛṣṇa there are no other instances of Satī. After the Bhārata war not a single widow is said to have burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The *Mahābhārata* is also unaware of any of the Yādava widows having become Satīs, whereas the later *Padma Purāṇa* represents all of them as burning themselves, which indicated that by the time the *Padma Purāṇa* received its present shape, the custom of Satī was coming into vogue.[12] In the *Mahābhārata* times, it was confined to the Kṣatriya caste alone.

Some later interpolations in the *Mahābhārata* suggest that some kind of *purdah* was observed in a few royal families, which was dispensed with on certain specified occasions. The data in the

9. *Mbh.*, I. 68. 40.
10. *Mbh.*, XIII, App. I, No. 7A, ll. 63–65 (=Kumbhakonam, XIII. 55. 7).
11. *Mbh.*, XV. 27. 16.
12. Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

epic go against *purdah* which was introduced later into India among the Kṣatriyas due to foreign influence.

We do not get details about urban life, but some interesting features about one aspect of rural life are supplied by the description of cowherds. Duryodhana went to inspect his herd of cattle in Dvaitavana and marked them by signs, the occasion being celebrated by sports, singing, and dance by the cowherds.[13] The king of the Matsya enjoyed a royal picnic in the countryside on the occasion of "cattle-branding" when the ears of the entire cattle were marked for the year. Cattle-lifting seems to have been fairly common during the epic period. Cowboys and herdsmen were paid in kind for tending the cattle in proportion to the cattle tended by each. The breeding and tending of cattle had developed almost into a science in the days of the *Mahābhārata*.

From the references to Yudhiṣṭhira feeding Brāhmaṇas with various delicacies prepared, among other things, from the flesh of boar and deer, it would appear that meat-eating was current among all classes during the period of the Bhārata war. Later on, however, owing to the influence of ahiṁsā as preached by Buddhism, Jainism, and Bhāgavatism, flesh-eating was prohibited for the Brāhmaṇas during the period of the *Mahābhārata* and thereafter. One interesting particular supplied by the epic is that the food of the rich consisted of flesh, that of the middle class of milk and its products, and that of the poor of oil preparations.[14] The Kṣatriyas in the epic period were noted for their addiction to liquor. But the Brāhmaṇas were strictly forbidden to drink liquor, and later on drinking was regarded as one of the principal five sins.

Cremation seems to have been the usual method of the disposal of the dead in the epic age. It appears, however, that the bodies of these dead on the battlefield were not duly disposed of but were left there uncared for at the mercy of vultures and jackals. The death of a person in war, says the *Mahābhārata*, is not to be mourned, nor are any funeral oblations to be offered to him, nor is a purificatory bath to be taken on his account. He is glorified in the heavens.[15]

13. Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 229. 1–13.

14. *Mbh.*, V 34. 47.

15. *Mbh.*, XII. 99. 43-44.

There is a frequent mention of Dāsas and Dāsīs (male and female slaves) in the *Mahābhārata*. In addition to prisoners of war, those who staked their freedom in the game of dice were treated as Dāsas if they lost the game. As he had no money or other possessions, the slave paid his tax in manual labour. The ethical portions of the epic allow a slave to study, and state that he may get a reward for practising re'igious austerities. A learned slave is depicted as giving moral instruction.

NOTES ON AŚOKA'S SEVENTH AND NINTH ROCK EDICTS

By M. A. MEHENDALE*

1. *Rock-edict VII*

The Dhauli version of this edict reads as follows:

(A) *Devānāṁpiye Piyadasī lājā savata ichati savapāsaṁḍā vasevū ti/*

(B) *save hi te sayamaṁ bhāvasudhī ca ichaṁti/*

(C) *munisā ca ucāvucachaṁdā ucāvuca lāgā/*

(D) *te savaṁ va ekadesaṁ va kachaṁti/*

(E) *vipule pi cā dāne asa nathi sayame bhāvasudhī ca*[1] *nīce bāḍham/*

Hultzsch translates the edict as follows:

(A) King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

In the above rendering, Hultzsch sees opposition between *vipule dāne* on the one hand and *sayame* and *bhābasudhī* on the other. He is therefore required to add the word 'but' in the section E to bring out the contrast. But this interpretation does not satisfactorily bring out the significance of the last two words *nīce bāḍham* 'very mean.' It is therefore suggested that *nathi* (=*nāsti*) should be construed with all the three, *dāne, sayame* and *bhāvasudhī*. The

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1. All versions, except those at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, add here two more virtues *kataṁñatā* and *daḍha-bhatitā* (Girnar version) rendered as 'gratitude' and 'firm devotion' by Hultzsch.

F. 2

passage may then be translated as: 'And if one does not practise even great liberality, and (also) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, (he) is very mean.'

Aśoka has said at the beginning of the edict that he desires followers of all sects to practise self-control (*sayama*) and purity of mind (*bhāvasudhī*). But since this is not possible for all people, it is likely that some practise only a few of the recommended virtues but not the others. It seems that according to Aśoka, liberality is a virtue which can be easily practised by all. If one practises only a few virtues and not all, it is bad enough. But if one does not practise even liberality, and also does not have self-control and purity of mind, it is absolutely bad (*nīce bāḍham*). Practising great liberality is thus a beginning of attaining other virtues like self-control and purity of mind. It is only when we understand the edict in this way that the significance of *nīce bāḍham* is clearly brought out.

2. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 1)

The ninth rock-edict of Aśoka ends as follows in the Girnar version:

(K) .... *idaṁ kacaṁ idaṁ sādha* (read *sādhu*) *iti, iminā saka svagaṁ ārādhetu iti* /

(L) *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī* /

This has been translated by Hultzsch as follows:

(K) .... 'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven.

In what precedes the above sections in this edict, Aśoka recommends to his people the practice of morality (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) in place of the other ordinary practices which they were accustomed to follow. He says that many of the latter practices are vulgar and useless. They bear little fruit. But the practice of morality bears much fruit. Even heaven can be obtained by the practice of morality. Since what is being emphasized all along in the edict is the practice of morality which can ultimately lead to heaven, it is better to translate the last line *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā sva-*

gāradhī as "And what else than this (viz. the practice of morality) deserves more to be done so that (*yathā*) it leads to the attainment of heaven. The pronominal forms *idaṁ* and *iminā* in section 'K' refer to the practice of morality. It is therefore better to take *iminā* in section 'L' also to refer to the practice of morality than to the attainment of heaven as done by Hultzsch. Moreover, *katavyataraṁ* can hardly mean 'more desirable.'[2]

3. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 2)

Towards the end of the ninth rock-edict, from section I onwards, the Kālsī, the Shāhbāzgarhī, the Mānsehrā, and the Yerraguḍi versions differ from the other versions of the edict. It appears that the text in the former four versions is more in keeping with what precedes in this edict. Here. in this edict, Aśoka wants to point out to his subjects the difference between the ordinary ceremonies that are performed on such occasions as marriage, child-birth etc., and the religious practices (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) which the king recommends to them. The Kālsī version reads as follows :

(I) *e hi itale magale saṁsayikye se* /

(J) *siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyā siyā punā no* /

(K) *hidalokike ceva se* /

(L) *iyaṁ punā dhaṁmamagale akālikye* /

(M) *haṁce pi taṁ aṭhaṁ no niṭeti* (read *nivaṭeti*) *hida aṭhaṁ*,[3] *palata anaṁtaṁ punā pavasati* (read *pasavati*) /

(N) *haṁce punā taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā, tato ubhayesaṁ ladhe hoti, hida cā se aṭhe palata cā anaṁtaṁ punā pasavati tenā dhaṁmamagalenā* /

Hultzsch translates the above sections as follows :

(I) For other ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

2. Only the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions agree with the Girnar in closing the edict in this way. The other edicts have a different ending for which see the next note. Both the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions are damaged.

3. This *aṭhaṃ* after hidā seems to be redundant. In the following section (N) *aṭhaṃ* is not repeated after *hidā*.

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

In section 'L' in the above text we get the word *akālikya* (*akalikaṁ* at Shāh., *akalike* at Mān., and *akālike* at *Yerra*). Hultzsch has rendered it as 'not restricted to time.' Although this reading and its interpretation give good sense, it seems that in the context in which the word occurs it has probably been mis-spelt. What was intended to be inscribed was not *akālika,* but *alokika,* 'not restricted to (this) world.' Aśoka says that the ordinary *maṁgala* which was practised by the people may or may not bear fruit. And even if it does, the fruit belongs only to this world. But in the case of *dhaṁmamaṁgala,* the fruit is not in doubt. It is certain. Either it produces result which has relevance in both the worlds or it produces endless merit valid for the next world. Thus, while the fruit of the ordinary *maṁgala* is restricted to this world alone (hidalokika), the fruit of the *dhaṁmamaṁgala* is not restricted to (this or that) world (*alokika*). The contrast with *hidalokika* is better brought out by *alokika,* than by *akālika.* If the fruit of the religious practice was restricted only to the next world, Aśoka would have used the word *para–or pāra-lokika* to contrast with *hidalokika.*[4] But since the fruit of the religious practice is not restricted to the next world—it may yield fruit even in this world, as made clear in section 'N'—Aśoka has chosen to call it *alokika.* In the context when the location, and not the time, of the result of the action done in this world is emphasized, the desired sense is better obtained by the reading *alokika* instead of *akālika,* which involves in writing the transposition of the letters *'k'* and *'l'*.

In this very edict we find another instance of the transposition of letters. In place of *pasavati* in section 'M', we get *pavasati.* It

4. As he, in fact, does in other edicts.

is likely that the text issued from the king's capital, on which the four different versions were based, contained these two cases of mis-spellings, viz. *pavasati* and *akālika*. But while the former was corrected in all versions except the one at Kālsī, the latter was retained in all the four versions, possibly because the word was understood to mean 'not restricted to time.' It is true that in the case of *akālika* for *alokika*, besides the transposition of the letters '*k*' and '*l*', we also need one more horizontal mark to the left for the vowel '*o*'. But such minor errors regarding vowel marks are not uncommon in the Aśokan inscriptions.

In the end one minor correction to the translation of Hultzsch may be suggested. In the last section (N), Hultzsch takes *ubhaye-saṁ* to refer to the two kinds of results, viz. the attainment of one's object (*aṭhaṁ*) in this world and endless merit (*anaṁtaṁ punā*) in the next. Perhaps it would be better to take *ubhayesaṁ* as referring to both the worlds and translate: "But in case one obtains the object in this world, the gain of both (the worlds) arises from it....."

A FRAGMENT OF A FRESCOED FRIEZE DEPICTING DĪPAṄKARA BUDDHA IN MĪRĀN, CENTRAL ASIA

By DR. M. S. BHAT*

Recent researches in Central Asia have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the early relations between India and that country. The reports of the Chinese envoys, Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims, and the Chinese biographies of the Buddhist monks living in Central Asia furnish us with a vivid picture of the Buddhist life in the cities and towns there. The time during which the Kushans ruled in Northern India is marked by a full development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is precisely at this time that Buddhism found its way from Northern India to Central Asia. The region referred to comprises Chinese Turkestan with its border-lands towards the Oxus in the West and China proper in the East.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, we find numerous Buddhist settlements on both sides of the Tarim river. All traces of this ancient centre of Indian culture would have been as good as lost for centuries among the secrets of the sand-blown Tarim desert but for the systematic excavations carried out by Russian, European and Asian expeditions which have brought to light enormous material in the form of sculptures, paintings and manuscripts. The bulk of the manuscripts is Buddhist. Buddhist religious centres were spread all over the country. They abound with sculptures and paintings depicting the Buddha and his attendants or scenes from the life-story of the Buddha. The art represented by these paintings is of course not without modifications. The Gandhāra style can be easily recognized.

In this article I propose to deal with a typical scene of Buddhist iconography which once adorned the interior wall of a ruined Buddhist shrine at Mīrān. It has been listed as M. III. 003. The credit of recovering this artistic and valuable fragment goes to Sir Aurel Stein who described it thus: "we see the Buddha dressed in the mendicant's red brown robe, standing with his right hand raised in the well-known 'gesture of protection.' By his side stand six disciples with heads shaved as monks. The scene is clearly laid in a

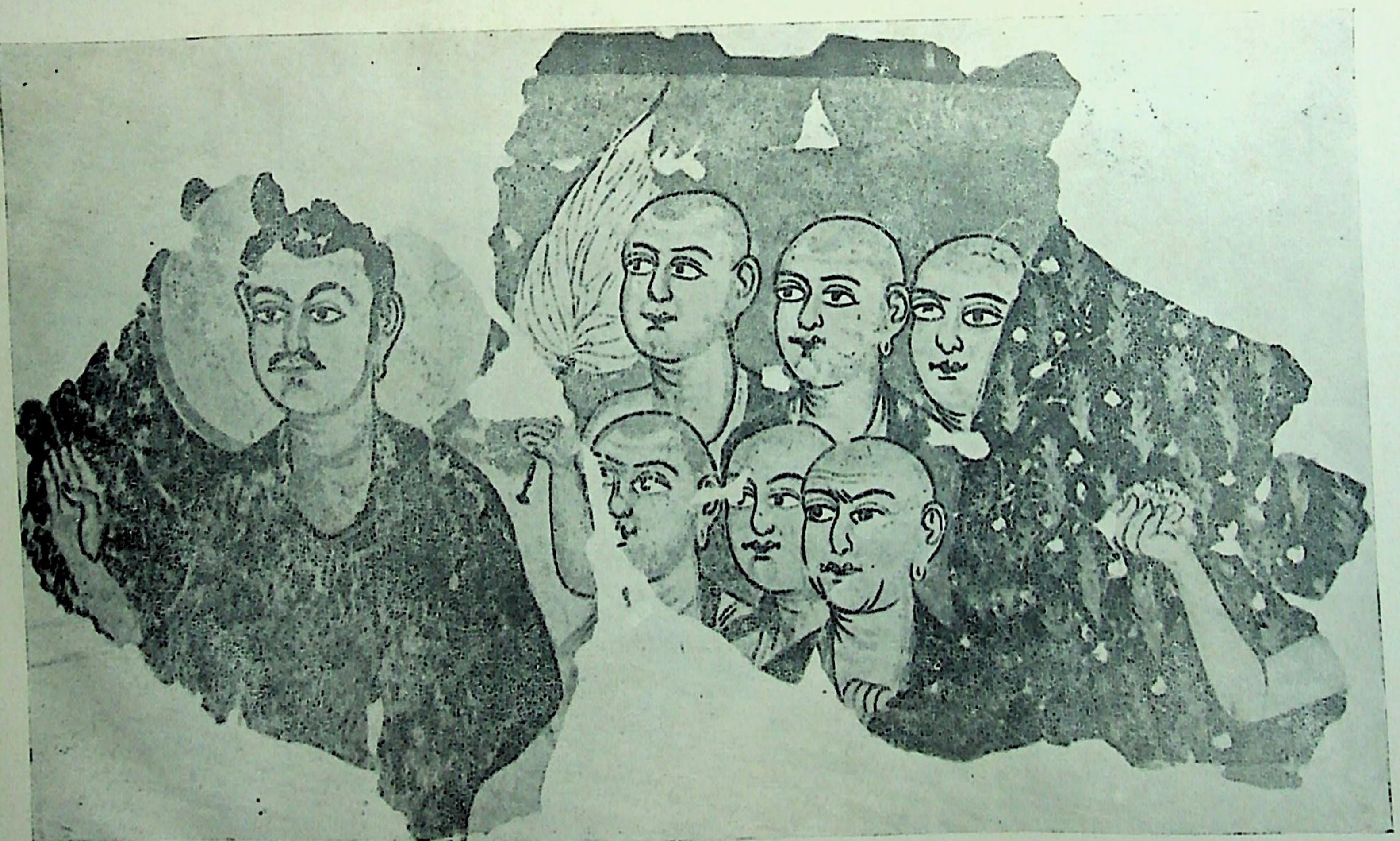
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garden or grove, but not enough is left to determine the particular legend illustrated from Buddha's life story." Years later, Mr. F. H. Andrews described the scene at great length. What follows is a brief summary of the same.

The Buddha has his right hand raised with the thumb bent inwards touching the second joint of the third finger, that is, the eighth joint. This may symbolize the Buddha expounding 'the eight-fold way' or eight Pāramitās. The left hand is low, probably holding up his loose robe, which is of the traditional type. Behind the Buddha, are grouped the six clean-shaven disciples, their heads arranged in two rows of three each, one above the other; the nearest to him in the upper row holding a yak-tail *caurī* in his raised right hand. To the right of the disciples, appears a naked right arm with the hand grasping a bunch of white buds or flowers, apparently in the act of throwing. Forming a background to the arm, is part of a tree painted as a dark mass diapered with red and white flowers and poppy-like leaves in greenish-gray. On the extreme left, is a similar mass of black on which are scattered well-known leaves in grey-blue. It is clear from the foregoing that both the writers have treated at length the artistic presentation, design and colouring of this fragment of an incomplete panel which in their opinion is influenced by Graeco-Buddhist art. It is a matter of regret that these writers have totally ignored the iconographic purport of the scene. Sir Aurel Stein confesses no doubt his inability "to determine the particular legend illustrated from Buddha's life story."

Though bereft of necessary details, this scene reminds me of the well-known episode of Megha, a Brāhmaṇa youth in the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It is recorded in *Mahāvastu*.[1] In the *Buddhavaṁsa*, however, Sumedha is the counter-part of Megha (see D. P. N.). Dīpaṅkara, out of pity for his father, King Arcimat and his kinsfolk, came with eighty-thousand monks to the royal city of Dīpavatī. Megha came to the same city after completing his Vedic studies. He wished to honour Dīpaṅkara for which purpose he wanted to purchase five lotuses from a young Brāhmaṇa girl, Prakrti by name, but was prevailed upon by the latter to accept them on condition that he should marry her to which he consented after some hesitation. Then Megha feeling a sublime joy and gladness

1. Senart's ed., I, pp. 231–240.



DĪPAṄKARA BUDDHA AND HIS DISCIPLES

threw those lotuses towards Dīpaṅkara and they remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dīpaṅkara's head. Prakṛti also threw her two lotuses and these too, stood suspended in the air. Megha resolved that he too, would become a Buddha, and Dīpaṅkara looking into the future, prophesied that he would become one in future, after an immeasurable, incalculable *Kalpa*, in Kapilavastu, the city of *Śākyas*, a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni.

To me, it appears that the naked right arm with the hand grasping a bunch of flowers in the act of throwing is highly suggestive of the episode recorded in the *Mahāvastu*. No doubt, it is not unusual for the donor or donatrix as the case may be, by arrangement with the painter to be represented in the picture. But the size of the arm itself will dispel any doubt that it might have after all belonged to a donor or a donatrix. It is worthwhile to remember that paintings showing the dedicators differ in style widely from the pictures depicting legends. Dīpaṅkara Buddha is held in high esteem by the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists as being the first Buddha to appear in the world and it was he who prophesied the historical Buddha, Gotama Śākyamuni. If my conjecture turns out to be correct, then this representation of Dīpaṅkara in a painting would be the very first one, though found outside India.

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F. 3

GWALIOR INSCRIPTION OF THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRA KING BHOJA

(A Revised Study)

By SADHU RAM*

Provenance: Sāgar Tāl near Gwalior town.

Published in: Hiranand Shastri, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1903-4, pp. 277—285; R. C. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 99ff.

Language: Sanskrit, verse except the salutation formula *Oṁ namo Viṣṇave*.

Script: Nagari type current in Northern and Western India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

Metres: *Vasanta-tilakā* 1, 8—11; *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* 2, 4, 7, 18, 19; *Srag-dharā* 3, 5, 6, 12, 27; *Anuṣṭubh* 13, 14, 16, 21—23, 25; *Upajāti* 15, 24; *Śikhariṇī* 17; *Hariṇī* 20.

Object: To record the erection of an edifice in the seraglio of king Bhoja in honour of Viṣṇu.

INTRODUCTION

This inscription of king Bhoja was discovered near Gwalior in the year 1896. It was first edited by Hiranand Shastri in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1903-4. Dr. Kielhorn gave a short account of it in 1905. It was re-edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in 1925-26.

The inscription records the erection of an edifice called *Antaḥpura-pura* by king Pratīhāra Bhoja in his seraglio in honour of the god Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Naraka.

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TEXT

१. ओं नमो विष्णवे ।।
शेषाहि-तल्प-धवलाधर-भाग-भासि
वक्षः-स्थलोल्लसित-कौस्तुभ-कान्ति-शोणं ।
श्यामं वपु(:*)शशि-विरोचन-विम्व(विम्व)-चुम्वि(म्वि)-
व्योम-प्रकाशमवतान्नरक-द्विषो वः ।।१।।
आत्माराम-फलादुपार्ज्य विजरं देवेन दैत्य-द्विषा
ज्योतिर्व्वी(र्ब्वी)जमकृत्त्रिमे
२. गुणव(ति) क्षेत्रे यदुप्तं पुरा ।
श्रेयः-कन्द-वपुस्ततस्समभवद्भास्वानतश्चापरे
मन्विक्ष्वाकु—ककुस्थ(त्स्थ)-मूल-पृथवः क्ष्मापाल-कल्पद्रुमाः ।।२।।
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रम-निहित-पदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु-घोरं
रामः पौलस्त्य-हिन्श्रं(हिंस्रं) क्षत-विहति-समित्कर्म्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।
श्लाघ्य—
३. स्तस्यानुजो(ऽ*)सौ मघव-मद-मुषो मेघनादस्य संख्ये
सौमित्त्रिस्तीव्र-दण्डः प्रतिहरण-विधेयैः प्रतीहार आसीत् ।।३।।
तद्वन्शे(द्वंशे)प्रतिहार-केतन-भृति त्त्रैलोक्य-रक्षास्पदे
देवो नागभटः पुरातन-मुनेर्मूर्त्तिर्व्व(र्ब्व)भूवाद्भुतं ।
येनासौ सुकृत-प्रमाथि-व(ब)लवन्म्लेच्छा-
४. धिप-क्षौहिणीः
क्षुन्दान(स्*)स्फुरदुग्र-हेति-रुचिरे(रै)र्द्दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिर्व्व(र्ब्व)भौ ।।४।।
भ्रातुस्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूत्कलित-कुल-यशाः ख्यात-काकुस्थ(त्स्थ)नामा
लोके गीतः प्रतीक-पृ(प्रि)य-वचनतया कक्कुकः क्ष्माभृदीशः ।
श्रीमानस्यानुजन्मा कुलिश-धर-धुरामुद्वहन्देवराजो
य(ज)ज्ञे च्छिनो(न्नो)रु-पक्ष-क्षपित-ग-
५. ति-कुलं भूभृतां सन्नियन्ता ।।५।।
तत्सूनुः प्राप्य राज्यं निजमुदयगिरि-स्पर्द्धि भास्वत्प्रतापः
क्ष्मापालः प्रादुरासीन्नत-सकल-जगद्वत्सलो वत्सराजः ।
यस्यैतास्सम्पदश्च द्विरद-मद-सुरास्वाद-सान्द्र-प्रमोदाः
पद्माक्षीराक्षिपन्त्य(:*)प्रणयि-जन-परिष्वङ्ग-कान्ता विरेजुः ।।६।।
ख्या(ताद्भण्डि)—
६. कुलान्मदोत्कट-करि-प्राकार-दुर्ल्लङ्घतो
यः साम्राज्यमधिज्य-कार्म्मुक-सखा संख्ये हठादग्रहीत्(।*)
एकः क्षत्त्रिय-पुङ्गवेषु च यशो-गुर्व्वीन्धुरं प्रोद्वह-
न्निक्ष्वा(को)ः कुलमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्व-नामाङ्कितं ।।७।।

आद्यः पुमान्पुनरपि स्फुट-कीर्त्तिरस्मा-
ज्जातस्स एव किल नागभटस्तदाख्यः ।
यत्त्रा–
७. न्ध्र-सैन्धव-विदर्भ-कलिङ्ग-भूपैः
कौमार-धामनि पतङ्ग-समैरपाति ॥८॥
त्त्र(त्र)य्यास्पदस्य सुकृतस्य समृद्धिमिच्छु-
र्यः क्षत्त्र-धाम-विधि-व(ब)द्ध-व(ब)लि-प्रव(ब)न्धः ।
जित्वा पराश्रय-कृत-स्फुट-नीच-भावं
चक्रायुधं विनय-नम्र-वपुर्व्व्यराजत् ॥९॥
दुर्व्वार-वैरि-वर-वारण-वाजि-वार-
याणौ(नौ)घ-संघट-
८. न-घोर-घनान्धकारं ।
निर्ज्जित्य वङ्गपतिमाविरभूद्विवस्वा–
नुद्यन्निव त्रिजगदेक-विकासको यः ॥१०॥
आनर्त्त-मालव-किरात-तुरुष्क-वत्स-
मत्स्यादि-राजगिरि-दुर्ग्ग-हठापहारैः ।
यस्यात्म-वैभवमतीन्द्रियमाकुमार-
माविर्व्व(र्ब्व)भूव भुवि विश्वजनीन-वृत्तेः ॥११॥
तज्जन्मा राम-
९. नामा प्रवर हरि-व(ब)ल-न्यस्त-भूभृत्प्रव(ब)न्धै-
राव(ब)ध्नन्वाहिनीनां प्रसभमधिपतीनुद्धत-क्रूर-सत्वा(त्त्वा)न् ।
पापाचारान्तराय-प्रमथन-रुचिरः संगत(:*) कीर्त्ति-दारै-
स्त्राता धर्म्मस्य तैस्तैस्समुचित-चरितैः पूर्ववन्निर्व्व(र्ब्व)भासे ॥१२॥
अनन्य-साधनाधीन-प्रतापाक्रान्त-दि
१०. ङ्मुखः ।
उपायैस्सम्पदां स्वामी यः स-व्रीडमुपास्यत ॥१३॥
अर्थिभिर्व्विनियुक्तानां सम्पदां जन्म केवलं ।
यस्याभूत्कृतिनः प्रीत्यै नात्मेच्छा-विनियोगतः ॥१४॥
जगद्वितृष्णु(:*) स विशुद्ध-सत्व(त्त्व):
प्रजापतित्वं विनियोक्तुकामः ।
सुतं रहस्य-व्रत-सुप्रसन्ना-
त्सूर्यादवा-
११. पन्मिहिराभिधानं ॥१५॥

उपरोधैक-संरुद्ध-विन्ध्य-वृद्धेरगस्त्यतः (।*)
आक्रम्य भूभृतां भोक्ता यः प्रभुर्भोज इत्यभात् ॥१६॥
यशस्वी शान्तात्मा जगदहित-विच्छेद-निपुणः
परिष्वक्तो लक्ष्म्या न च मद-कलङ्केन कलितः ।
व(ब)भूव प्रेमार्द्रो गुणिषु विषयः सूनृत-
१२. गिरा-
मसौ रामो वाग्रे स्व-कृति-गणनायामिह विधेः ॥१७॥

यस्याभूत्कुल-भूमिभृत्प्रमथन-व्यस्तान्य-सैन्याम्वु(म्बु)धे-
र्व्यूढां च स्फुटितारि-लाज-निवहान्हुत्वा प्रतापानले ।
गुप्ता वृद्ध-गुणैरनन्य-गतिभिः शान्तैस्सुधोद्भासिभि-
र्द्धम्मर्पित्य-यशः—प्रभूतिरपरालक्ष्मीः पुनर्भू-
र्न या ॥१८॥

१३. प्रीतैः पालनया तपोधन-कुलैः स्नेहाद्गुरूणां गुणै-
र्भक्त्या भ(भृ)त्य-जनेन नीति-निपुणैर्वृन्दैररीणां पुनः ।
विश्वेनापि यदीयमायुरमितं कर्तुं स्व-जीवैषिणा
तन्निघ्ना विदधे विधातरि यथा सम्पत्परार्द्धचाश्रये ॥१९॥
अ-वितथमिदं यावद्विश्वं श्रुते–
१४. रनुशासना-
द्भवति फल-भाक्कर्त्ता नेशः क्षितीन्द्र-शतेष्वपि ।
अधरित-कलेः कीर्त्तेर्भर्त्तुस्सतां सुकृतैरभू-
द्विधुरित-धियां सम्पद्वृद्धिर्यदस्य तदद्भुतं ॥२०॥

यस्य वैरि-वृ(बृ)हद्वङ्शा(द्वंशा)[1] न्दहतः कोप-वह्निना
प्रतापादर्ण्णसां राशीन्पातुर्व्वैतृष्ण्यमाव(ब)भौ ॥२१॥
कुमारेणैव विद्यानां
१५. वृन्देनाद्भुत-कर्म्मणा ।
यः शशासासुरान्घोरान्स्त्रैणेनास्त्रैक-वृत्तिना ॥२२॥

यस्याक्ष-पटले राज्ञः प्रभुत्वाद्विश्व-सम्पदः ।
लिलेख मुखमालोक्य प्रातिलेख्य-करो विधिः ॥२३॥

उद्दाम-तेजः-प्रसर-प्रसूता शिखेव कीर्त्तिर्द्युमणिं विजित्य ।
जाया जगद्भर्त्तु-

1. Hiranand Shastri, वृहद्वङ्गान्, *ASIR*, 1903-4, pp. 277 ff.

१६. रियाय यस्य चित्रं त्विदं यज्जलवीन्स्त(धींस्त)तार ॥२४॥
राज्ञा तेन स्व-देवीनां यशः-पुण्याभिवृद्धये ।
अन्तःपुर-पुरं नाम्ना व्यधायि नरक-द्विषः ॥२५॥
यावन्नभः सुर-सरित्प(त्प्र)सरोत्तरीयं
यावत्सुदुश्चर-तपः-प्रभवः प्रभावः ।
सत्यञ्च यावदुपरिस्थ(ष्ठ)मवत्यशेषं
तावत्पु-
१७. नातु जगतीमियमार्य-कीर्त्तिः ॥२६॥
पातुर्व्विश्वस्य सम्यक्परम-मुनि-मत-श्रेयसस्सम्वि²धाना-
दन्तर्वृत्तिर्व्विवेकः स्थित इव पुरतो भोजदेवस्य राज्ञः ।
विद्वद्वृन्दार्ज्जितानां फलमिव तपसां भट्टधन्नेक-सूनु-
र्व्वा(र्व्वा)लादित्यः प्रशस्तेः कविरिह जगता साकमाकल्प-
वृत्तेः ॥२७॥

NOTES

1. विरोचन (line 1) –Here it means 'the sun.'

2. नरक-द्विषः (line 1) 'Of the enemy of the Asura Naraka.' Naraka was the son of the Earth. The *Mahābhārata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* describe him as having carried away the ear-rings of Aditi and put them in the impregnable castle of Prāgjyotiṣa. But Viṣṇu in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, killed him at the request of the gods and recovered the ornament. *Harivaṁśa* (Ch. 122), however, gives a different version of the legend.[3]

3. इक्ष्वाकु (line 2) –Ikṣvāku was born from the nostril of Vaivasvata Manu when he happened to sneeze. He founded the Solar race of kings and ruled over Ayodhyā in the beginning of the *Tretā* Age. Of his hundred sons, Vikukṣi was the eldest. Nimi, another son of his, founded a dynasty at Mithilā. Ikṣvāku's name occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 60.7). Max Müller thinks that it was the name of a people who inhabited Bhajeratha, the country watered by Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā). According to others these people lived in the North-West.[4]

4. ककुत्स्थ (line 2)–His other name was Puraṁjaya, 'city-

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2. Read श्रेयसस्संविधाना–

3. For this and Nos. 3–8, vide Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, s. v.*

4. See also *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, Chap. 10.

conqueror,' because according to the *Bhāgavata*[5] he conquered the city of the Daityas situated in the West. He was the son of Vikukṣi of the Solar race, whose aid was sought by the gods against the Asuras at the instance of Viṣṇu. He consented to assist them provided Indra assumed the form of a bull and carried him upon his hump (*kakud*) to the battle-field. Thus carried, he destroyed the Asuras and came to be called Kākutstha (hump-rider).

5. मूल-पृथु (line 2)—There were several kings of this name, but the adjective *mūla* suggests that he was Pṛthu (also called Pṛthi), the son of Vena, and the first king from whom the Earth received the name *Pṛthivī*. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[6] he is referred to as 'first of men who was installed a king.'[7]

6. पौलस्त्य (line 2)—The name of Rāvaṇa, who was the son of the great sage Pulastya. Pulastya was the son of Prajāpati (or (mind-born sons of Brahmā). Some of the *Purāṇas* were communicated to men through him. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* which he received from Brahmā, was communicated by him to Parāśara who made it popular.

7. मघव-मदमुषो मेघनादस्य (line 3)—'Of Meghanāda, the humbler of the pride of Indra.' Meghanāda was the son of Rāvaṇa, who accompanied his father in his war against Indra. Taking advantage of the magical power of becoming invisible, which he had obtained from Śiva, Meghanāda bound Indra and took him to Laṅkā. He refused to release him even at the request of gods headed by Brahmā who gave him the name of 'Indrajit.' According to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Meghanāda was killed by Lakṣmaṇa (Saumitri, the son of Sumitrā) who cut-off his head while the former was engaged in a sacrifice.

8. प्रतिहरण-विधेः (line)—'Owing to the injunction of preventing the entry of others.' Lakṣmaṇa was appointed by his elder brother Rāma as door-keeper to debar the entry of anybody while the latter was engaged in a conference with Time who was sent to inform him that his earthly career was drawing to a close, and that he should elect whether to stay longer on the earth

5. 9. 6. 12–15.

6. 12. 2. 4. 6.

7. Also *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 4. 15. 1–4.

or to return to the place whence he had come. During the course of the conference, the irascible sage Durvāsā came and insisted on seeing Rāma on pain of inflicting a curse if he refused. Lakṣmaṇa, thereupon, decided to save his brother from the curse of the sage, and interrupted the conference, as a result of which he had to retire to the river Sarayū and resign himself.[8]

9. पुरातन-मुने : (line 3) —'Of the ancient sage,' i.e., Nārāyaṇa, one of the two ancient Ṛṣis, the other being Nara who is generally coupled with him (viz., Nara-Nārāyaṇa). They were the sons of Dharma and Ahiṁsā. The name Nārāyaṇa is found for the first time in the *Śatapatha Brāhma*.[9]

10. वलवन्म्लेच्छान् (ine 3)—'The powerful Mlecchas.' They were probably the Arabs of Sindh who were launching attacks on Rajasthan and Malava, and were repulsed by Nāgabhaṭa I. Bhandarkar suggests the *Balaca-mlecchān*, i.e., 'the Baluchis' or the Arabs who had occupied Baluchistan by that time. This Arab invasion also finds mention in the Navasārī plates of Avanijināśraya Pulakeśin, a Cālukya king of Lāṭa country,[10] and in the Kavi plates of the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa IV.[11]

11. छिन्नोरु-पक्ष-क्षपित-गति-कुलं भूभृतां संनियन्ता (lines 4-5) —Here the reference seems to be to some conflict of the Pratīhāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies, corresponding to the legend of Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains because they were refractory and troublesome. This conflict, however, cannot refer to that with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar which occurred only during the time of the next ruler Vatsarāja of this family.

12. भण्डि-कुलात् (line 5-6) —'From the Bhaṇḍi clan.' According to the older view, first propounded by Gaurishankar Hiranand Ojha and accepted by A. S. Altekar, this Bhaṇḍi clan is to be identified with the family of Bhaṇḍi who is mentioned in the

8. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 103. 16; also *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 110-111.

9. 13. 6. 1. 1.

10. For Bhandarkar's reading *balaca*, see *IA*, 1911, p. 240; for Arab invasion, see *HK*, p. 227; *GP*, p. 117. *CII*, IV, pp. 140-141, lines 23—25. p. 144

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 154, verse 2.

Harṣacarita[12] of Bāṇa.[13] R. S. Tripathi,[14] on the other hand, equates Bhaṇḍi with Bhaṭṭi clan whose political importance may be gathered from the fact that Padminī, the mother of Pratīhāra Bāuka of Jodhpur line, belonged to it. That Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā or Central Rajputana by defeating the Bhaṭṭis is to some extent confirmed by Osia and Daulatpur inscriptions.[15] Dasharath Sharma denies the identification of Bhaṇḍi with Bhaṭṭi, because he does not consider the defeat of the Bhaṭṭis to be such a notable achievement as to be spoken of with pride by his descendant Bhoja in the face of Vatsarāja's much greater feat of carrying his arms as far as Bengal and subjugating the princes that lay between that kingdom and Gurjaratrā. He prefers Bhaṇḍi's identification with the Bhaṇḍi of *Harṣacarita*. There is, however, nothing to prove that the family of Bhaṇḍi ever wielded royal power; for, there would otherwise have been some historical evidence showing the rule of that family up to the time of Vatsarāja.

13. आद्यः पुमान् (line 6)—'The first man,' viz., Nārāyaṇa. It refers to Nāgabhaṭa I who is spoken of as the very image of *purātana muni* earlier in verse 4.

14. आन्ध्र (line 7)—The Andhra country lay between the Godavari and the Krishna.

15. सिन्धु (line 7)—Sindhu denotes the lower course of the river Indus.

16. विदर्भ-कलिङ्ग (line 7)—Vidarbha and Kalinga were the ancient designations of the modern provinces of Berar and Orissa.

17. कौमार-धामनि (line 7)—'Into the light of the fire.' The word *kumāra* is one of the names of Agni. *Kaumāra,* therefore, means 'of Agni, or belonging to Agni.' B. C. Sen[16] and Dasharath Sharma,[17] admitting a pun on the word *kaumāra* which also means

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12. Chap. V.

13. Also referred to by B. N. Puri in *GP*, p. 39, fn. 2.

14. *HK*, p. 229; also *JDL*, X, p. 28.

15. Osiā, *ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 108: Daulatpur, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 208; *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 642 ff.

16. *PIHC*, XI, pp. 141 ff.

17. *JIH*, XXII, p. 603.

'juvenile,' suggest that some of the victories were won by Nāgabhaṭa while he was a young man, acting as his father's viceroy. As the same inscription does not say even a word about Nāgabhaṭa's achievements as crown-prince while narrating the exploits of Vatsarāja, his father, the view does not seem to be convincing.

18. चक्रायुधम् (line 7)—Cakrāyudha, belonging to the Āyudha family, was the king of Kanauj. The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[18] make Nāgabhaṭa, Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla as contemporaries. Cakrāyudha also finds mention in the Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla.[19] The Khālimpur Copper-plate also seems to refer to this king in verse 6. Indrāyudha, his predecessor, was defeated by Dharmapāla of Bengal and was replaced by Cakrāyudha, his protégé, in the grand assembly at Kanauj.[20] He was later on defeated along with his overlord Dharmapāla, by Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II.

19. वङ्ग-पतिम् (line 8)—It refers to Dharmapāla,[21] the king of Bengal who reigned from A.D. 770–810.

20. आनर्त्त (line 8)—In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Ānarta is said to correspond to northern Kāṭhiāwār with its capital at Kuśasthalī, the modern Dvārakā.[22] According to another suggestion, it comprised northern Gujarāt with its capital Ānarttapura, afterwards called Ānandapura, the modern Vādnagar. References in Sanskrit literature show that Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānarta were contiguous countries, and that Anūpa lay beyond the south of Ānarta.[23] Surāṣṭra and Ānarta together formed one province under Rudradāman's minister, the Pahlava Suviśākha.[24]

21. मालव (line 8)—Mālava included both Ākara and Avanti corresponding to the eastern and western Mālava respectively. It

18. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff., verse 23.
19. *IA*, XV, pp. 304, fn. 3.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 243, verse 6.
21. *AIK*, p. 25.
22. *IA*, VII, p. 259.
23. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 344.
24. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44, line 11; also see *GP*. 45, fn. 2.

appears that Nāgabhaṭa conquered Mālava after 812 A.D. when the Surāṣṭra country was in a state of anarchy.

22. किरात (line 8)—The Kirātas were a wild tribe of the Himālayan region. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the Nepalese usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dūdh-kosī and Arun, and there is evidence to show that the Kirātas occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal.[25] Another view identifies Kirāta with Kīra mentioned in the Khālimpur Grant as having acknowledged Dharmapāla's sovereignty along with the Matsyas. According to Collins, Kirāta could only be regarded as one of the general terms for non-Āryan aborigines,[26] which is unacceptable, for Śiva is stated to have assumed the classical Divine Hunter (*Kirāta*) form.

23. तुरुष्क (line 8)—The Turuṣkas were, no doubt, the Arabs of Sindh with whom the Pratīhāras were constantly at war.

24. वत्स (line 8)--According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* Vatsa included the south-eastern division of the Middle country with its capital at Kauśāmbī.[27]

25. मत्स्य (line 8)—According to Cunningham, Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory with parts of Jaipur and Bharatpur.[28]

26. राज गिरि (line 8)—Dr. Majumdar and others have erroneously rendered Rājagiri by 'hill-forts of kings.' The main difficulty in accepting this interpretation lies in the fact that all the aforesaid kingdoms did not possess hill-forts. As a matter of fact, Rājagiri was itself the name of a hill-fort, and its seizure was necessary for Nāgabhaṭa for the defence of his empire. Fortunately, some literary sources also confirm the existence of Rājagiri. The Jaina *Prabhāvakacarita,* which mainly deals with the lives of Jaina Ācāryas, credits Āma-Nāgāvaloka, the patron of Ācārya Bappa-

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25. *Le Nepāl,* Vol. II, pp. 72—78; *IA,* XLII, p. 417.

26. *Geographical Data from the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita,* Liepzig, p. 8.

27. *IA,* XXII, referred to in *GP,* p. 45, fn. 6.

28. *Reports,* 20, p. 2.

bhaṭṭi, with the conquest of Rājagiri-durga. There is some reason to believe that Nāgabhaṭa II of this inscription had the title Nāgāvaloka, who may possibly be identified with Āma-Nāgāvaloka. Again, Al-Berunī also refers to the fortress of Rājagiri which, according to him, lay south of the mountain Kularjak, to the east of which lay the fortress Lahor, the two strongest places.[29]

27. संगतः कीर्तिदारैः (line 9)—Here the *kīrti* (fame) of the Pratīhāras is compared to Sītā, the wife of Rāma, who was abducted and kept captive by Rāvaṇa. This comparison aptly applies to the reign of Rāmabhadra during which the fame of the house was eclipsed. Rāmabhadra was a weakling who, being averse to the worldly affairs (*jagad-vitṛṣṇu*), was anxious to abdicate the overlordship of his subjects (*prajādhipatyaṁ viniyoktukāmaḥ*).[30] There was probably a rebellion of the cruel commanders of his army, which he crushed with the help of his subordinate kings.

28. मिहिराभिधानम् (line 11)—Mihira was another name of Bhoja which also occurs in the Begumrā Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva of the Gujarāt branch.[31]

29. संरुद्ध-विन्ध्य-वृद्धेर् अगस्त्यतः (line 11)—The reference is to the legend of the mountain Vindhya gradually rising so as to obstruct the daily course of the sun. When requested by the gods, the sage Agastya approached the mountain and ordered him to bow down to give him way to the south, and keep to that position till his return. Vindhya complied and, as the sage never returned, it had to remain in the same position.[32]

30. धर्मापत्य (line 12)—This refers to Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, who was a contemporary of Bhoja and was his keen rival for the lordship of Northern India. Here Bhoja is described to have churned Lakṣmī, the source of fame, out of the ocean of the hostile forces with the help of the kings of his own family, whereas in the Garuḍa Pillar inscription,[33] Devapāla is said to have humbled

29. E. Sachau, *Al-Berūnī's India*, p. 208; H. A. Phadke's articles, *NPP*, *Saṁ*. 2021, *Aṅka*, 1-2, pp. 182-83; *AOC*, Gauhati, 1965, Summaries.

30. Verse 15 of the text.

31. *IA*, XII, p. 179, verse 41.

32. *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, Chap. 104.

33. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 60 ff., verse 13.

the pride of the king of the Gurjaras, i.e., of Bhoja. This may show that the result of the conflict was not decisive as both parties claim victory.

31. वृहद्वंगान् (line 14) – Hiranand Shastri[34] read it as *vṛhad-vaṅgān*, 'the formidable Vaṅgas,' i.e., the Pālas. According to the other reading given here, the conflict may be interpreted to refer to the struggle of the Pratīhāras with the Pālas as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

32. कुमारेणेव विद्यानां...घोरान् (lines 14-15) – Kumāra Kārtikeya is said to have beaten in a war the Asuras with his army of a number of *Vidyās* (*Mātṛkās*). The allusion to Bhoja's conflict with the Asuras is not clear. Who were the Asuras in his case and from where could he gather an army of armed women are questions requiring investigation.

TRANSLATION

Line 1. Oṁ! Salutation to Viṣṇu.

Verse 1. May the swarthy body of the Enemy of Naraka (Viṣṇū) protect you,—the body which is bright like the sky that touches the orbs of the moon and the sun, which is radiant on account of its lower part being brightened by the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed, and is made reddish by the lustre of (the jewel) Kaustubha glittering on the chest.[35]

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34. *ASIR*, 1903-4, p. 285.

35. Dr. Majumdar has unnecessarily combined the two lines of this verse into a long *Karmadhāraya* compound, when both the phrases could even independently qualify the word *vapuḥ*. In the long compound, one may easily be misled to take *-bhasi* as qualifying *vakṣaḥ-sthala*. Again, his translation of the first line as: "inasmuch as it (i.e., the swarthy body) is brightened by the lower part of the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed," too, is not quite correct. How can the lower part of a bed brighten the body of a person lying on it? As a matter of fact, the serpent Śeṣa being all white, he brightents the lower part of the body. Therefore, the first line should be dissolved as *Śeṣāhi-talpena dhavalaḥ adhara-bhāgas tena bhāsi vapuḥ*, "the body being made resplendent by its lower part made white by the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed." The poet here probably wants to convey the impression of the variegated effect produced by the whiteness of the lower part of the body, redness of the upper part with the lustre of

2. As from the fresh (*vi-jaram*) seed, taken from a fruit in the garden (*ārāma*) and sown in a natural (*a-kṛtrima*) fertile (*guṇa-vati*) soil, grows a splendid shoot (*bhāsvān*)[36] having a superior root-stem (*kanda-vapuḥ*) from which spring the various (*apare*) original large trees (*mūla-pṛthavaḥ*) ; so from the imperishable particle of light (*jyotir-bījam*) evolved by the Enemy of the Demons (Viṣṇu) from his inherent felicity (*ātmārāma*) and sown by him in Nature's (*a-kṛtrime*) soil possessing the (three) *guṇas*, there was born the Sun, with his handsome figure having its roots in bliss (*śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ*), from whom sprang the other munificent kings (*kṣāmapāla-kalpadrumāḥ*) like Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha and the first Pṛthu.

3. In their race, in the family in which Viṣṇu (Krama)[37] set (his) foot, Rāma of auspicious birth was engaged in an action, terrible on account of the use of flint-arrows causing the death of Rāvaṇa, and involving the infliction of wounds, death and cremation (*samit-karmma*) with palāśa[38] faggots.

Kaustubha, and the swarthy (i.e., somewhat bluish) complexion of its side, like the colour of a rainbow. Cf. Hindī poet Bihārī's couplet:

अधर धरत हरि के परत ओठ दीठि पट जोति ।
हरित बाँस की बाँसुरी इन्द्र-धनुष रँग होति ।।

In this couplet, the rainbow-effect is produced by the reflection of the red lip and blue eyes of Kṛṣṇa on the green reed of his flute.

Further, Dr. Majumdar has also been mistaken in taking the last two lines of the verse independent of each other, but translating them as one compound. Since the word *cumbi* must qualify *vyoma*, the two lines must form one single compound; otherwise, *cumbi* would be taken to qualify *vapuḥ* which would be absurd. Moreover, Majumdar's rendering of *cumbi* by 'kissed by' in the passive is incorrect. The sky should be taken as 'kissing or touching' (*cumbin*) the orbs of the moon and the sun, and not 'kissed by' their orbs.

36. The expression is to be construed as *tataḥ śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ bhāsvān samabhavat*, where the word *bhāsvān* can refer to nothing else but 'a splendid shoot' qualified by the phrase *śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ*, *signifying* the excellent stem of the root.

37. Here Krama is a secondary name of Viṣṇu, Cf. *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma*, 22 a): ईश्वरो विक्रमी धन्वी मेधावी विक्रमः 'क्रमः' ।

38. Dr. Majumdar has translated *palāśaiḥ* as 'with demons,' the eaters of *pāla* (flesh), and construed it with the phrase *kṣata-vihati-samit-karma cakre*, 'was engaged in an action (i.e., war) with the demand involving infliction of wounds, death and setting of fire.' In the first place, the word *palāśa* being a

4. In that family, which bore the ensign of *pratihāra* (or, which held aloft the banner of the Pratīhāras), and was the haven for the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, so that, having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms resplendent with the flash of terrible weapons.

5. His brother's son, who enhanced the reputation of the family and bore the well-known name of Kakutstha, but who, on account of his (habit of) saying pleasant things with (a tinge of) irony, was popularly called Kakkuka, was a paramount king.

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Devarāja, who curbed a multitude of kings by destroying their powerful allies and thus putting an end to their free movement and (their) families, thereby performing the same momentous task as that of Indra who curbed the multitude of mountains by clipping their powerful wings and thus putting an end to their movements.

6. His son, king Vatsarāja, who was kind towards the entire world that he had subdued, and who resembled the sun in lustre, came to prominence by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the Udayagiri (the mountain of sun-rise). Of whom these riches, which were the source of great pleasure on account of the flavour of the intoxicant liquor in the form of elephant ichor, and pleasing because of their coming in the lotus-eyed women who became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like the ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the tight embraces of their lovers.

7. With strung bow as his companion, who forcibly wrested empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to overcome by

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rūḍhi word, its sense is restricted to the tree of that name or its wood which is commonly used in sacrifices and other fire-rites. It cannot, therefore, give the sense of 'a demon.' For demon, if such a word has to be coined, it should be *palāśanaḥ*, 'eater of flesh.' Secondly, *samit-karmma* here refers to cremation and not to setting of fire, which was done by Hanumān long before the Rāma-Rāvaṇa conflict. The war being compared to a sacrifice in which Rāvaṇa is treated as a sacrificial animal, the phrase should be taken to refer to him, i.e., it was on him that the 'wounds and death were inflicted, and finally, the *samit-karmma* of his body was done by a pyre of palāśa wood.

reason of the rampart of infuriated elephants. Having shouldered the responsibility (of the government), weighty on account of its renown, he, the one man amongst the most distinguished Kṣatriyas, raised (the prestige of) the race of Ikṣvāku by virtue of his good conduct and stamped it with his own name.

8. To him was born again the same primeval ancestor Nāgabhaṭa, of wide fame, and having the same name, to whose youthful splendour succumbed the kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinga as moths fall into the light of fire.

9. Desirous of promoting the virtuous deeds enjoined in the Vedas, he fixed up (the programme of) a series of religious offerings according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families, and, having conquered Cakrāyudha, whose mean demeanour was evident from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he remained humble through modesty.

10. Having vanquished the lord of Vaṅga who appeared like the formidable and thick darkness owing to the crowding of a multitude of his irresistible and hostile best elephants, horses and armoured chariots, he (Nāgabhaṭa), who alone was responsible for the prosperity of the three worlds, revealed himself just as the sun, the sole means of bringing the three worlds into light, reveals himself after vanquishing the formidable dense darkness.

11. Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible personal qualities became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of (the kingdoms) of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri.

12. (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans, full of exceedingly cruel sea-monsters, by means of a continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey-force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (thereby) got renown and his wife. (In the same manner) his (Nāgabhaṭa's) son, Rāma by name, also shone forth like this (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant

by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers and (thus) attained fame which was unto him even as a consort.

13. The lord of prosperity, who had empowered the ends of quarters by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *śama, dama, bheda*), was yet demurely waited upon by the Means (i.e., although he neglected them as unnecessary, they were at his beck and call).

14. The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

15. A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name Mihira, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship (which he exercised) over his subjects.

16. The lord, who ruled over many kings after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhoja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own powers).

17. Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakṣmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

18. The other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's son (i.e., Dharmapāla's son Devapāla), who cast out the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the chief (*kula*) mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the routed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, did not become a remarried widow (but a new wife) of that king (i.e., of Bhoja).*

* (We cannot understand how Dr. Majumdar has rendered the last word *nnayā* in which the doubling of *n* is due to the influence of the preceding *r* (of *visarga*). From his translation, 'became a fit re-married bride,' it appears

19. In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them; the preceptors, out of affection; the servants, out of devotion; the multitude of astute foes, out of policy; and mankind in general for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was a worthy recipient, as if to the Creator himself.

20. According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruit thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of a hundred kings. It is strange that through the good deeds of noble men, the wealth of those who had adverse intentions (i.e., foes) led to the prosperity of this king (i.e., Bhoja), who is the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame!*

21. Of him, who had burnt powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who has drunk a large quantity of water).

22. Like Kumāra (Kārttikeya) with his host of Mātṛkās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived exclusively upon arms.

23. *Vidhi* (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in chancery of that king, looking at (i.e., being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words, the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king).

24. Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame issu-

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that he has rendered *nayā* by 'fit,' which could only be justified if the word had been *nayāt*, meaning 'properly.' In our opinion, the word must be split into *na* and *yā*, and the sentence construed as *yā* (*Lakṣmī*) *yasya punar-bhūr nābhūt*,' "who did not become the re-married widow espoused by him," (because she was freshly churned out of the ocean of his foes she became his virgin bride.).

*It is not understandable how Dr. Majumdar has rendered *vidhurita-dhiyām* by 'whose intellect was undefiled,' and taken it to refer to *satām* (good men). *Vidhurita* does not mean 'undefiled,' it means 'adverse.' Thus, *vidhurita-dhiyām* means 'those who have adverse or hostile intentions,' i.e., foes. The sentence should be construed as यत् सतां सुकृतैर् विधुरित-धियां सम्पद् अस्याघरित-कले: कीर्त्तेर् भर्त्तुर् वृद्धिर् अभूत्, तद् अद्भुतम् ! The fruit of virtue (i.e. wealth of foes) instead of going to good men, accrued to the king.

ing out of a flood of lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the ocean.

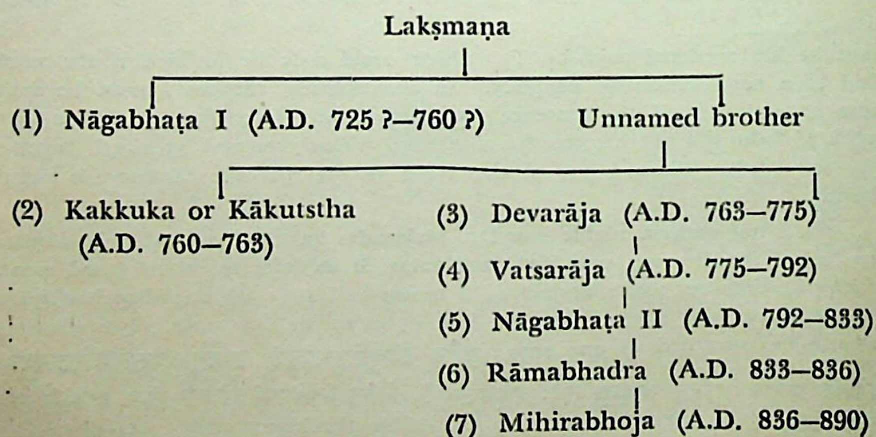
25. In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected an edifice within his seraglio, called the *Antaḥpura-pura*, for the Enemy of the demon Naraka (i.e., Viṣṇu).

26. As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power of originating from rigorous religious austerties, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work purify the world.

27. Bālāditya (is) the poet of this *praśasti* which would exist along with world up to the end of Kalpa; (he) the son of Bhaṭṭadhanneka and the fruit of penance, as it were, of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhojadeva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of the sages.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Our inscription begins with a salutation and invocation to Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Naraka, for the protection of the readers of the *praśasti*. The second verse describes the creation of the sun and refers to some important kings like Manu, Ikṣvāku, and others of the Solar Race. The next verse traces the origin of the Pratīhāra family to Lakṣmaṇa who had acted as *pratihāra* to his elder brother Rāma. The following table gives the genealogy of the family up to the time of Bhoja:



The chronology of the family can be fairly accurately fixed with the help of the other epigraphs and literary evidences. We have A.D. 756 as the date for Nāgabhaṭa I, known from the Hansoṭ plates of Bhartṛvaḍḍha,[39] his Cahamāna feudatory ruling at Broach. From the colophons of the Jaina works *Kuvalayamālā*[40] and *Harivaṁśa*,[41] we know that Vatsarāja was ruling over the western quarter and Jābālipura (*mod.*, Jalor) in the years A.D. 778 and 783 respectively. For Nāgabhaṭa II, who succeeded him, A.D. 815 is the only available date known from the Buckāla inscription from the Jodhpur region.[42] But, the Jaina work *Prabhāvakacarita* speaks of a Nāgāvaloka,[43] the king of Kanauj who died in A.D. 833. This Nāgāvaloka has rightly been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II by D. R. Bhandarkar.[44] The dates of Bhoja range from A.D. 836 to 883. The reign of the first three kings may, therefore, be fixed between A.D. 725 and 775. The remaining four kings may be taken to have ascended the throne in A.D. 775, 792, 833 and 836 respectively.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king, who played an important and conspicuous role in the political history of India from the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D., was meagre and inaccurate. Jackson,[45] Bhandarkar,[46] Hoernle,[47] Smith,[48] and others did the pioneering work, but it was the discovery of this inscription which led to the proper study of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty and finally settled the identity of the kings mentioned in the copper-plates and inscriptions who bore the same names. V. A. Smith has pointed out that "the express mention

39. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 202 ff.

40. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

41. K. B. Pathak, *IA*, XV, pp. 141—43.

42. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 199 ff.

43. *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* in *Prabhāvaka-carita*, edited by Jinavijaya Sūri in the *Singhī Jaina-grantha-mālā* Series, v. 721.

44. IA, 1911, pp. 239 ff; 1913, pp. 57 ff.

45. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, App. III.

46. *The Gurjaras*, *JBBRAS*, 1901—3, pp. 413 ff.

47. *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 639—662; 1905, pp. 1—32.

48. *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 53—76, 247—289.

of the family name of the kings in the inscriptions helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra clan."[49]

The unique importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the details of the exploits and achievements of the various kings of the family which no other record does. Thus, a new chapter in Indian history is added by the data furnished by this inscription.

The name of the founder of this dynasty was Nāgabhaṭa who is stated to have defeated the vast armies of the king of the Mlecchas and, in the manner in which this is described, shows that it was looked upon as an event of great importance in the annals of the family. As to the locality over which Nāgabhaṭa ruled, we get the information from the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*[50] and *Kuvalayamālā*[51] which describe his great-grandnephew, Vatsarāja, as the king of the western quarter and Jalor in Gurjaratrā. This view was also taken by Bhandarkar,[52] but he changed it afterwards on the discovery of the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa which contain the following verses:

हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितं ।
प्रतीहारीकृतं येन गुर्ज्जरेशादिराजकं ।।

and agreed with the earlier view of Fleet[53] in regarding Vatsarāja as the king of Avanti (Ujjayinī) in the west.

On the basis of this Dr. Majumdar concluded that there existed a Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom in Ujjayinī. This conclusion is questionable and cannot connect Vatsarāja of the *Harivaṁśa* verse,

49. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

50. The verse runs as:

शाकेष्वब्द-शतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुध-नाम्नि, कृष्ण-नृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्ति-भूभृति, नृपे श्री-वत्सराजे(S*)परां
सौर्याणामधिमण्डले जय-युते वीरे वराहे(S*)वर्ति ।।

51. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

52. *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421, fn. 4.

53. *IA*, VI, pp. 195-96.

quoted in foot-note 50, with Avanti, where Avanti is the personal name of the illustrious king of the eastern quarter, and Vatsarāja of that of the western. It may also be noted that the verse of the Sanjān Plates quoted above merely mentions Ujjayinī as the locality where the *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna* ceremony was performed, and where not only a Gurjara king, but along with him other kings (*ādi-rājakam*) were also made to act as door-keepers. The passage does not connect anyone with Ujjayinī.

The mention of the capture of the palace of a Gurjara king at Ujjayinī by Dantidurga in his Ellora inscription[54] may point to the fact that at that time the Gurjara king staying in the royal palace of Ujjayinī was probably the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa who was occupying it after repulsing the Arab attack. There is no evidence to show that after him, Ujjayinī remained under the Pratīhāra occupation till the time of Vatsarāja. The original locality of the kingdom founded by Nāgabhaṭa was, therefore, Gurjaratrā, and not Avanti.[55]

Now, to come to the most notable achievement of Nāgabhaṭa I which refers to the crushing defeat of the Mlecchas at his hands. This expedition, no doubt, refers to the same event as is recorded by Bilāduri[56] who says that the Arab general Junaid simply made incursions against Ujjain. This amounts to his tacit admission of the failure of the Arabs in capturing the city. In that encounter, Nāgabhaṭa came out as a valiant hero who saved the land from the depradations of the vandal Mlecchas, Besides this heroic exploit, he established the Pratīhāra power at Broach and also, for some time, at Western Mālava. It may be remembered that several principa-

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54. Here we may refer to Dr. Dasharatha Sharma's papers on *The Original Capital of the Pratīhāras, A Revised Study* (*BV, XVIII, pp.* 74—80, *and The word Gurjara as a Designation of the Imperial Pratīhāras and the Cālukyas and its Significance* (*Altekar Commemoration Volume, Patna*). According to Dr. Sharma, "the original home of the Imperial Pratīhāras was not Ujjayinī but Bhillamāla-Jālor area which had come to be known as Gurjara before Yuan Chwang's time. As the original inhabitants of the land, the Pratīhāras continued to be known as Gurjaras to their contemporaries, even when they had moved away from their original home and established an empire at Kanauj." (*The Origin of the Pratīhāras; A Revised Study, JIH,* XLI, No. 123, Dec. 1963, p. 757).

55. *ASWI, V.*, p. 96.

56. Elliot's *History of India,* I, p. 126.

lities of Rajasthan submitted to the Arabs, but it was Nāgabhaṭa I who succeeded in stemming their onslaught and establishing his supremacy over them.

Nothing is said about Kakkuka or Kakutstha, the elder son of the unnamed brother of Nāgabhaṭa. Devarāja, the younger brother of Kakkuka, however, is credited with having curbed the other rulers by destroying their allies and putting a stop to their free movements. This might be an allusion to some conflict of the Pratīhāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies.

Vatsarāja, who succeeded Devarāja, seems to have been a very powerful ruler. Verses 6 and 7 describe him as illustrious like the sun, and as having forcibly wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan and subdued the whole world. According to Shri Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha[57] and Dr. Altekar,[58] this Bhaṇḍi clan is to be identified with the descendants of Bhaṇḍi,[59] who was the son of the maternal uncle of Harṣavardhana. Since this view implies that the clan wielded royal power, it is difficult to accept it in the absence of authentic evidence to prove that the Bhaṇḍis continued to rule over Kanauj till the time of Vatsarāja. Tripathi,[60] on the other hand, equates Bhaṇḍi with the Bhaṭṭi clan whose political importance can be gathered from the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka.[61] It appears that Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā by defeating the Bhaṭṭis which is confirmed by the Osiā[62] and Daulatpur[63] inscriptions. Dr. Majumdar gives a different interpretation to this passage of our inscription. He says, it seems possible that Vatsarāja snatched the supreme power from the Pratīhāras of Jodhpur line who sustained serious reverses in their fight against the Arabs in contrast to the triumphant success of the Pratīhāras of Jālor.[64] This, according to his view, may have been

57. Referred to by Puri in his *The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, p. 39, fn. 2.

58. *RK*, p. 56.

59. *Harṣacarita*, Chap. V.

60. *HK*, pp. 228-229.

61. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90 ff.

62. *ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 108.

63. *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 211 ff.

64. *JDL*, X, p. 28.

loosely described as the wresting of empire by Vatsarāja from the famous Bhaṭṭi clan which lived in that region. The Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā*[65] regards Vatsarāja, who bore the proud title of *Raṇa-hastin,* as ruling in A.D. 778 at Jābālipura in Gurjaratrā, the seat of his power. According to the Jaina *Harivaṁśa,*[66] he was the ruler of the western quarter in A.D. 783 and was a contemporary of Indrāyudha of the north, and Śrīvallabha of the south. Curiously enough, our inscription does not mention Vatsarāja's conquest of Gauḍa land with which he is credited in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.[67] The Gauḍa king who he is said to have defeated is identified with the contemporary ruler Dharmapāla of Bengal.[68] This shows that Vatsarāja was ambitious of establishing an empire in Northern India, and seems to have attained a great deal of success in becoming the master of a large portion of it. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[69] describes Durlabharāja Cauhān of Śākambhari as enjoying the Gauḍa land. As his son Guvaka I is known to have been a courtier honoured at the court of Vatsarāja's son, Nāgabhaṭa II,[70] it may be reasonably presumed that Durlabharāja gained his renown in the battlefield while he accompanied his overlord Vatsarāja in his expedition against Dharmapāla, and thus having been described as the taster of Gauḍa-rasa (or Gauḍa blood).

Unfortunately, the supreme position of Vatsarāja in the North did not last long; for, we know from a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription that king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and advancing in his territory as far as Gaṅgā and Yamunā, compelled him to flee to the deserts of Rajputana.[71] This offered Dharmapāla again an opportunity to regain his lost prestige soon after the return of Dhruva from Northern India. That Dharmapāla succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over a considerable portion of Northern India is evident from the imperial Durbar held by him at Kanauj where he installed his protégé Cakrāyudha as a bulwark against the possible

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65. Vide our fns. 30 and 40 *supra.*

66. Vide our fn. 31 *supra.*

67. Wani Dindori Grant. *IA*, IX, p. 158; Rādhanapur Grant, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 238.

68. *HB,* p. 105.

69. Canto V, v. 20.

70. *Ep. Ind.,* II, pp. 110–30, verse 13.

71. IA. XI, p. 156; VI, pp. 56 ff.

Gurjara invasions,[72] after dethroning his predecessor Indrāyudha who was most probably Vatsarāja's nominal overlord.

This state of affairs did not continue for a long time, for Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II proved an equally powerful ruler. He soon embarked upon a scheme of imperial conquest in order to realize the frustrated ambition of his father.[73] The rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga are described as having fallen into his clutches like moths into the fire. According to Dr. Majumdar, "The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa, but joined him of their own accord, in the first instance, although ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these countries confirms this view."[74] Further, in Majumdar's opinion, the real significance of the verse seems to point to the formation of a confederacy of these four kingdoms by Nāgabhaṭa against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan. But, in our opinion, this interpretation appears strained. The plain significance of the simile is that these four kingdoms lost their independent existence and became extinct like the moths which lose their existence in fire. The confederacy idea is at best a conjecture.

The next verse 9 refers to Nāgabhaṭa's victory over the servile Cakrāyudha who was merely the puppet of Dharmapāla. This is followed by a war with Dharmapāla (*Vaṅga-pati*) who was Cakrāyudha's patron. Allusions to this war are found in a number of inscriptions of Nāgabhaṭa's feudatories who must have accompanied him in this expedition, and who also claim their victory over the Gauḍa king.[74a]

Our inscription completely ignores the defeat suffered by Nāgabhaṭa II at the hands of Govinda III.[75] This was perhaps due to the fact that this discomfiture might have occurred in the earlier part

72. Cf. Khālimpur Copper-plates, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 243 ff., verse 6; Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, XV, p. 304.

73. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 104.

74. Jodhpur Insc. of Bāuka, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90ff.; Unā Plates of Avanivarman, *ibid.*, IX, pp. 4 f. and f.; Chetsu Insv. of Bālāditya, *ibid.*, XII, pp. 10ff.

75. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff.; Radhanpur Plates, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 242 ff.; Pathari Pillar Insc., *ibid.*, IX, pp. 248 ff.

of Nāgabhaṭa's reign and remained indecisive so as not to affect his position in the North very much. This is evident from his quick recovery and the ease with which he defeated Cakrāyudha and his patron Dharmapāla.

Under these circumstances, it appears reasonable to believe that after inflicting defeat on Cakrāyudha and Vaṅga-pati, Nāgabhaṭa transferred his capital to Kanauj; for, his successors are definitely known to have ruled from there. This inference may also be legitimately drawn from Baraha Copper-plates[76] and the *Prabhāvaka-carita*.

The next achievement of Nāgabhaṭa as described in verse 11 is the forcible seizure of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri. According to Dr. Phadke,[77] *Rāja-giri-durga* was an independent fort, and does not mean 'hill-forts of the kings;' for, none of the kings of these countries possessed a hill-fort. The capture of the Rājagiri fort was necessary for Nāgabhaṭa for the defence of his empire. The existence of a hill-fort of that name is vouched by *Prabhāvakacarita* and the Arab writer Al-Beruni.

Very little is known about Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II. From verses 12 to 14, it seems that the fame and glory of the house was eclipsed during his reign. He was averse to worldly affairs and was anxious to abdicate the lordship of his subjects in favour of his son. The inscription seems to allude to a rebellion of the cruel commanders of his army, which he crushed with the help of his subordinate king. This state of affairs is also reflected in the Daulatpur Plate[78] renewing the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā by Bhoja, which fell into abeyance during the time of Rāmabhadra. The Damoh Copper-plates[79] also point to a similar state of affairs.

Rāmabhadra's son Bhoja, who succeeded him, was a very powerful ruler whose achievements are described in the following nine verses. A clear indication to the Pratīhāra-Pāla struggle may be seen in verse 18 in which the goddess of Fortune of Dharma's son (Devapāla) is said to have become the spouse of Bhoja. The

76. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 15 ff.

77. *Vide*, No. 26 under NOTES, also fn. 19. *supra*.

Garuḍa Pillar inscription, on the other hand, credits Devapāla with having humbled the pride of the Gurjaras (i.e., Bhoja). As both the parties claim victory, the conflict therefore must have remained undecided. If the reading *bṛhad-vaṅgān* of Hiranand Shastri instead of *bṛhad-vaṁśān* in the first half of verse 21 were accepted then it would mean that Bhoja came in clash with the formidable Vaṅgas and burnt them in the fire of his anger.

After alluding to the Pratīhāra glory under Bhoja, the inscription concludes by saying that the king, Bhoja, erected the edifice called *Antaḥpura-pura* in his seraglio for the Enemy of Naraka.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. ABORI—Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.
2. AIK—Age of Imperial Kanauj.
3. AOC—All India Oriental Conference.
4. ASIR—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
5. ASWI—Archaeological Survey of Western India.
6. Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.
7. BV—Bhāratīya Vidyā.
8. CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
9. Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
10. GP—The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, B. N. Puri.
11. HB—History of Bengal, R. C. Majumdar.
21. HK—History of Kanauj, R. S. Tripathi.
13. IA—Indian Antiquary.
14. JBBRAS—Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
15. JDL—Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
16. JIH—Journal of Indian History.
17. JRAS—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Gr. Brit. and Ireland.
18. NPP—Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Varanasi.
19. RK—Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, A. S. Altekar.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF VĀKĀṬAKA DEVASENA

By DR. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI*

The Hisse-Borala[1] inscription of king Devasena of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas countries one of the most important epigraphical discoveries of recent years. This is the sixth epigraphic record of the Vākāṭakas of the Vatsagulma branch discovered so far[2] and the only known complete inscription of Devasena himself.[3] Its importance lies mainly in the fact that this is the only dated record of the Vākāṭakas found so far, all the other inscriptions being dated in the regnal years of individual kings. The Vākāṭaka chronology was so far fixed tentatively on the basis of the synchronism between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas established by the Poona[4] and Riddhapur[5] plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the dowager queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. By furnishing a definite date in a well-known era for Vākāṭaka ruler, the present record enables us to ascertain the dates of other members of the dynasty more precisely. The date supplied by this inscription may, therefore, be regarded as the sheet-anchor of Vākāṭaka chronology. A short epigraph of just four lines, it registers the construction of a lake, named Sudarśana, by one *Āryya* Swāmilladeva, an obedient servant (*ājñākara*) of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena (in (*Śaka*) 380, corresponding to 457-58 A.D.

The inscription was first brought to light by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale.[6] But the credit of satisfactorily interpreting the

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2.. Other known records of the Vatsagulma (Washim) branch are the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, the India Office Plate of Devasena, the Ajanta and Ghaṭotkaca Cave inscriptions of Varāhadeva and an inscription of a feudatory of this branch in Cave XVII at Ajanta. Vide V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII*, V, pp. 93 ff.

3. The only other known record of Devasena, the India Office Plate (*ibid.*, p. 101), is incomplete.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I (January 1967), pp. 1–4.

record, particularly its initial portion, is due to Dr. V. B. Kolte who has edited it independently.[7] The initial portion of the epigraph containing the date has also been studied by Dr. G. S. Gai and Shri S. Sankaranarayanan.[8] There is a considerable divergence of opinion as regards the interpretation of the date portion of the record, and it is proposed here to discuss the question at some length.

That the initial portion contains the date, viz., (Śaka) 380, is admitted on all hands. But as regards its reading and interpretation, divergent views are held by scholars. This is, in a large measure, due to the damage the inscribed stone has suffered at this place. Dr. Gokhale reads this portion as *Sidhaṁ tasya vṛttasya vrā* 20 *Sapta* [*Ṛṣayuttarāsuvaccha*]. .*bda-Śak*[*ā*]*nā*[*ṁ*] 380[9] and proposes to restore the two letters preceding *bda* as *gata* so that the lake was constructed in Śaka 380 expired.[10] But beyond that she finds it 'difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading.'

Dr. Kolte reads the passage under review as [*madhyaga**] *tasya* (*vri*)*ttasya vṛi* (or *dhru*) 20 *Saptarṣaya Uttarās-ū*[*pari a* (or *sha*) *] *ṣhṭy=aṁśak*—one 300 80. He divides the passage into two parts, the first part ending with 20. He points out the astronomical importance of Vatsagulma which is just 10 kms. from Hisse-Borala, the provenance of the record, and was, according to astronomical texts like Bhāsakarācārya's *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, Śrīpati's *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā* and the local *sthalapurāṇa, Vatsagulma-māhātmya*, situated on the *madhyama-rekhā* (also called *Laṅkā-rekhā*) or the central meridian joining the Northern and Southern Poles. He renders the portion by "at the 20th circle (latitude) on the central meridian" and takes it as an astronomical reference to the find-spot of the inscription, Hisse-Borala, which is exactly at the 20th latitude on the ancient central meridian passing through Vatsagulma.[11]

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7. In the *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372—87, and the *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣiha* (Marathi) for 1964, pp. 137—56.

8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I, pp. 5—8.

9. *EI.*, XXXXV, p. 3.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3 fn. 7.

11. In case the reading *dhru* is preferred, it would mean that the provenance of the record was at an angle of 20 on the first meridian, on the 20th latitude. The conclusion would thus remain unaffected. Vide *Mirashi Volume*, pp. 380-81.

Dr. Kolte takes the second half of the passage to contain the date of the construction of the Sudarśana lake with reference to the position of the Saptarṣis or the constellation of the Ursa Major. According to Varāhamihira, the Saptarṣis were in the Maghā nakṣatra when king Yudhishthira ruled the earth, his period being removed from the Śaka-kāla by 2526 years, and the Seven Sages stay in each nakṣatra for 100 years.[12] Following this statement, the Saptarṣis were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra during Śaka 374–474 wherein falls the date of the record, viz., Śaka 380. Dr. Kolte thinks that the date is specified even more precisely and takes his reading *aṣṭy=aṁśak–one* or *ṣaṣṭhy=aṁśak–one* to mean that the Saptarṣis had passed through 1/16th part of the asterism Uttarā or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees, i.e., they must have been in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra for six years beginning from Śaka 374 which gives the date Śaka 380 as specified in figures separately.[13]

Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan accept Dr. Kolte's view that the passage specifies the date in astronomical terms by referring to the position of the Saptarṣis in Uttarā-Phālgunī, but they differ from his reading and interpretation in several other respects. Rejecting the suggestion that there is an astronomical reference to the provenance of the record, they propose to read the passage as *Siddham* [*Dharmas**] *utasya vri(vri)ttasya* 3000 20 *Sapta=Rṣaya Uttarāsu Phā*[*lgunī**]*ṣu Śakān*[*āṁ*] 380. The passage thus refers to the Yudhishthira (Dharmasuta) year 3020 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380. But as according to the commonly accepted interpretation of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3-4, Śaka 380 would correspond to the Yudhishthira year 2906, and not to 3020 as desired by them to suit their own interpretation, they take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi* of the relevant stanza of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* to mean 2512 (instead of 2526 as commonly understood) and understand the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.[14] And as even according to this interpreta-

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12. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च॥
एकैकस्मिनृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्। *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XIII. 3-4.

13. The same date can also be arrived at according to the formula given by Utpala for finding out the nakṣatra where in the Seven Sages are in a certain year. Vide *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 383 and note 28 on p. 386.

14. Instead of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D.

tion the Yudhishthira year for Śaka 380 would be 3027, they separate the word *sapta* from the following *ṛṣaya* and take the former as forming part of the date, i.e., 3027, which would regularly correspond to the Śālivāhana-Śāka year 380, as stated in the record. But in the Yudhishthira year 3027 the Seven Sages were, according to Varāhamihira, in the Hasta nakṣatra, and not in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the record. They account for this discrepancy on the supposition that the author of the inscription followed the *Purāṇic* tradition according to which the Seven Sages were in Maghā when Parīkṣit, Yudhishthira's grandson, ascended the throne after Yudhishthira's rule lasting 36 years. Deducting 36 years of Yudhishthira's rule from the Yudhishthira year 3027, we get the Parīkṣit year 2991 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the epigraph. The relevant passage may consequently be rendered as follows:— "(*In the year*) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (i.e. *Yudhishthira*) when the Sages were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī (*and in the year*) 380 of the (*Sālivāhana*) *Śakas*."

However, the reading and interpretation suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan do not carry conviction. First, as regards the reading. Whether we restore the three missing *akṣaras* preceding *tasya* as *madhyaga* (Kolte) or as *Dharmasu* (Gai–Sankaranarayanan) is a matter of pure conjecture as the relevant portion is irreparably damaged. In such cases the only scientific criterion to dictate the choice of one reading in preference to the other must be its capability to yield a satisfactory interpretation. But as will be shown in the sequel, the reading proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan not only does not admit of a satisfactory interpretation but lands them in insurmountable difficulties involving several unwarranted suppositions one after another. Their reading of the symbol preceding 20 as 3000 is not borne out by the evidence cited by them. The only argument they adduce in support of their reading is that the same symbol occurs for 3000 in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta.[15] But a glance at the facsimile of the Nasik inscription in question[16] will suffice to convince anyone that there is a world of difference between the sign for 3000 and the symbol in the present inscription. It must be noted in this connection that the symbol for 3000 in the Nasik inscription (or for that matter anywhere else) does not show any curve at the lower end

15. *EI*, VIII, p. 82, No. 12.
16. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, No. 12, facing p. 82.

of the vertical[17] as does the symbol in our inscription. It should also be pointed out in the present context that the same Nasik inscription also contains the symbols for 1000, 2000, 8000 and 70000; but in all these cases the vertical of the basic sign for 1000 is almost straight.[18] Then again a hook-like stroke appended to the right of the vertical found in the present inscription cannot be accounted for if it is taken to stand for 3000.[19] Thus the symbol in question cannot be read as 3000. Originally, I was myself somewhat uncertain about Dr. Kolte's reading *-śakone* of the three letters followed by the date 300 (+) 80. But a close personal examination of a photograph in Dr. Kolte's possession left absolutely no doubt about the correctness of his reading. An examination of the accompanying reproduction of the relevant portion will reveal that the horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the consonant denoting medial *ā* and the *anusvāra* are conspicuously absent, thereby rendering the reading of the last *akṣara* in question as *nāṁ* impossible. On the other hand, the top-stroke attached to the left of *n* is clearly visible, so that the letter has got to be read only as *ne*. Likewise, the slight downward curves of the sign for medial *o* attached to the preceding *akṣara*, are also clear,[20] thereby proving the correctness of the reading *ko*. There is no doubt about the reading of the previous letter, *śa*. And once the reading—*śakone* is accepted as correct, the restoration of the preceding two *akṣaras* as *a* (or *ṣa*) *ṣṭhyaṁ*—as suggested by Dr. Kolte would also appear to be very probable, if not quite certain. At least, it satisfies the test of a reasonable interpretation, as shown by Dr. Kolte in his abovementioned paper.

The improbability of the reading 3,000 proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan having been demonstrated, the untenability of their interpretation based thereon becomes quite obvious. And even if we accept, for the sake of argument, their reading to be

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17. *Ibid.* Also see Bühler, *Indian Palaeography,* (Calcutta, 1959), Pl. IX, Column IV.

18. *Ibid.*, Pl. IX; *EI,* VIII, Pl. V, No. 12 facing p. 82.

19. A comparison with the stroke for the medial *ā* repeatedly found in the present inscription would show that the rather bold horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the symbol under study is an irregular stroke. Alternatively, it may be regarded as a crack.

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correct, the following discussion would reveal the highly unconvincing character of the interpretation suggested by them. It sets at naught some well-established traditional interpretation and involves distortion of well-known facts. The main planks of their theory are as follows:—(i) the use of the Yudhishthira era, (ii) *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512, (iii) *Śaka-kāla*=Vīkrama Saṁvat, (iv) date partly in figures and partly in words, and (v) the reference to the position of the Seven Sages according to the *Purāṇas.* Let us examine these points *seriatum.*

I. *The Use of the Yudhishthira Era*

The learned scholars favour the Yudhishthira era because the 3020th year of the Kali era commencing in 3102 B.C. does not correspond to Śaka 380,[21] the date of the inscription. It must be pointed out in this connection that the Yudhishthira era is not mentioned so early as that either in litertaure or inscriptions. Whether such an era was actually prevalent may justly be doubted. Even Varāhamihira does not refer to any reckoning started by or counted from the time of Yudhishthira. What he does is just to indicate the time of Yudhishthira by mentioning the interval between his rule and the commencement of the *Śaka-kāla.* Consequently, the employment of the Yudhishthira era is not very likely in so early an inscription as the present one.

II. *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512

Bhaṭṭa Utpala takes the expression, *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ,*[22] in the sense of 2526 (*sahasra-dvayena pañcabhiḥ sahitaiḥ ṣaḍ-viṁśatya-adhikaiḥ*), and this interpretation is generally accepted by scholars. But as shown above, this interpretation does not suit Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan and, therefore, they take this expression to mean 2512. The only evidence they adduce in support of their argument is that Varāhamihira employs the *ka-ending* numerals to denote multiples. Accordingly, *ṣaḍ-dvika*=6×2=12. But this is only partially correct. There is no gainsaying the fact that in Varahamihira's writings we often come across the use of *ka*-ending numerals in the sense of multiples. But it is equally true that there are several examples where numbers ending in *ka* are employed in

21. Śaka 380=Kali 3101+78+380=3559.

22. Occurring in *Bṛhat-saṁhitā,* xiii. 3, cited above.

the ordinary sense. E.g., *lavaṇoda-ṣaṭka*=64 (not 4×6=24),[23] *tri-dvika*=23 (not 3×2=6),[24] *sapt-āṣṭaka*=87 (not 7×8=56),[25] *aṣṭa-navaka*=98 (not 8×9=72),[26] *ṣaṭka-pañcaka*=56 (not 6×5)=30).[27] Thus it is not necessary to take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* to mean 2512 just to suit the improbable reading, 3000, suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan. Moreover, the above interpretation of Bhaṭṭa Utpala finds support from a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa[28] quotes *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3, and states that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished after 653 years of Kali had elapsed.[29] According to this statement, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas (including of course Yudhishthira) flourished in 3101 B.C. (Kali beginning)−653=2448 B.C. There is no doubt that the statement of Kalhaṇa is based on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* verse under consideration. Unless *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* is taken to denote 2526, this stanza cannot be reconciled with Kalhaṇa's statement.[30] If it is taken in the sense of 2512, as suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan, Yudhishthira (and the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas will have to be placed in 2434 B.C. (2512−78=2434). Therefore, the expression under review cannot be taken to mean anything else than 2526.

III. *Śaka-kāla=Vikrama Saṁvat*

The word *Śaka-kāla* is generally taken to denote the well-known Śālivāhana-Śaka era with 78 A.D. as its epoch.[31] But as this meaning cannot be reconciled with the imaginary reading *Dharmasutasya*

23. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ii. 12.
24. *Ibid.*, iv. 30.
25. *Ibid.*, viii. 1.
26. *Ibid.*, viii. 4.
27. *Ibid.*, viii. 8.
28. i. 56.
29. शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः॥
Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 51.
30. 2526−78=2448 B.C.
31. According to some scholars, *Śaka-kāla* denotes a reckoning instituted by the Achaemenian king Cyrus the Great or counted from the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. But these views are mere figments of imagination. Vide Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Studies in the Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, pp. 8–10.

4. In that family, which bore the ensign of *pratihāra* (or, which held aloft the banner of the Pratīhāras), and was the haven for the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, so that, having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms resplendent with the flash of terrible weapons.

5. His brother's son, who enhanced the reputation of the family and bore the well-known name of Kakutstha, but who, on account of his (habit of) saying pleasant things with (a tinge of) irony, was popularly called Kakkuka, was a paramount king.

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Devarāja, who curbed a multitude of kings by destroying their powerful allies and thus putting an end to their free movement and (their) families, thereby performing the same momentous task as that of Indra who curbed the multitude of mountains by clipping their powerful wings and thus putting an end to their movements.

6. His son, king Vatsarāja, who was kind towards the entire world that he had subdued, and who resembled the sun in lustre, came to prominence by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the Udayagiri (the mountain of sun-rise). Of whom these riches, which were the source of great pleasure on account of the flavour of the intoxicant liquor in the form of elephant ichor, and pleasing because of their coming in the lotus-eyed women who became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like the ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the tight embraces of their lovers.

7. With strung bow as his companion, who forcibly wrested empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to overcome by

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rūḍhi word, its sense is restricted to the tree of that name or its wood which is commonly used in sacrifices and other fire-rites. It cannot, therefore, give the sense of 'a demon.' For demon, if such a word has to be coined, it should be *palāśanaḥ*, 'eater of flesh.' Secondly, *samit-karmma* here refers to cremation and not to setting of fire, which was done by Hanumān long before the Rāma-Rāvaṇa conflict. The war being compared to a sacrifice in which Rāvaṇa is treated as a sacrificial animal, the phrase should be taken to refer to him, i.e., it was on him that the 'wounds and death were inflicted, and finally, the *samit-karmma* of his body was done by a pyre of palāśa wood.

reason of the rampart of infuriated elephants. Having shouldered the responsibility (of the government), weighty on account of its renown, he, the one man amongst the most distinguished Kṣatriyas, raised (the prestige of) the race of Ikṣvāku by virtue of his good conduct and stamped it with his own name.

8. To him was born again the same primeval ancestor Nāgabhaṭa, of wide fame, and having the same name, to whose youthful splendour succumbed the kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinga as moths fall into the light of fire.

9. Desirous of promoting the virtuous deeds enjoined in the Vedas, he fixed up (the programme of) a series of religious offerings according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families, and, having conquered Cakrāyudha, whose mean demeanour was evident from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he remained humble through modesty.

10. Having vanquished the lord of Vaṅga who appeared like the formidable and thick darkness owing to the crowding of a multitude of his irresistible and hostile best elephants, horses and armoured chariots, he (Nāgabhaṭa), who alone was responsible for the prosperity of the three worlds, revealed himself just as the sun, the sole means of bringing the three worlds into light, reveals himself after vanquishing the formidable dense darkness.

11. Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible personal qualities became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of (the kingdoms) of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri.

12. (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans, full of exceedingly cruel sea-monsters, by means of a continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey-force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (thereby) got renown and his wife. (In the same manner) his (Nāgabhaṭa's) son, Rāma by name, also shone forth like this (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant

F. 5

by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers and (thus) attained fame which was unto him even as a consort.

13. The lord of prosperity, who had empowered the ends of quarters by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *śama, dama, bheda*), was yet demurely waited upon by the Means (i.e., although he neglected them as unnecessary, they were at his beck and call).

14. The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

15. A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name Mihira, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship (which he exercised) over his subjects.

16. The lord, who ruled over many kings after having over-come them, and (being therefore) known as Bhoja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own powers).

17. Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakṣmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

18. The other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's son (i.e., Dharmapāla's son Devapāla), who cast out the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the chief (*kula*) mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the routed ene-mies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, did not become a remarried widow (but a new wife) of that king (i.e., of Bhoja).*

* (We cannot understand how Dr. Majumdar has rendered the last word *nnayā* in which the doubling of *n* is due to the influence of the preceding *r* (of *visarga*). From his translation, 'became a fit re-married bride,' it appears

19. In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them; the preceptors, out of affection; the servants, out of devotion; the multitude of astute foes, out of policy; and mankind in general for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was a worthy recipient, as if to the Creator himself.

20. According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruit thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of a hundred kings. It is strange that through the good deeds of noble men, the wealth of those who had adverse intentions (i.e., foes) led to the prosperity of this king (i.e., Bhoja), who is the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame!*

21. Of him, who had burnt powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who has drunk a large quantity of water).

22. Like Kumāra (Kārttikeya) with his host of Mātṛkās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived exclusively upon arms.

23. *Vidhi* (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in chancery of that king, looking at (i.e., being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words, the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king).

24. Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame issu-

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that he has rendered *nayā* by 'fit,' which could only be justified if the word had been *nayāt,* meaning 'properly.' In our opinion, the word must be split into *na* and *yā,* and the sentence construed as *yā* (*Lakṣmī*) *yasya punar-bhūr nābhūt,*' "who did not become the re-married widow espoused by him," (because she was freshly churned out of the ocean of his foes she became his virgin bride.).

*It is not understandable how Dr. Majumdar has rendered *vidhurita-dhiyām* by 'whose intellect was undefiled,' and taken it to refer to *satām* (good men). *Vidhurita* does not mean 'undefiled,' it means 'adverse.' Thus, *vidhurita-dhiyām* means 'those who have adverse or hostile intentions,' i.e., foes. The sentence should be construed as यत् सतां सुकृतैर् विधुरित-धियां सम्पद् अस्याघरित-कले. कीर्त्तेर् भर्त्तुर् वृद्धिर् अभूत्, तद् अद्भुतम् ! The fruit of virtue (i.e. wealth of foes) instead of going to good men, accrued to the king.

ing out of a flood of lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the ocean.

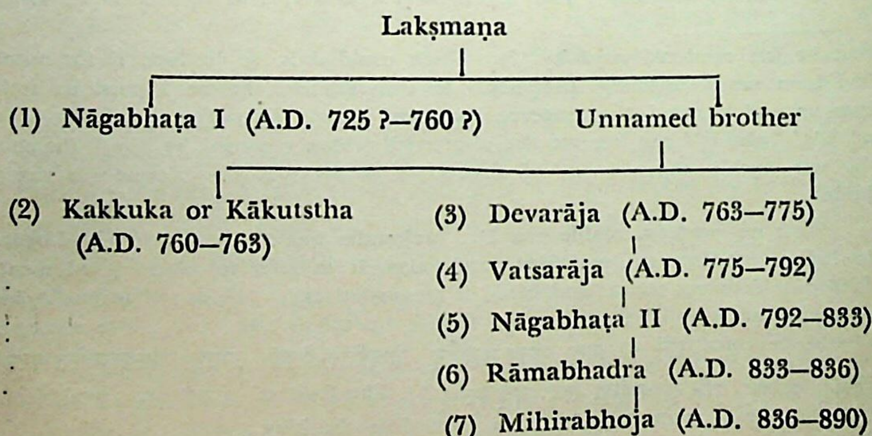
25. In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected an edifice within his seraglio, called the *Antaḥpura-pura*, for the Enemy of the demon Naraka (i.e., Viṣṇu).

26. As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power of originating from rigorous religious austerties, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work purify the world.

27. Bālāditya (is) the poet of this *praśasti* which would exist along with world up to the end of Kalpa; (he) the son of Bhaṭṭadhanneka and the fruit of penance, as it were, of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhojadeva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of the sages.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Our inscription begins with a salutation and invocation to Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Naraka, for the protection of the readers of the *praśasti*. The second verse describes the creation of the sun and refers to some important kings like Manu, Ikṣvāku, and others of the Solar Race. The next verse traces the origin of the Pratīhāra family to Lakṣmaṇa who had acted as *pratihāra* to his elder brother Rāma. The following table gives the genealogy of the family up to the time of Bhoja:



The chronology of the family can be fairly accurately fixed with the help of the other epigraphs and literary evidences. We have A.D. 756 as the date for Nāgabhaṭa I, known from the Hansoṭ plates of Bhartṛvaḍḍha,[39] his Cahamāna feudatory ruling at Broach. From the colophons of the Jaina works *Kuvalayamālā*[40] and *Harivaṁśa*,[41] we know that Vatsarāja was ruling over the western quarter and Jābālipura (*mod.*, Jalor) in the years A.D. 778 and 783 respectively. For Nāgabhaṭa II, who succeeded him, A.D. 815 is the only available date known from the Buckāla inscription from the Jodhpur region.[42] But, the Jaina work *Prabhāvakacarita* speaks of a Nāgāvaloka,[43] the king of Kanauj who died in A.D. 833. This Nāgāvaloka has rightly been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II by D. R. Bhandarkar.[44] The dates of Bhoja range from A.D. 836 to 883. The reign of the first three kings may, therefore, be fixed between A.D. 725 and 775. The remaining four kings may be taken to have ascended the throne in A.D. 775, 792, 833 and 836 respectively.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king, who played an important and conspicuous role in the political history of India from the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D., was meagre and inaccurate. Jackson,[45] Bhandarkar,[46] Hoernle,[47] Smith,[48] and others did the pioneering work, but it was the discovery of this inscription which led to the proper study of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty and finally settled the identity of the kings mentioned in the copper-plates and inscriptions who bore the same names. V. A. Smith has pointed out that "the express mention

39. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 202 ff.

40. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

41. K. B. Pathak, *IA*, XV, pp. 141—43.

42. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 199 ff.

43. *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* in *Prabhāvaka-carita*, edited by Jinavijaya Sūri in the *Singhī Jaina-grantha-mālā* Series, v. 721.

44. IA, 1911, pp. 239 ff; 1913, pp. 57 ff.

45. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, App. III.

46. *The Gurjaras*, *JBBRAS*, 1901—3, pp. 413 ff.

47. *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 639—662; 1905, pp. 1—32.

48. *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 53—76, 247—289.

of the family name of the kings in the inscriptions helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra clan."[49]

The unique importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the details of the exploits and achievements of the various kings of the family which no other record does. Thus, a new chapter in Indian history is added by the data furnished by this inscription.

The name of the founder of this dynasty was Nāgabhaṭa who is stated to have defeated the vast armies of the king of the Mlecchas and, in the manner in which this is described, shows that it was looked upon as an event of great importance in the annals of the family. As to the locality over which Nāgabhaṭa ruled, we get the information from the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*[50] and *Kuvalayamālā*[51] which describe his great-grandnephew, Vatsarāja, as the king of the western quarter and Jalor in Gurjaratrā. This view was also taken by Bhandarkar,[52] but he changed it afterwards on the discovery of the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa which contain the following verses:

हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितं ।
प्रतीहारीकृतं येन गुर्ज्जरेशादिराजकं ।।

and agreed with the earlier view of Fleet[53] in regarding Vatsarāja as the king of Avanti (Ujjayinī) in the west.

On the basis of this Dr. Majumdar concluded that there existed a Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom in Ujjayinī. This conclusion is questionable and cannot connect Vatsarāja of the *Harivaṁśa* verse,

49. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

50. The verse runs as:

शाकेष्वब्द-शतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुध-नाम्नि, कृष्ण-नृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्ति-भूभृति, नृपे श्री-वत्सराजे(s*)परां
सौर्याणामधिमण्डले जय-युते वीरे वराहे(s*)वनि ।।

51. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

52. *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421, fn. 4.

53. *IA*, VI, pp. 195-96.

quoted in foot-note 50, with Avanti, where Avanti is the personal name of the illustrious king of the eastern quarter, and Vatsarāja of that of the western. It may also be noted that the verse of the Sanjān Plates quoted above merely mentions Ujjayinī as the locality where the *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna* ceremony was performed, and where not only a Gurjara king, but along with him other kings (*ādi-rājakam*) were also made to act as door-keepers. The passage does not connect anyone with Ujjayinī.

The mention of the capture of the palace of a Gurjara king at Ujjayinī by Dantidurga in his Ellora inscription[54] may point to the fact that at that time the Gurjara king staying in the royal palace of Ujjayinī was probably the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa who was occupying it after repulsing the Arab attack. There is no evidence to show that after him, Ujjayinī remained under the Pratīhāra occupation till the time of Vatsarāja. The original locality of the kingdom founded by Nāgabhaṭa was, therefore, Gurjaratrā, and not Avanti.[55]

Now, to come to the most notable achievement of Nāgabhaṭa I which refers to the crushing defeat of the Mlecchas at his hands. This expedition, no doubt, refers to the same event as is recorded by Bilāduri[56] who says that the Arab general Junaid simply made incursions against Ujjain. This amounts to his tacit admission of the failure of the Arabs in capturing the city. In that encounter, Nāgabhaṭa came out as a valiant hero who saved the land from the depradations of the vandal Mlecchas, Besides this heroic exploit, he established the Pratīhāra power at Broach and also, for some time, at Western Mālava. It may be remembered that several principa-

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54. Here we may refer to Dr. Dasharatha Sharma's papers on *The Original Capital of the Pratīhāras, A Revised Study* (*BV, XVIII, pp. 74—80, and The word Gurjara as a Designation of the Imperial Pratīhāras and the Cālukyas and its Significance* (*Altekar Commemoration Volume, Patna*). According to Dr. Sharma, "the original home of the Imperial Pratīhāras was not Ujjayinī but Bhillamāla-Jālor area which had come to be known as Gurjara before Yuan Chwang's time. As the original inhabitants of the land, the Pratīhāras continued to be known as Gurjaras to their contemporaries, even when they had moved away from their original home and established an empire at Kanauj." (*The Origin of the Pratīhāras; A Revised Study, JIH,* XLI, No. 123, Dec. 1963, p. 757).

55. *ASWI, V.*, p. 96.

56. Elliot's *History of India*, I, p. 126.

lities of Rajasthan submitted to the Arabs, but it was Nāgabhaṭa I who succeeded in stemming their onslaught and establishing his supremacy over them.

Nothing is said about Kakkuka or Kakutstha, the elder son of the unnamed brother of Nāgabhaṭa. Devarāja, the younger brother of Kakkuka, however, is credited with having curbed the other rulers by destroying their allies and putting a stop to their free movements. This might be an allusion to some conflict of the Pratīhāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies.

Vatsarāja, who succeeded Devarāja, seems to have been a very powerful ruler. Verses 6 and 7 describe him as illustrious like the sun, and as having forcibly wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan and subdued the whole world. According to Shri Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha[57] and Dr. Altekar,[58] this Bhaṇḍi clan is to be identified with the descendants of Bhaṇḍi,[59] who was the son of the maternal uncle of Harṣavardhana. Since this view implies that the clan wielded royal power, it is difficult to accept it in the absence of authentic evidence to prove that the Bhaṇḍis continued to rule over Kanauj till the time of Vatsarāja. Tripathi,[60] on the other hand, equates Bhaṇḍi with the Bhaṭṭi clan whose political importance can be gathered from the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka.[61] It appears that Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā by defeating the Bhaṭṭis which is confirmed by the Osiā[62] and Daulatpur[63] inscriptions. Dr. Majumdar gives a different interpretation to this passage of our inscription. He says, it seems possible that Vatsarāja snatched the supreme power from the Pratīhāras of Jodhpur line who sustained serious reverses in their fight against the Arabs in contrast to the triumphant success of the Pratīhāras of Jālor.[64] This, according to his view, may have been

57. Referred to by Puri in his *The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, p. 39, fn. 2.

58. *RK*, p. 56.

59. *Harṣacarita*, Chap. V.

60. *HK*, pp. 228-229.

61. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90 ff.

62. *ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 108.

63. *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 211 ff.

64. *JDL*, X, p. 28.

loosely described as the wresting of empire by Vatsarāja from the famous Bhaṭṭi clan which lived in that region. The Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā*[65] regards Vatsarāja, who bore the proud title of *Raṇa-hastin,* as ruling in A.D. 778 at Jābālipura in Gurjaratrā, the seat of his power. According to the Jaina *Harivaṁśa,*[66] he was the ruler of the western quarter in A.D. 783 and was a contemporary of Indrāyudha of the north, and Śrīvallabha of the south. Curiously enough, our inscription does not mention Vatsarāja's conquest of Gauḍa land with which he is credited in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.[67] The Gauḍa king who he is said to have defeated is identified with the contemporary ruler Dharmapāla of Bengal.[68] This shows that Vatsarāja was ambitious of establishing an empire in Northern India, and seems to have attained a great deal of success in becoming the master of a large portion of it. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[69] describes Durlabharāja Cauhān of Śākambhari as enjoying the Gauḍa land. As his son Guvaka I is known to have been a courtier honoured at the court of Vatsarāja's son, Nāgabhaṭa II,[70] it may be reasonably presumed that Durlabharāja gained his renown in the battlefield while he accompanied his overlord Vatsarāja in his expedition against Dharmapāla, and thus having been described as the taster of Gauḍa-rasa (or Gauḍa blood).

Unfortunately, the supreme position of Vatsarāja in the North did not last long; for, we know from a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription that king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and advancing in his territory as far as Gaṅgā and Yamunā, compelled him to flee to the deserts of Rajputana.[71] This offered Dharmapāla again an opportunity to regain his lost prestige soon after the return of Dhruva from Northern India. That Dharmapāla succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over a considerable portion of Northern India is evident from the imperial Durbar held by him at Kanauj where he installed his protégé Cakrāyudha as a bulwark against the possible

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65. Vide our fns. 30 and 40 *supra.*

66. Vide our fn. 31 *supra.*

67. Wani Dindori Grant. *IA*, IX, p. 158; Rādhanapur Grant, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 238.

68. *HB*, p. 105.

69. Canto V, v. 20.

70. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 110–30, verse 13.

71. IA. XI, p. 156; VI, pp. 56 ff.

Gurjara invasions,[72] after dethroning his predecessor Indrāyudha who was most probably Vatsarāja's nominal overlord.

This state of affairs did not continue for a long time, for Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II proved an equally powerful ruler. He soon embarked upon a scheme of imperial conquest in order to realize the frustrated ambition of his father.[73] The rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga are described as having fallen into his clutches like moths into the fire. According to Dr. Majumdar, "The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa, but joined him of their own accord, in the first instance, although ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these countries confirms this view."[74] Further, in Majumdar's opinion, the real significance of the verse seems to point to the formation of a confederacy of these four kingdoms by Nāgabhaṭa against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan. But, in our opinion, this interpretation appears strained. The plain significance of the simile is that these four kingdoms lost their independent existence and became extinct like the moths which lose their existence in fire. The confederacy idea is at best a conjecture.

The next verse 9 refers to Nāgabhaṭa's victory over the servile Cakrāyudha who was merely the puppet of Dharmapāla. This is followed by a war with Dharmapāla (*Vaṅga-pati*) who was Cakrāyudha's patron. Allusions to this war are found in a number of inscriptions of Nāgabhaṭa's feudatories who must have accompanied him in this expedition, and who also claim their victory over the Gauḍa king.[74a]

Our inscription completely ignores the defeat suffered by Nāgabhaṭa II at the hands of Govinda III.[75] This was perhaps due to the fact that this discomfiture might have occurred in the earlier part

72. Cf. Khālimpur Copper-plates, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 243 ff., verse 6; Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, XV, p. 304.

73. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 104.

74. Jodhpur Insc. of Bāuka, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90ff.; Unā Plates of Avanivarman, *ibid.*, IX, pp. 4 f. and f.; Chetsu Insv. of Bālāditya, *ibid.*, XII, pp. 10ff.

75. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff.; Radhanpur Plates, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 242 ff.; Pathari Pillar Insc., *ibid.*, IX, pp. 248 ff.

of Nāgabhaṭa's reign and remained indecisive so as not to affect his position in the North very much. This is evident from his quick recovery and the ease with which he defeated Cakrāyudha and his patron Dharmapāla.

Under these circumstances, it appears reasonable to believe that after inflicting defeat on Cakrāyudha and Vaṅga-pati, Nāgabhaṭa transferred his capital to Kanauj; for, his successors are definitely known to have ruled from there. This inference may also be legitimately drawn from Baraha Copper-plates[76] and the *Prabhāvaka-carita.*

The next achievement of Nāgabhaṭa as described in verse 11 is the forcible seizure of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri. According to Dr. Phadke,[77] *Rāja-giri-durga* was an independent fort, and does not mean 'hill-forts of the kings;' for, none of the kings of these countries possessed a hill-fort. The capture of the Rājagiri fort was necessary for Nāgabhaṭa for the defence of his empire. The existence of a hill-fort of that name is vouched by *Prabhāvakacarita* and the Arab writer Al-Beruni.

Very little is known about Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II. From verses 12 to 14, it seems that the fame and glory of the house was eclipsed during his reign. He was averse to worldly affairs and was anxious to abdicate the lordship of his subjects in favour of his son. The inscription seems to allude to a rebellion of the cruel commanders of his army, which he crushed with the help of his subordinate king. This state of affairs is also reflected in the Daulatpur Plate[78] renewing the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā by Bhoja, which fell into abeyance during the time of Rāmabhadra. The Damoh Copper-plates[79] also point to a similar state of affairs.

Rāmabhadra's son Bhoja, who succeeded him, was a very powerful ruler whose achievements are described in the following nine verses. A clear indication to the Pratīhāra-Pāla struggle may be seen in verse 18 in which the goddess of Fortune of Dharma's son (Devapāla) is said to have become the spouse of Bhoja. The

76. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 15 ff.

77. *Vide*, No. 26 under NOTES, also fn. 19. *supra.*

Garuḍa Pillar inscription, on the other hand, credits Devapāla with having humbled the pride of the Gurjaras (i.e., Bhoja). As both the parties claim victory, the conflict therefore must have remained undecided. If the reading *bṛhad-vaṅgān* of Hiranand Shastri instead of *bṛhad-vaṁśān* in the first half of verse 21 were accepted then it would mean that Bhoja came in clash with the formidable Vaṅgas and burnt them in the fire of his anger.

After alluding to the Pratīhāra glory under Bhoja, the inscription concludes by saying that the king, Bhoja, erected the edifice called *Antaḥpura-pura* in his seraglio for the Enemy of Naraka.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. **ABORI—Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.**
2. **AIK—Age of Imperial Kanauj.**
3. **AOC—All India Oriental Conference.**
4. **ASIR—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.**
5. **ASWI—Archaeological Survey of Western India.**
6. **Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.**
7. **BV—Bhāratīya Vidyā.**
8. **CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.**
9. **Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.**
10. **GP—The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, B. N. Puri.**
11. **HB—History of Bengal, R. C. Majumdar.**
21. **HK—History of Kanauj, R. S. Tripathi.**
13. **IA—Indian Antiquary.**
14. **JBBRAS—Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.**
15. **IDL—Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University.**
16. **JIH—Journal of Indian History.**
17. **JRAS—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Gr. Brit. and Ireland.**
18. **NPP—Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Varanasi.**
19. **RK—Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, A. S. Altekar.**

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF VĀKĀṬAKA DEVASENA

By Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri*

The Hisse-Borala[1] inscription of king Devasena of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas countries one of the most important epigraphical discoveries of recent years. This is the sixth epigraphic record of the Vākāṭakas of the Vatsagulma branch discovered so far[2] and the only known complete inscription of Devasena himself.[3] Its importance lies mainly in the fact that this is the only dated record of the Vākāṭakas found so far, all the other inscriptions being dated in the regnal years of individual kings. The Vākāṭaka chronology was so far fixed tentatively on the basis of the synchronism between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas established by the Poona[4] and Riddhapur[5] plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the dowager queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. By furnishing a definite date in a well-known era for Vākāṭaka ruler, the present record enables us to ascertain the dates of other members of the dynasty more precisely. The date supplied by this inscription may, therefore, be regarded as the sheet-anchor of Vākāṭaka chronology. A short epigraph of just four lines, it registers the construction of a lake, named Sudarśana, by one *Āryya* Swāmilladeva, an obedient servant (*ājñākara*) of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena (in (*Śaka*) 380, corresponding to 457-58 A.D.

The inscription was first brought to light by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale.[6] But the credit of satisfactorily interpreting the

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2.. Other known records of the Vatsagulma (Washim) branch are the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, the India Office Plate of Devasena, the Ajanta and Ghaṭotkaca Cave inscriptions of Varāhadeva and an inscription of a feudatory of this branch in Cave XVII at Ajanta. Vide V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII*, V, pp. 93 ff.

3. The only other known record of Devasena, the India Office Plate (*ibid.*, p. 101), is incomplete.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I (January 1967), pp. 1–4.

record, particularly its initial portion, is due to Dr. V. B. Kolte who has edited it independently.[7] The initial portion of the epigraph containing the date has also been studied by Dr. G. S. Gai and Shri S. Sankaranarayanan.[8] There is a considerable divergence of opinion as regards the interpretation of the date portion of the record, and it is proposed here to discuss the question at some length.

That the initial portion contains the date, viz., (Śaka) 380, is admitted on all hands. But as regards its reading and interpretation, divergent views are held by scholars. This is, in a large measure, due to the damage the inscribed stone has suffered at this place. Dr. Gokhale reads this portion as *Sidhaṁ tasya vṛttasya vrā* 20 *Sapta* [*Ṛṣayuttarāsuvaccha*]. .*bda-Śak*[*ā*]*nā*[*ṁ*] 380[9] and proposes to restore the two letters preceding *bda* as *gata* so that the lake was constructed in Śaka 380 expired.[10] But beyond that she finds it 'difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading.'

Dr. Kolte reads the passage under review as [*madhyaga**] *tasya* (*vri*)*ttasya vṛi* (or *dhru*) 20 *Saptarṣaya Uttarās-ū*[*pari a* (or *sha*) *] *ṣhṭy=aṁśak*—one 300 80. He divides the passage into two parts, the first part ending with 20. He points out the astronomical importance of Vatsagulma which is just 10 kms. from Hisse-Borala, the provenance of the record, and was, according to astronomical texts like Bhāsakarācārya's *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, Śrīpati's *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā* and the local *sthalapurāṇa, Vatsagulma-māhātmya*, situated on the *madhyama-rekhā* (also called *Laṅkā-rekhā*) or the central meridian joining the Northern and Southern Poles. He renders the portion by "at the 20th circle (latitude) on the central meridian" and takes it as an astronomical reference to the find-spot of the inscription, Hisse-Borala, which is exactly at the 20th latitude on the ancient central meridian passing through Vatsagulma.[11]

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7. In the *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372—87, and the *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣiha* (Marathi) for 1964. pp. 137—56.

8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I, pp. 5—8.

9. *EI.*, XXXXV, p. 3.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3 fn. 7.

11. In case the reading *dhru* is preferred, it would mean that the provenance of the record was at an angle of 20 on the first meridian, on the 20th latitude. The conclusion would thus remain unaffected. Vide *Mirashi Volume*, pp. 380-81.

Dr. Kolte takes the second half of the passage to contain the date of the construction of the Sudarśana lake with reference to the position of the Saptarṣis or the constellation of the Ursa Major. According to Varāhamihira, the Saptarṣis were in the Maghā nakṣatra when king Yudhishthira ruled the earth, his period being removed from the Śaka-kāla by 2526 years, and the Seven Sages stay in each nakṣatra for 100 years.[12] Following this statement, the Saptarṣis were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra during Śaka 374—474 wherein falls the date of the record, viz., Śaka 380. Dr. Kolte thinks that the date is specified even more precisely and takes his reading *aṣṭy=aṁśak—one* or *ṣaṣthy=aṁśak—one* to mean that the Saptarṣis had passed through 1/16th part of the asterism Uttarā or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees, i.e., they must have been in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra for six years beginning from Śaka 374 which gives the date Śaka 380 as specified in figures separately.[13]

Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan accept Dr. Kolte's view that the passage specifies the date in astronomical terms by referring to the position of the Saptarṣis in Uttarā-Phālgunī, but they differ from his reading and interpretation in several other respects. Rejecting the suggestion that there is an astronomical reference to the provenance of the record, they propose to read the passage as *Siddham [Dharmas*] utasya vri(vri)ttasya* 3000 20 *Sapta=Rṣaya Uttarāsu Phā[lgunī*]ṣu Śakān[āṁ]* 380. The passage thus refers to the Yudhishthira (Dharmasuta) year 3020 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380. But as according to the commonly accepted interpretation of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3-4, Śaka 380 would correspond to the Yudhishthira year 2906, and not to 3020 as desired by them to suit their own interpretation, they take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi* of the relevant stanza of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* to mean 2512 (instead of 2526 as commonly understood) and understand the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.[14] And as even according to this interpreta-

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12. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥
एकैकस्मिनृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्। *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XIII. 3-4.

13. The same date can also be arrived at according to the formula given by Utpala for finding out the nakṣatra where in the Seven Sages are in a certain year. Vide *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 383 and note 28 on p. 386.

14. Instead of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D.

tion the Yudhishthira year for Śaka 380 would be 3027, they separate the word *sapta* from the following *ṛṣaya* and take the former as forming part of the date, i.e., 3027, which would regularly correspond to the Śālivāhana-Śāka year 380, as stated in the record. But in the Yudhishthira year 3027 the Seven Sages were, according to Varāhamihira, in the Hasta nakṣatra, and not in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the record. They account for this discrepancy on the supposition that the author of the inscription followed the *Purāṇic* tradition according to which the Seven Sages were in Maghā when Parīkṣit, Yudhishthira's grandson, ascended the throne after Yudhishthira's rule lasting 36 years. Deducting 36 years of Yudhishthira's rule from the Yudhishthira year 3027, we get the Parīkṣit year 2991 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the epigraph. The relevant passage may consequently be rendered as follows:— "(*In the year*) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (i.e. *Yudhishthira*) when the Sages were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī (*and in the year*) 380 of the (*Sālivāhana*) *Śakas*."

However, the reading and interpretation suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan do not carry conviction. First, as regards the reading. Whether we restore the three missing *akṣaras* preceding *tasya* as *madhyaga* (Kolte) or as *Dharmasu* (Gai–Sankaranarayanan) is a matter of pure conjecture as the relevant portion is irreparably damaged. In such cases the only scientific criterion to dictate the choice of one reading in preference to the other must be its capability to yield a satisfactory interpretation. But as will be shown in the sequel, the reading proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan not only does not admit of a satisfactory interpretation but lands them in insurmountable difficulties involving several unwarranted suppositions one after another. Their reading of the symbol preceding 20 as 3000 is not borne out by the evidence cited by them. The only argument they adduce in support of their reading is that the same symbol occurs for 3000 in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta.[15] But a glance at the facsimile of the Nasik inscription in question[16] will suffice to convince anyone that there is a world of difference between the sign for 3000 and the symbol in the present inscription. It must be noted in this connection that the symbol for 3000 in the Nasik inscription (or for that matter anywhere else) does not show any curve at the lower end

15. *EI*, VIII, p. 82, No. 12.

16. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, No. 12, facing p. 82.

of the vertical[17] as does the symbol in our inscription. It should also be pointed out in the present context that the same Nasik inscription also contains the symbols for 1000, 2000, 8000 and 70000; but in all these cases the vertical of the basic sign for 1000 is almost straight.[18] Then again a hook-like stroke appended to the right of the vertical found in the present inscription cannot be accounted for if it is taken to stand for 3000.[19] Thus the symbol in question cannot be read as 3000. Originally, I was myself somewhat uncertain about Dr. Kolte's reading *-śakone* of the three letters followed by the date 300 (+) 80. But a close personal examination of a photograph in Dr. Kolte's possession left absolutely no doubt about the correctness of his reading. An examination of the accompanying reproduction of the relevant portion will reveal that the horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the consonant denoting medial *ā* and the *anusvāra* are conspicuously absent, thereby rendering the reading of the last *akṣara* in question as *nāṁ* impossible. On the other hand, the top-stroke attached to the left of *n* is clearly visible, so that the letter has got to be read only as *ne*. Likewise, the slight downward curves of the sign for medial *o* attached to the preceding *akṣara*, are also clear,[20] thereby proving the correctness of the reading *ko*. There is no doubt about the reading of the previous letter, *śa*. And once the reading—*śakone* is accepted as correct, the restoration of the preceding two *akṣaras* as *a* (or *ṣa*) *ṣṭhyaṁ*—as suggested by Dr. Kolte would also appear to be very probable, if not quite certain. At least, it satisfies the test of a reasonable interpretation, as shown by Dr. Kolte in his abovementioned paper.

The improbability of the reading 3,000 proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan having been demonstrated, the untenability of their interpretation based thereon becomes quite obvious. And even if we accept, for the sake of argument, their reading to be

17. *Ibid.* Also see Bühler, *Indian Palaeography,* (Calcutta, 1959), Pl. IX, Column IV.

18. *Ibid.*, Pl. IX; *EI,* VIII, Pl. V, No. 12 facing p. 82.

19. A comparison with the stroke for the medial *ā* repeatedly found in the present inscription would show that the rather bold horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the symbol under study is an irregular stroke. Alternatively, it may be regarded as a crack.

20. The signs for medial *ā* and *e* in this inscription show sometimes, but not invariably, slight downward curves.

correct, the following discussion would reveal the highly unconvincing character of the interpretation suggested by them. It sets at naught some well-established traditional interpretation and involves distortion of well-known facts. The main planks of their theory are as follows:—(i) the use of the Yudhishthira era, (ii) *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512, (iii) *Śaka-kāla*=Vīkrama Saṁvat, (iv) date partly in figures and partly in words, and (v) the reference to the position of the Seven Sages according to the *Purāṇas*. Let us examine these points *seriatum*.

I. *The Use of the Yudhishthira Era*

The learned scholars favour the Yudhishthira era because the 3020th year of the Kali era commencing in 3102 B.C. does not correspond to Śaka 380,[21] the date of the inscription. It must be pointed out in this connection that the Yudhishthira era is not mentioned so early as that either in litertaure or inscriptions. Whether such an era was actually prevalent may justly be doubted. Even Varāhamihira does not refer to any reckoning started by or counted from the time of Yudhishthira. What he does is just to indicate the time of Yudhishthira by mentioning the interval between his rule and the commencement of the *Śaka-kāla*. Consequently, the employment of the Yudhishthira era is not very likely in so early an inscription as the present one.

II. *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512

Bhaṭṭa Utpala takes the expression, *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*,[22] in the sense of 2526 (*sahasra-dvayena pañcabhiḥ sahitaiḥ ṣaḍ-viṁśatya-adhikaiḥ*), and this interpretation is generally accepted by scholars. But as shown above, this interpretation does not suit Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan and, therefore, they take this expression to mean 2512. The only evidence they adduce in support of their argument is that Varāhamihira employs the *ka-ending* numerals to denote multiples. Accordingly, *ṣaḍ-dvika*=6×2=12. But this is only partially correct. There is no gainsaying the fact that in Varahamihira's writings we often come across the use of *ka*-ending numerals in the sense of multiples. But it is equally true that there are several examples where numbers ending in *ka* are employed in

21. Śaka 380=Kali 3101+78+380=3559.

22. Occurring in *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3, cited above.

the ordinary sense. E.g., *lavaṇoda-ṣaṭka*=64 (not 4×6=24),[23] *tri-dvika*=23 (not 3×2=6),[24] *sapt-āṣṭaka*=87 (not 7×8=56),[25] *aṣṭa-navaka*=98 (not 8×9=72),[26] *ṣaṭka-pañcaka*=56 (not 6×5)=30).[27] Thus it is not necessary to take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* to mean 2512 just to suit the improbable reading, 3000, suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan. Moreover, the above interpretation of Bhaṭṭa Utpala finds support from a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa[28] quotes *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3, and states that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished after 653 years of Kali had elapsed.[29] According to this statement, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas (including of course Yudhishthira) flourished in 3101 B.C. (Kali beginning) –653=2448 B.C. There is no doubt that the statement of Kalhaṇa is based on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* verse under consideration. Unless *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* is taken to denote 2526, this stanza cannot be reconciled with Kalhaṇa's statement.[30] If it is taken in the sense of 2512, as suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan, Yudhishthira (and the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas will have to be placed in 2434 B.C. (2512–78=2434). Therefore, the expression under review cannot be taken to mean anything else than 2526.

III. *Śaka-kāla=Vikrama Saṁvat*

The word *Śaka-kāla* is generally taken to denote the well-known Śālivāhana-Śaka era with 78 A.D. as its epoch.[31] But as this meaning cannot be reconciled with the imaginary reading *Dharmasutasya*

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23. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ii. 12.
24. *Ibid.*, iv. 30.
25. *Ibid.*, viii. 1.
26. *Ibid.*, viii. 4.
27. *Ibid.*, viii. 8.
28. i. 56.
29. शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः॥
Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 51.
30. 2526–78=2448 B.C.
31. According to some scholars, *Śaka-kāla* denotes a reckoning instituted by the Achaemenian king Cyrus the Great or counted from the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. But these views are mere figments of imagination. Vide Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Studies in the Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, pp. 8–10.

vṛttasya 3020 suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan, they insist that the word in question must be taken to mean the Vikrama era commencing in 57 B.C. They base their theory on Utpala's commentary on *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii, 3, where it is averred that the Śakas were Mleccha kings and the time of their destruction by Vikramaditya is well-known as Śaka or Śak-endra-kāla (*Śakā nāma mleccha-jātayo rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityadevena vyāpāditaḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ / tasmā=chhakendra-kālāc=chhaka-nṛpa-vadha-kālāt.* Not only Utpala, but Pṛthūdakasvāmin (*circa* 864 A.D.)[32] and Āmarāja (*circa* 1180 A.D.)[33] also make the same statement with reference to the commencement of the Śaka era in their scholia on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka*. The strange notion that the beginning of the Śaka era coincided with the destruction of the Śakas by Vikramaditya appears to have become popular in later times. It is referred to by Alberuni[34] also. But he clearly distinguishes between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras which were separated from one another by an interval of 135 years.[35] When and why this strange notion came into existence and whether the distinction between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras was known to these commentators are questions that do not concern us in the present con-

32. *Śakā nāma mlecchā rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa kālo=tyarthaṁ prasiddhaḥ, Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (edited by P. C. Sengupta, Calcutta, 1941), p. 3.

33. *Śakā nāma mlecchā rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa Śaka-sambandhī kālaḥ Śaka ity=ucyate, Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* with Āmarāja's gloss (Calcutta 1925), p. 2.

34. 1030 A.D.

35. "The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla," says Alberuni, "falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling-place...The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous...and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by astronomers...Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that the Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." E. Sacau, *Alberuni's India*, ii, p. 6.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in Alberuni's time the Guptakāla also, like the Śakakāla, was taken to commemorate the end of the Gupta rule. Vide *ibid.*, p. 7.



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text. The only problem we must decide here is the sense in which the word *Śaka-kāla* is employed by Varāhamihira. Varāmihira composed his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* in or about the year 427 of what he calls Śaka-kāla. In case *Śaka-kāla* is here taken to denote the Vikrama era, the composition of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* will have to be placed in or about 370 A.D.[37] But this will lead to a serious anachronism. For this work contains a reference to Āryabhaṭa[38] who was born in 476 A.D. and composed his *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A.D.[39] We have, therefore, no option but to take the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Śālivāhana-Śaka era of 78 A.D.

IV. *The Date* (*Yudhishthira Year* 3027) *Partly in Figures and Partly in* Words

As stated above, the Yudhishthira year 3020 does not correspond to Śaka 380, and, therefore, Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan take the word *sapta* following 20 as part of the date, viz., 3027. In other words, the date is expressed partly in figure and partly in words. However, it is pertinent to note in this connection that although innumerable dated inscriptions have been discovered, this strange method of expressing the date is rare in the extreme. Normally the date is given either in figures or in words or both in figures and words, but not partly in figures and partly in words. Consequently this suggestion also, like others, is problematical.

V. *The Reference to the Position of the Saptarṣis according to the Purāṇas*

However, even if we were to admit all these arguments, in the Yudhishthira year 3027 the Seven Sages were not in the Uttarā-Phālgunī *nakṣatra,* as stated in the inscription. Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan try to overcome this difficulty by imagining that the author of the Hisse-Borala inscription specified the position of the constellation of Ursa Major following the *Purāṇas* which aver that

36. *Pañca-siddhāntikā,* i. 8; E. Sacau, *op. cit.,* i, p. 392; ii; pp. 7, 86, 277.

37. 427 V. S. – 57=370 A.D.

38. *Pañca-siddhāntikā,* xv. 20.

39. षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः।
त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह ममजन्मनोऽतीताः॥

the Saptarṣis were in Maghā at the time of Parīkṣita's accesion which coincided with the beginning of Kali. However, that the Kali and Yudhishthira eras were different from each other is admitted by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan also. As stated by Kalhaṇa, there was an interval of 653 years between the commencement of Kaliyuga and the date of Yudhishthira as given by Varāhamihira. The two traditions being entirely different, it is most unlikely that the author of the present inscription would follow the Varāhamihira tradition while giving the date in the Yudhishthira era and the *Purāṇic* tradition while specifying the position of the Saptarṣis. Moreover, it must be pointed out in this connection that according to the *Purāṇic* tradition about the date of Parīkṣita the Saptarṣis were in Jyeṣṭhā, not Uttarā-Phālgunī. in Śaka 380. Thus it is impossible to reconcile the Varahāmihira tradition about the date of Yudhishthira and the *Purāṇic* tradition about the position of the Seven Sages at the time of Parīkṣita's accession.

It would follow from the foregoing discussion that the views of Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan are quite untenable. While we cannot be sure about the restoration of the first few letters of the initial portion of the inscription, there is no doubt that the reading and interpretation suggested by Dr. Kolte are more probable in the present state of our knowledge. The present inscription is thus unique in that it contains an astronomical reference to the provenance and specifies the date with reference to the exact position of the constellation of Ursa Major.

Before we conclude, attention must be invited to another interesting point. The question as to why this alone of all the Vākāṭaka inscriptions discovered so far is dated in the Śaka era has not been satisfactorily answered. It is very probable, as suggested by Dr. Kolte[40] and Gokhale,[41] that the Sudarśana lake constructed by *Āryya* Svāmilladeva was named after the famous Sudarśana lake at Girnar which had a chequered history of some eight centuries at the time of the present record and has been immortalised by the Junagadh inscriptions of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradaman I and Skandagupta. If so, it is very likely, nay almost certain, that Svāmilladeva, who was responsible for the excavation of this lake as well the ins-

40. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 377.

41. *El*, XXXVII, p. 3.

cription[42] under study, hailed from Gujarat where the Śaka era had been in use for several centuries. This fact alone would satisfactorily account for the use of the Śaka era in this record as against all other known Vākāṭaka epigraphs which mention the regnal years of the issuing monarchs.

42. Dr. Gokhale and following her, Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan think that this is the oldest inscription to refer to the Śaka era by name. But as pointed out above, though the date of this inscription has got to be referred to the Śaka era, there is no mention of the era as such. It will be of interest to note in this connection that a much earlier mention of the Śaka era by name is found in the recently discovered inscription of the time of an Ābhīra king named Īśvaradeva, said to be dated Śaka 158 or 254 (*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1967-68, pp. 18, 52, no. 8). There is some confusion about the date of this inscription; at p. 18 it is reported to be Śaka 158, but at p. 52 the date is given as Śaka 254.

THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF EASTERN SIBERIA

By Dr. Lokesh Chandra

Beyond the placid and shimmering blue waters of Lake Baikal in the heart of Eastern Siberia lie the fabled lands of the Buryats, known as the Buryat ASSR and the Chita Autonomous Region. They are the dreamland of a Buddhologist with their richly endowed monasteries, studded with icons of rare charm, replendent with silken scrolls of thaṅkas and stacked with xylographs and manuscripts of historic value—preserved with loving care by the savant lamas under the guidance of the ecclesiastical department of the Government of the USSR. For years on end, we had dreamt of seeing these historic treasures. Long last, in February 1967, Bandida= (Sanskrit Paṇḍita) Hambo Lama, J. D. Gomboev, Chairman of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR, sent an invitation.

Meandering through different post offices, the invitation reached me on the 10th of April, 1967. I acknowledged receipt of the gracious invitation of the Bandida Hambo Lama and the three-man delegation was composed of Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, Mr. Kailash Chandra and myself. Various formalities took nearly two months while cables flashed back and forth. Ours was the first Indian Delegation to visit the "closed-door republic" of the Buryat ASSR. Finally, on the 7th of June, 1967 we left by the Aeroflot to Moscow, en route to Ulan-ude. Moscow was exceptionally chilly, but a warm welcome awaited us at the airport where the eminent Buryat scholar Prof. Phurbu Baldanzhabov and two officials from the International Office for Foreign Relations of the Department of Religious Affairs were present to receive us.

Early in the morning of 10th June we left for Ivolginsky Datsan, the headquarters of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR and the seat of Bandida Hambo Lama, its President. The town of Ivolginsk is about 40 kilometers from Ulan-ude. It derives its name from the Russian *iva* 'willow'. In former times when it was founded by the Russians willows grew here a plenty.

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The Monastery was constructed here in 1948. At the Monastery we were received by the Bandida Hambo Lama, the Deputy Hambo Sibirnov Tsiden, Lama Badmayev Yishidorje, Lama Zhimba-jamso (Representative of the Aginsky Monastery), several other lamas and a large crowd of devotees. We were welcomed with yoghurt mixed honey and other ingredients–corresponding to Sanskrit *madhuparka*. A feast of 'white dishes' of milk awaited us–dried cream of milk called *urm*, a national dish of cherries and butter which has medicinal properties of prolonging life, milk-rice pudding (Sanskrit *pāyasa*) and others. As we sat in the guest room, the Bandida Hambo Lama told us that the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR was headed by him and there were two Deputy Chairman from the Ivolginsky and Aginsky monasteries. The Ivolginsky was represented by the Deputy Hambo Lama and the Aginsky by its Hambo Lama. In the Board there are other learned lamas, layman, scholars and government representatives. After the formal reception, we were taken to the main hall of the Ivolginsky which has the Tibetan name *ri bo dge rgyas bkra śis chos ḥkhor gliṅ*. This name is inscribed on top of the entrance in Tibetan letters. Worship is held in this temple. A special service was conducted in our honour for one hour in full aura of the sonorous instruments. Fifteen lamas took part in the recitation of the *Stotra* to Sixteen *Arhats* and other holy texts in Tibetan. An innovation is the introduction of the recitation of the Pāli *Maṅgala-sutta* because of the several Ceylonese, Nepalese and Cambodian Buddhist leaders and delegations that have visited and continue to visit the USSR. Since the tenure of office by Prof. Malalasekera as the Ambassador of Ceylon to Moscow, the Buryat Buddhists have had intimate relations with Ceylonese Buddhists. Modern Ceylonese and Nepalese prints of dagobas, scenes from the life of Lord Buddha and other Buddhist representations hang at both the monasteries of Ivolginsky and Aginsky. The interior is gorgeously decorated in traditional style. I would like to refer the readers to the photographs at the end of this paper. Out in the precincts are two stūpas constructed recently. There is a commemorative stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Venerable Sharapov Yeshedorje. Sharapov is the russified form of *śes-rab 'prajñā'*. His Sanskrit name was *Prajñā-jñāna-vajra* (प्रज्ञाज्ञानवज्र). The stūpa was completed in 1963 and consecrated as the *Dge ḥdun mchod rten* (the spelling is not certain). The second stūpa is the *Dpal ldan ḥbras spuṅ mchod rten* श्रीधान्यकटकस्तूप or the Drepung stūpa. The Buryats belong to the Gomang yig-cha

of the Drepung Monastery at Lhasa. It is a charming edifice, founded in 1958.

We again went to the central temple on top of which is the *blos bslań gi khań gi khań pa* or the Maṇḍala Hall. It has the architectonic maṇḍala of Śaṁvara (*Bde mchog gi blos bslań*), depicted as an architectural edifice. There were a number of scrolls painted with maṇḍalas, the most exquisite among them was the maṇḍala of *Sarvavid* (*Kun rig gi ras bris dkyil ḥkhor*). Around the *blos bslań* is the library of the Ivolginsky Datsan. It is the proud owner of a rare *Yisün erdeni yin Ganjur or nava-ratna Kanjur*, written in nine inks prepared from silver, mumin, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearls, iron and conch. It was scribed about 80 years ago from the Narthang edition. The monastery has the complete set in 101 volumes. The initial folios are miniatured in color with the images of deities. There are several thousand manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. They are arranged and kept subjectwise with their short titles written on *kha yig* cloth sticking out. Most of the sumbum (opera omnia) are available in stray volumes. The librarian is a venerable old lama of 80 years, Prof. Balchinov Lobsang-yeshe who is endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge in all branches of Buddhist learning.

In 1956 when the Bandida Hambo Lama attended the Buddha Jayanti in India he brought seeds of the Holy Tree from Bodhgaya. He planted it in a special wooden temple in 1957. It is a glass-house with heating arrangements. Fertilisers have been used liberally. The Bandida Hambo Lama told us with filial affection how he had cared for the Holy Tree which is eleven years old now. He could hardly restrain his overflowing emotions as he talked of the loving care which he had bestowed to nourish the Tree. It was going to outgrow the temple ceiling. To survive the extreme cold of Buryatia it had to be in the warmth of an interior. What could he do for it. A Burmese delegation had visited the temple and they had suggested that the Japanese technique of miniaturisation be applied. The Bandida Hambo Lama desperately wanted me to send a book on this technique. He was also keen to have the seeds or saplings of the sandalwood tree—*candan* is an auspicious tree of Buryat tales and legends.

Like the yurts of old, there were a number of separate house-units for various purposes, e.g. a storehouse for old images, a hall

for preparing baling (बलि), summer house of the Bandida Hambo Lama, a room for heating the central temple through pipes, etc. A new guest-house was under construction. Most of them are simple wooden structures, in vivid contrast to the central temple whose picturesque architecture, sweetly tinkling bells, and melody of colour lends an overall charm and casts an enchanting spell over the entire monastic complex.

At noon, we were given special Buryat dishes of raisins and the plant *saranta* which has a curious taste as if the Indian *khir* and *mohnabhog* had been blended into a single flavor. The milk dishes were served in wooden utensils, and the spoons too were wooden. The milk dishes pertain to the holy and honored. In Indian *homa* also, the utensils and spoons are preferably wooden. The juice of *oblipekha* was served. It is an indigenous Buryat drink from Ayurvedic medicine, a tonic for the lungs. The Bandida Hambo Lama opined that modern medicine should research its properties for heart diseases. Outside, the sky was overcast and a light drizzle lent chill to the breeze. When rain accompanies a guest, it is auspicious, so goes the Buryat saying. The lamas, scientists, officials and interpreters who accompanied us were happy that our visit to the monastery was blessed by rain. The meadows were enlivened by tiny yellow flowers of *nezabutka* or *forget-me-nots*. These innocent flowerings reminded us not to forget the inspiring hours spent at the Monastery. The Monastery ever spreads before our eyes and surges ever anew into the deeps of our soul, as Bandida Hambo Lama's smiling face and humour breaks us into peels of laughter.

Besides the Ivolginsky Monastery there are four other monastries. Guzinozersky is hallowed as the first monastery of Buryatia. It is an architectural monument without any xylographs or manuscripts. So also the Tsugolsky Monastery. In Kiakhta too, there is a monastery which is not functioning now. The Aginsky Monastery is most highly venerated as the former seat of Buryat scholarship and learning which gave to the world scholars like Zamcarano, Tsybikov and Baradiin.

In the afternoon of the 18th of June with a sad heart we bade goodby to Ulan-ude, and left for Chita, the Capital of the Chita Autonomous Region. The Aeroflot plan flew 5000–6000 meters high over the greenly clad mountains. The flying time from Ulan-

ude to Chita is 55 minutes and the fare is 10 roubles. We reached Chita at 6.25 p.m. and had our meals at the airport restaurant. From Chita we left by cars to Aginsky. Charming lakes, like Lake Kyenon, wooden houses of pre-revolutionary days, the majestically flowing River Ingada, the bracing breeze of the taiga forests—made our drive to Aginsky the finest hours of the trip. At midnight we reached Aginsky, dead tired. We were received in national style with yoghurt and honey in silver spoons from silver vessels. Aginsky is a legend for those who have taken interest in things Buryat, in her thought and her deep traditions. All the great Soviet and early Buddhologists enriched science by drawing upon the inexhaustible manuscript resources and unparalleled scholarship of the lamas of this monastery. Aginsky Datsan is the prime place in Russian Buddhological literature. The Bandida Hambo Lama has lived here all his life, studied here for 16 long years, and it is only for the last four years that he has moved to the Ivolginsky Monastery.

At the Aginsky monastery there are two temples. One of them is the historic temple of 1816 and the second was built in 1846. The second temple is situated at a distance from the first, outside the fence of the present complex. Picturesquely surrounded by pines, it is preserved as a monument of architectural importance. Nowadays it is used as a city sanatorium. Though it was built in 1846, it looks older than the functioning temple of 1816 which has been repainted in recent years.

On the morning of 14th June a special Service was held in honour of our Delegation. It was performed in the historic temple of 1816. Its entrance door bore the official Tibetan name. *Chos sde chen po bde chen thun grub gliṅ*. The 69 year old Deputy Hambo Lama Talsan Zhimba Gonchikov presided over the ceremony. About twenty lamas took part. There are nearly thirty lamas at Aginsky, but all could not be present. The Itegel, Sixteen Arhats (naydan), and the stotra to Tsoṅ kha pa from the *megjem* were recited. The serenity, grace and dignity of the worship amidst the clanging assonance of a variety of instruments scatters its illumination into the turbulences of the psyche.

As we came out of the temple the upper part of the innerside of the door was decorated with a lovely scroll of *bskaṅ rdzas*. A large crowd of young and old, children and grownups had gathered outside. Predominantly composed of Buryats, it had a fair sprinkling

of Russians some of whom have deep faith in Buddhism. We went around the temple in *pradakṣiṇā* or circumambulation with the temple to our right. There were a number of isolated shrinelets providing cover to single stone images of deities. One of them enshrined Siṁhanāda Āryāvalokiteśvara under which the mantra *Oṁ āḥ hrīḥ Siṁhanāda hūṁ phaṭ* was inscribed in Tibetan, Buryat and Lantsha scripts. A little further lay a stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Sharapov Yishidorje, built in 1963. Moving on, the Bandida Hambo Lama showed us a hundred year old Mañjuśrī a century is a venerable age. A shrinelet covered C ar-an übgen whose Sanskrit name was written down in my diary by an Aginsky lama as *Bhūmipati Jvarasiddha*. A few paces onwards was Acala Mahākāla (*Mi ryo mgon po*).

At the Aginsky Monastery also, the Bandida Hambo Lama has planted the Bodhi and Banyan trees. They have grown in the warmth of a pyechka or Russian heater, from seeds which the Bandida Hambo Lama brought from India in 1956. The banyan tree is *nayagorda* in Buryat, from Sanskrit *nyag-rodha*. The Patriarch loves both the trees like his children. Thereafter, we were led to the wooden yurt which is the residence of the Patriarch when he comes to his alma mater of Aginsky. To honour a guest in the yurt is a "monument of our national culture". The Bandida Hambo Lama told us of real yurts in the countryside where cattle-keepers live. They have separate winter and summer yurts. He narrated how he had passed his life at Aginsky and how deeply he was attached to this monastery surrounded on all sides by green mountains, and a rivulet that flows by in languid innocence. On 15 March 1967 his 70th anniversary had been celebrated. Every now and then he would roll us into laughter with anecdotes of his travels.

In the afternoon we visited the library of the Aginsky Monastery, situated on the second storey of the functioning temple. A steep and narrow wooden staircase led to the library. In the centre was the architectonic maṇḍala of Yamāntaka. A huge wooden *gaṇḍī* attracted our attention. It was made of *aguru* and sandal woods and was used to summon the people to the temple. All around, texts were stacked in colourful wooden shelves. The Aginsky Monastery has always been famous for its blockprints and they are prized treasures throughout the world of scholarship. To see hundreds of these priceless riches assembled at one place seemed

unbelievable. In passing, we may mention that Lobsang dorje alias Sumativajra, the VII Khampo of Aginsky, wrote many works in Mongolian. All of them have been collected together in a sumbum. It was so popular that two editions were xylographed, one of them at Aginsky. We were able to get this sumbum alongwith its catalogue. There was a 34 folio chronicle of India, Tibet, Śambhala and China entitled *Chos ḥbyuṅ mdor bsdus dzi kṣa maḥi me loṅ zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* There was also the rare Hor Chojung of Dharmatāla in 281 folios. The sumbum of *Śes rab rgya mtsho* in ten volumes, fairy tales in Mongolian, *Yang yig* or manuscripts of musical scores of worship, medical texts, philosophical treatises of the Gomang yigcha and hundreds of other subjects adorn the library. Big silken scrolls of the maṇḍalas of Āryāvalokiteśvara, Sukhāvatī and Akṣobhya decorated the walls. The librarian Lama Zhimba Jamso Erdeniyev is an old scholar of immense learning. He loves the books dearly.

At 4.00 p.m. we saw the breath-taking storage-collections of thaṅkas at Aginsky. At 5.00 we were given a farewell reception by the Deputy Hambo Lama who said: "We are very glad that you have visited this distant corner of the world. We are happy much more so, as you come from the country of the origin of Buddhism. On 7th December 1966 we observed the 150th anniversary of this Temple. May the friendship between India and the USSR always flourish. Our most cherished wish is that there may always be peace all over the world. We wish that you may come here again and again, any time you like. We wish you a happy journey and every success in your excellent doings. *Bkra śis śog.*" At 6.00 p.m. we left Aginsky, with heavy hearts and arms heavier still, laden with gifts of varied description. The maingate of the monastic complex bore the Lantsha inscription: *"Oṁ padmoṣṇīṣavimale hūṁ phaṭ."* The Zulur mountains flanked us on the left while Bandida Hambo Lama Zhambal-dorje blessed our sad, tiresome return to Chita, en route to Irkutsk, Ulanbator, Leningrad and Moscow. We were fast flitting across this remote world of the Buryats, which had rippled before our gaze, to be lost again into looming horizons

THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

By Dr. C. B. Pandey*

The study of Sātavāhana coinage is one of the most interesting problems of Indian numismatics. An attempt has been made in the following pages to study the problems of Sātavāhana coinage.

A—Classification :

The first difficulty in the studies of Sātavāhana coinage is the problem of the classification of Sātavāhana coins. Rapson[1] has classified them according to the regions of the Sātavāhana empire, taking the fabrics of the coins for his considerations. The regional classification suffers from many defects. As regards fabrics, it relates much to the minting methodology, of course, as also on the availability of metals, economic conditions of the empire, and last but not the least on numismatic traditions current in the country. Thus classification according to fabrics is unjustifiable. As regards the regional classifications, the coins found from one particular region have their own speciality. Cunningham[2] devised a way to know the locality of a particular Sātavāhana coin. According to him,[3] the coins from Avanti and Eastern Malwa have their own peculiar characteristics. The coins of Avanti are generally round in shape but those from Eraṇ and Besanagar, are square. Thus on the basis of their circular type, the coins can be ascribed to a western Malwa region. Rapson[4] agrees with him. But the difficulty in the assumption of the above two veteran numismatics is that earliest Sātavāhana coins which Smith[5] published with legend ***Raño Siri Sātasa*** are found in two metals i.e. Potin and lead, the earlier metal again differs in fabrics. Assuming that Smith's and Rapson's classifications are correct, it is very natural to conclude that Sātavāhana king Siri

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* National Archives of India, New Delhi.

1. Rapson, *B. M. C. A. K.*, Introduction, pp. LXX ff.

2. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 95.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

4. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xcii-xciii.

5. Smith, E. H. D., p. 183.

Sāta issued coins in the same metal in different fabrics. And this stand is not easily palatable.

The Sātavāhana coins found in Andhra Pradesh have been classed by Rapson[6] in two, those of fabric A, and fabric B. Coins of fabric A are generally round in shape, of almost uniform thickness; and the coin legends have been inscribed with great care. Usually Caitya and Ujjain symbols are found on them. The difference lies only in the way of display of these symbols on the coins. Five kings of Sātavāhana dynasty seem to have issued their coins in this fabric 'A'—(i) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi, (ii) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi, (iii) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Caṇḍa Sāti, (iv) Gautamīputra Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi, (v) Siri Ruḍa (Rudra) Sātakarṇi. Of these, the first three[7] have the arched-hills on the obverse.[8] On the few coins of Gautamīputra Siri Yajña almost exactly similar Caitya is found and on the other six-arched[9] hill is depicted. Very possibly a change from three-arched hill to six-arched was made in his time, as the coins are of the same fabrics. The crescent is added to the three-arched hill symbol on the coins of Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi.

The coins of fabric B are characterised by their indistinct legends and ununiformity of their shape and size. Except in the case of Rudra Sātakarṇi the legends are very difficult to decipher. The names of kings which have been satisfactorily read, are given in Rapson's catalogue. They are: (*a*) Siri Caṇḍa Sāti, (*b*) Gautamīputra Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi, (*c*) Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi. Of these two later names are common to fabric A. The coins of this fabric are characterised by their depiction of horse, horse-and elephant, and elephant.[10]

Rapson[11] raised the question of chronology on the basis of fabric A of the coins. According to him coins of fabric A are earlier to those of fabric B. The first four kings of fabric A can be put in the chronological order. On the Numismatic basis i.e. on the basis

6. Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. LXX ff.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 115.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 115—117, PL. 6, 117.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 35. P. L. 6. 135.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
11. *Loc. cit.*

of fabrics, the coins of Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi. The coins of fabric B begin their appearance from the time of Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi. It is only in the reign period of this king that symbols on one of the sides of the coins took change.

Smith[12] has noted that either the legends on the coins of this fabric are absent or if at all they are found, they are so corrupt and mutilated and broken that reading becomes undecipherable. It seems that the legend ends in *Tisa* which does not correspond to any Sātavāhana name and therefore cannot be equated with any king of the Purāṇic list.[13] The question of the relative priority of dates of the coins of fabric B has, therefore, to be reconsidered. It may be noted that paleography of the legend seems to be earlier. This point is so important that even Rapson[14] had to admit that because of the broken legend and incomplete readings of the legends on the coins of fabric B, no satisfactory evidence can be obtained. To add, therefore, no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at the present[15] knowledge of the analysis of the Sātavāhana numismatics. It may be further noted that the coins of this fabrics are not confined to Andhra Pradesh only. They are found even in the far-south with horse symbol on one side of them.[16]

Thus the classification of the Sātavāhana coins on the basis of fabrics has to be more studied. So far Rapson's analysis, though scientific, has not been able to yield satisfactory results.

B—Can the Sātavāhana coins hint to their original home?

On the basis of the Tarahāḷā hoard Prof. V. V. Mirashi[17] raised the question of the original home of the Sātavāhanas and opined that it was in Vidarbha. He referred to another hoard of Sātavāhana coins which numbered only 183 found in the same region in 1888 in a village, the name of which has not been recorded, in the Brahmpuri Tehsil of Chanda District in Central Provinces. Dr.

12. Smith. *Z.D.M.G.* 1903, p. 623.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 625.

14. For detail analysis see Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75.

15. For detail analysis see C. B. Pandey, *Āndhra Sātavāhana Sāmrājya kā Itihāsa*, (1963), p. 184.

16. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

17. *JNSI.* II, pp. 83 ff.

Hoernle[18] examined it and published his report. This hoard contained the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi 51, Siri Puḷumāvi 24, Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi 42. Prof. Mirashi's[19] arguments in the favour of Berar as the original home of the Sātavāhanas can be summed up as follows: (i) Large hoards of Sātavāhana coins have been found in Berar, (ii) According to Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela despatched his army to west in the second year of his reign disregarding Sātakarṇi and reached Kaṇhaveṇā—a fact which plainly indicates that kingdom of Sātakarṇi (which Prof. Mirashi identifies with Sātakarṇi I, the husband of Nāyanikā) lay to west of Kaliṅga probably in Vidarbha. Kaṇhaveṇā of the description should be identified with Kanhan, a tributary of the Waingaṅgā, which flows about 10 miles north of Nagpur.[20] (iii) The case of Vidarbha is confirmed by a Sātavāhana inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in which he is regarded as Veṇākaṭaka Swāmi."

Dr. D. C. Sircar replying to the above arguments said—that (*a*) the coins of the Tarahāḷā hoard and those found in the Chanda district belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his successors. They, therefore, do not prove Vidarbha's relations with the earlier kings of Sātavāhana dynasty.

(B) From the line of "Hāthīgumphā inscription" :

दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंणि पछिमदिसं हयगजनररधबहुलं दंडं पठापयति कण्हवेणागताय च सेनाय वितासिति मुसिकनगरं

it is not proved that west of the inscription is necessarily to be identified with Vidarbha and not Pratiṣṭhāna, which was the capital of the Sātvāhanas for considerable period. (C) If वेणाकटकस्वामी which refers to Gautamīputra Siri Sātakarṇi can hint to the original home, the phrase नवनरस्वामी which refers to Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi can as well hint to an altogether different place for Sātavāhana home. (D) veṇākaṭaka is in the Nāsik region.

Apart from his convincing arguments of now the Carmichael Professor[22] to smash the case of Vidarbha for the original home of

18. Progs. of *ASB.*, 1893, pp. 116-117.

19. *JNSI.* II, pp. 92—94.

20. *JNSI.* II, pp. 93.

21. Reference is to "Nasik Cave Inscription," no. 4, vide *EP. Ind.* viii, pp. 65-66.

22. *JNSI.* III, pp. 62 ff. also Cf. *Ibid.*

the Sātavāhanas, he has also raised very valid question. Whether the discovery of some coins of the later member of a dynasty in a particular area proves that that region was the original home province of that dynasty? He adds 'If the discovery of the large number of Roman coins in south India does not prove that home of the Roman emperors was in Deccan, if the find of no less than 1,100 coins of Kumārgupta I in Satārā does not prove that the home province of the Guptas was in the Satārā district, why should the Tarahāḷā hoard prove the original home of the Sātavāhanas was in Berar? To add to the arguments of Prof. D. C. Sircar, we may also point to Bayana hoard of the Gupta coins in the Bharatpur district which definitely does not prove the original home of the Guptas as Bharatpur. In fact the finds of hoard however large and numerous in a particular locality should not be stretched too much to prove the original home of any dynasty. The view of Prof. Mirashi is in total defiance of numerous literary traditions both Brahmanical, and Jain, besides a number of inscriptions of early Sātavāhana kings in the western India.[23]

C—Problem of the founder of the dynasty:

By the publication of two coins of Siri Sāta by Mm. V. V. Mirashi[24] and also by Shri Joglekar and Dr. Dikshit,[25] it was held by the numismatics that the testimony of these coins established the fact that there was a king of the name Sātavāhana. Prof. Mirashi[26] held that this king Sātavāhana was the founder of the dynasty which was subsequently known after his name. He further strongly held that the coins of Raño Siri Sāta, which were published by Rapson[27] in his catalogue were those of the king Sātavāhana the founder of the dynasty. In the Koṇḍāpur excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad in 1940-41, a coin of king Sātavāhana or Sādavāhana was found. It was suggested by Dr. M. Rama Rao that "the characters of the legend on the coin resemble very closely those of the earlier known inscriptions of the Sātavāhana family and may be assigned to the third quarter of third century

23. C. B. Pandey, *op. cit., Introduction*, pp. 10-11; Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.
24. *JNSI*. VII, p. 1 ff.; also *ibid.*, XI, pp. 5 ff. PL.
25. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VI, p. 141.
26. *JNSI*. XI, p. 5.
27. Rapson. *BMCAK*, p. 1, PL I. 1-2.

B.C. Since the first king of the family hitherto known has the name Sātavāhana and since his successor mentions Sātavāhana as the name of the family, it may be concluded that this king Sātavāhana was the founder and first member of the celebrated Sātavāhana dynasty. I assign him to 235 – 220 B.C."[28] Prof. V. V. Mirashi[29] also regards the characters of the coins belonging to about the same time as the Nanaghat inscriptions, and holds that 'Sātavāhana, who issued it, must, therefore, be identified with the founder of the so-called Andhra Dynasty.'

It may be noted, as well pointed out by P. L. Gupta,[30] "that much stress has been given to the palaeography of the coin. The attribution of any date to any object on the basis of palaeography is very difficult, as it is too flexible a basis in the absence of any concrete data." Apart from the above argument, the date of Nanaghat inscriptions is not above question. No doubt, the earlier scholars used to assign them to an early date, but with the progress of the studies in palaeography, it has been, and now being, admitted that the date of Nanaghat inscriptions is in the second half of the first century, B.C.[31] P. L. Gupta[32] has offered convincing arguments against Mirashi and Dr. Rao's stand. His arguments are as follows : (*a*) "It is almost definite that the inscription on the coins begin to occur in Ancient India after the advent of the Indo-Greeks on the Indian soil...and the earliest coins are those that have either the names of the cities or of the tribal republics. These were followed by the coins having names of the cities or the republics and their rulers. Then in the third stage we find that the use of the names of city or republic was abandoned and only the name of the king was retained." This means that towards the end of the second century B.C. the use of the king's name on the coins came into vogue.[33] (b) This coin (Koṇḍāpur) was found in association with later kings of the dynasty (Gautamīputra and after) "If Sātavāhana was the proginitor of the dynasty, how is it that we do not find any

28. *A new Coin of king Sātavāhana from Koṇḍāpur,* p. 2.

29. *JNSI*. XI, p. 6.

30. P. L. Gupta—*Puñch-marked coins in the Āndhra Pradesha Government Museum* (1960) p. 32.

31. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* p. 189 f. n. I.

32. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.,* 32-33.

33. *JNSI*. XV, p. 71.

coin of the rulers between him and the 23rd ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi at Koṇḍāpur?" (c) Invariable appearance of Ujjain symbol shows that the coin in question cannot be earlier than first century B.C. To add to Dr. Gupta's sound arguments, the case of the Sātavāhana, being the proginitor of the dynasty is in total defiance of Purāṇic testimony which unanimously make Simuka, variously spelt as Śipraka,[34] Śiśuka,[35] Śindhuka,[36] as the first king[37] of the dynasty. No doubt the second king of the dynasty has been regarded to have belonged to Sātavāhana family. But who was Sātavāhana is very difficult to identify with any amount of definiteness at this stage of our present knowledge. To identify coin with the legend Raño Siri Sādavāhanasa with the proginitor is, therefore, baseless.

Further the question of identification of coins of Raño Siri Sāta with that of Raño Siri Sādavāhanas is far from being correct. The coins of Siri Sāta are few in number. Only two were published by Rapson in his catalogue. Altekar published two coins from the collection of Shri Braj Mohan Vyāsa, one with[38] the coin legend Siri Sāta, and another[39] with the legend Siri Sātasa. But a careful examination of these coins and of those published by V. V. Marshi shows that there are marked differences in these two sets of coins, the points of resemblance are almost nothing. Firstly, the forms of legends are not similar in both these types. It is Raṁño Siri Sādavāha (nasa)[40] or Siri Sādavāha (nasa)[41] on the coins of Mirashi. Shri Joglekar and Dr. Dikshit[42] read (*Raño*) *Siri Sādavāha* (*na*), while on the two coins published by Rapson, the legend is Siri Sāta on the one coin and Rano Satasa on the other. The same is also on the coin published by Altekar.[43] Shri S. L.

34. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4–24–43.

35. *Matsya Purāṇa*–272–2.

शिशुकोन्ध्रसजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
सिन्धुकोह्यन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम् ॥

36. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Anu. Pāda), 99–348.

37. For detail disscussion see C. B. Pandey, *op. cit*,. p. 41-42.

38. *JNSI*. IV, p. 26. PL. II. 6.

39. *Ibid*., IV. p. 28. PL. II. 9.

40. *Ibid*., VII, p. 1.

41. *Ibid*., XI, p. 5.

42. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, VI, p. 14.

43. *JNSI*. IV, p. 26. Pl. II. 6, also p. 28. Pl. IX. 9.

Katare[44] published a coin with the legend (Ra) ño Siri Sātasa, and another he promised to publish with legend Raño Siri Sātisa. It may also be noted that the legend which V. V. Mirashi conjectured to be Siri Sādavaha (nasa) was read by Rapson as Siri Sātakarṇis. Secondly, these sets of coins of Prof. Mirashi and Rapson on close examination reveal that they differ widely in weight, size and symbols, and as well pointed out by Dr. Katare that "except the potin coins of Sātakarṇi, one cannot be placed in the same class or series with any other. They range in weight from 51–9 grains to 211.8 grains."[45]

The fact that the word Sāta is common to both types of coins, led Mirashi to identify them. "Whether this contraction Siri Sāta of his name was adopted by Sātavāhana or Sātakarṇi is not possible to say in the present state of numismatic and other evidence available for the history of Sātavāhanas.[46] Dr. Altekar was inclined to identify coins of Siri Sāta with Sātakarṇi I. The presence of Ujjain symbol definitely points to the same."[47]

D–The problem of identification of kings' names on coins and those in the Purāṇic list.

Apart from the knotty and complex problem of establishing the exact number of Sātavāhana kings of the Purāṇic lists, the historians and Numismatics are not unanimous about the identifications of the kings of Sātavāhana coins with those of the Purāṇic lists. It has been taken by scholars that there were thirty kings in the Sātavāhana dynasty. There is no unanimity in the Purāṇic texts regarding the total reign period of this important dynasty. *Matsya Purāṇa*[48] assigns 460 years, *Vāyu Purāṇa*[49] 411 years, and according to *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*[50] the 450 years is the reign period of the Sātavāhanas. As regards the date of establishment of the empire, this question is also not free from controversy. The settle-

44. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 95-96.
45. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 97.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
48. Pargiter, *Dynasty of the Kali Age*, p. 37; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 272/16-17.
49. Vāyu Purāṇa, Anuṣaṅga Pāda. 99. 358-9.
50. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4/24–50, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. XII. 1. 28.

ment of this date is essential because this is connected with certain numismatic problems e.g. the problem of identification, of the king Siri Sāta of the coins, of Siri Sātakarṇisa etc.

Apart from the above difficulties, out of thirty kings of this dynasty, coins of a few of them only have been satisfactorily identified. We may take this question in some details. The earliest coins of this dynasty are those, which have the legend Siri Sāta. It has already been shown that king Sāta of Siri Sāta coins can hardly be identified with Siri Sātavāhana, who according to Prof. V. V. Mirashi was the founder of the Sātavāhana empire. It has also been shown above that the coins are definitely earlier on paleographic grounds, but Sāta can well be suggested to be identical with Siri Sātakarṇi II of the line. The date calculated for this Sātavāhana king by Dr. K. Gopalachari,[51] Prof. Yazdarni, and also the present author[52] is somewhere in the second century B.C. This probable date fits very well and is not in defiance to paleographic evidence of the coins of Siri Sāta. It has also been shown that the letters of the coins of Siri Sāta very much resemble the letters of the inscription of Nanaghat. Dr. D. C. Sircar[53] assigns Sātakarṇi and the Nanaghat inscription to the second half of the first century B.C. and quotes for his support refers[54] to the earlier critics. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of the earlier critics who assigned the Nāsik Hall to the later half of the first century B.C." Obviously these scholars who are in the line of Dr. Sircar in this respect are more led by their enthusiasm to keep in their mind the contemporaniety of Sātakarṇi I with Khāravela, rather than the dating of Nāsik Hall (which is very unsound ground), to say less of the paleography of inscriptions for which a margin of 80–90 years is negligible. The learned scholar quoted above may be given a present of the paleography of Mathura Pillar inscription of Candragupta II[55] and that of Mehraulī Iron Pillar[56] with a note

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51. K. Gopalachari, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 33 ff. Also his contribution in the Mauryas and Sātavāhanas pp. 301 ff.

52. C. B. Pandey—*Āndhra Sātavāhana Sāmarājya kā Itihāsa*, pp. 27 ff.

53. D. C. Sircar, *Selection Inscription*, p. 191. Foot note 3.

54. Sircar, *Ibid.*, p. 189. f. n. 1. Dr. Sircar refers to *Camb. Hist. India*.

55. Sircar, *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8.

56. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, p. 141.

that the dates and places of both the epigraphs are not far removed in time. Can the peculiar forms of the Iron Pillar suggest much difference of time to that of Mathura Pillar?

No coins of Kaṇha, the second king of the dynasty has been found. The king of coins of Siri Sāta was Sātakarṇi I, has not been finally decided, though majority of scholars are inclined to identify them with him. The question depends upon the date of the foundation of this dynasty. If 235 B.C. is taken as the date, then definitely Sātakarṇi I could not have been the king of the coin of Siri Sāta. It was probably Sātakarṇi II who issued these coins. Some discussions regarding these coins have been made above. Some coins with the legend Raño Siri Sāta have been found in Western India and Malwa region. According to Rapson[57] there is marked resemblance of these coins with those found from Eastern Malwa or Eraṇ region. In support of his view, he quotes Cunningham.[58] On the basis of Cunningham and Rapson's arguments Dr. K. Gopalachari arrived at a conclusion that Sātakarṇi of these coins ruled over Malwa. This conclusion is supported by the coin of Siri Sāta.[59] Dr. P. L. Gupta has reached the same conclusion on different grounds. According to him, the presence of Ujjain symbols suggest the conquest of Malwa by the Sātavāhanas. Rapson may not be quite wrong in his assumption when he suggests that "the use of this symbol on the Sātavāhana coins signifies the conquest of Ujjain, who thereafter performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice."[60] It is a matter to be seriously taken into consideration that it must have taken considerable time for the early Sātavāhana kings to consolidate their position at Pratiṣṭhāna and establish influence over the neighbouring localities, before the conquest of Malwa, which is far removed from the Sātavāhana capital. Further this Sātakarṇi II, the sixth king of the dynasty ruled according to the unanimous testimony of the *Purāṇas*[61] 56 years long, thus having sufficient time to consolidate his position. This date is in conformity with the paleography of the coin legends.

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57. Rapson, *op. cit.*, PL. I. Nos. 5—12.

58. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 95.

59. Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 95.

60. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Muesum*, p. 33.

61. See *Matsya Pu.* 272. 3-4; *Vāyu Pur.* (Anu. Pada) 99. 350. *Brahmāṇḍa.* 3—74—163.

No coin of Lambodara has so far been found. The coins[62] of Apīlaka are big in size. Dikshit read the legend on the coins Raño Śiva Siri Apīlakasa,' but assigned them to later date on paleographic ground, and also on that of numismatic tradition. Dr. K. Gopalachari[63] controverted Dikshit's arguments and put the reverse of these coins for his support, saying that "there is little difference of letters *Sa,* and *ra* on these coins and those of Siri Sāta. Rama Rao[64] thinks that the coins published in B. M. C. by Rapson[65] with horse facing to right and the broken legend *gha sadasa* are of Meghswati, the Sātavāhana king. Coins of Hāla[66] are also said to have been found. On his coins are Caitya of three thick arches on the platform with a line below and *Tisa* below the platform. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol. There is another variety[67] of the same king in Kaus collection on the obverse of which are Caitya of three arches with a crescent, also with symbols on either side. The coins of Hāla are not numerous. For long, the coins of Cakora Sātakarṇi were not found. But now his coins are not rare. Dinkar Rao published some potin coins[68] round in shape, with elephant and legend (Rajño) Cakora Sātakaṇi (sa) on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. This leaves no doubt that the coin belonged to the Cakora Sātakarṇi of Purāṇic list of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Siri Yajña have been much discussed and it is not necessary, therefore, to give detail discussion about them. Śiva Siri, the successor of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi in the Purāṇic list issued at least in two different types of coins i.e. the Caitya[69] type and the elephant[70] type. The sub-variety of these types have not been properly studied. Both types give sometimes major part of the legend Raño Vāśiṣṭhiputasa Śiva Siri Puḷumāvisa.

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62. For coins of Apīlaka vide *JRASB* (Numismatic supplement), 1937-38. p. 94.

63. K. Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

64. M. Rama Rao. List of Published Sātavāhana coins.

65. *BMCAK*. p. 28, PL. V, GP 5.

66. *JNSI*. XIII. Pt. II, p. 132,

67. *Ibid.*, XIII. Pt. II. p. 133. PL. VI. 4.

68. Dinkar Rao in *JNSI*. XXI. Pt. I, pp. 18-19, pi. 1—3.

69. *JASB* (Num. Supp.) 1934, p. 61. Cf. also. Thomas in *Ind. Ant.* IX. pp. 615.

70. *Ibid.*, Num. Supp. 1934, p. 61-62, cf. *JNSI* II, p. 88. PL. VIII. 13—16.

Sometimes the legends are broken. The coins of Śaka Sātakarṇi are also in two different types i.e. the lion[71] type and the elephant[72] type, in two different metals—lead and potin. His coins have been found to be invariably square. On the reverse, the Caitya is formed of six arches with crescent above and dots below. Vijaya Sātakarṇi is known from a solitary potin coin[73] on the obverse of which is the elephant to left with trunk upraised and the legend Raño (Siri) Vijaya Sātakaṇisa. Canda Sātakarṇi seems to have been a powerful king. He isssued at least in three types i.e. the Caitya[74] type, the Horse type[75] and the elephant type.[76] The coins of Skanda Sāta,[77] Kuṁbha Sātakarṇi[78] and Karṇa Sātakarṇi[79] are also known from Tarahāḷā hoard only. The later two names are unique. Neither of them can be satisfactorily regarded as Sātavāhana king. The types of these coins show that they were definitely connected with Sātavāhanas. But how they were connected, cannot be said with any amount of definiteness. Similar is the case with the Rudra Sātakarṇi who issued two different types in lead, the elephant[80] type and the Caitya type.[81]

E. *Coins of the Feudatories of the Sātavāhanas*

(a) *Mahāraṭhi Coins*

The coins found from Cittaladurga and the vicinity with common suffix *Mahāraṭhi* are of great significance. There are numerous varieties particularly with regard to adverse and reverse designs. Their greatest importance lies in the fact that these coins bring to light four generations of these Mahāraṭhi chiefs i.e. Sadakana Caṭakaṇha Mahāraṭhi and an anonymous Mahāraṭhi.[82] The

71. Rapson, *BMCAK*. p. 10 PL. III 33 and G. P. 2.
72. *JNSI*. II, p. 92. PL. VIII 29-30.
73. *Ibid.*, II, p. 90, Pl. VIII 22-23.
74. *Coins of An. India*, Pl. XII. 13.
75. Rapson, *BMCAK*. p. 33, Pl. VI. 130, also *Ibid.*, p. 32 No. 125.
76. *IMC*. PL. XXIII. 22.
77. *JNSI*. II, p. 89. PL. VIII 15-16.
78. *Ibid.*, II, p. 90. Pl. VIII 24-25.
79. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91. Pl. VIII. 26-27.
80. Elliot. *Coins of South India* Pl. I. 29.
81. Numismatic suppl. 1934, p. 61, No. 3.
82. *Ancient India No.* 4, p. 291. Coins Nos. 6—14; p. 292, Coins Nos. 16—19.

similarities of the obverse and reverse designs and the common prefix Sadakana and common suffix Mahārathi indicate that these four chieftains belonged to the same family and constitute four successive generations.

As regards the exact significance of the term Sadakana it is very difficult to state with any amount of definiteness. Scholars have tried to equate Sadakana with Sātakarṇi and bring sixth Vibhakti in plural, *Sātakarṇānām*. Similarly it is equally difficult to interpret the word *"Kaḷalāya"*. It has been suggested that *Kaḷa* (*kaḍa*) is a Dravidian word meaning city (Nagar).[83] Even if we accept this interpretation it does not bring us any where. Neither the word "Sadakana" nor *Kaḷa* (*Kaḍa*) brings us to any palpable solution of the problem. Like above, the term Mahārathi is very difficult to ascertain. According to Dr. K. Gopalachari[84] the word 'Mahārathi' of the inscriptions is connected with suffix Mahārathi of the coin legends. If we accept his view, the date of the coins will have to be placed somewhere very near 150 B.C.[85] the probable date of Siri Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana king of the coins, and as a matter of fact also of king Siri Sāta of the coins. It has been argued[86] that because the coins bear only the titles and not the proper names, they seem, therefore, to have been issued by some later king of the dynasty. It may be noted that from the point of view of the fabrics and legends these coins resemble those of Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda. Thus it would be safer to date these coins near that of these Ānand kings, though they may be slightly earlier. Rapson has assigned to a later date.

In any case there seems no ground to doubt that they were connected with the Sātavāhanas. Probably they were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas ruling in the Cittaldurga region.

(b) *Ānanda Coins*

In 1883 Pearse obtained four lead coins Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda from Karwar in the north Kannada district. Two of

83. K. Gopalachari—*Early History of the Andhra Country*, pp. 54 ff.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

85. The dates of Nanaghat caves are assigned to the second half of the first century B. C. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 191, f. n. 3 cf. also H. C *Rayachaudhury, PHAI* (5th), p. 415 ff.

86. Rapson quoted by Rama Rao, *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 200.

these were published by Elliot and all were included by Rapson[87] in his catalogue. Since then, Candravalli excavations[88] have brought many such coins to sight. Dr. Wheeler, the last exacator of the site also published many coins. As regards the date of these coins Rapson[89] considered that these represent later kings, and that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda was the member of the same family. Rapson also named this family as Ānanda family and held that Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda were not separated by any great interval of time and that the former was the earlier ruler.

The name Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukānanda has occurred in a Banavāsi inscription.[90] If *'Kada'* is taken to be a Dravidian word, meaning city (nagar), Viṣṇukaḍa would mean Viṣṇunagar, and similarly Cuṭukaḍa would mean Cuṭunagar. But apart from the difficulty of identifying such cities in the north Kannaḍa district, this does not solve any problem.

Further, the question is whether Cuṭukulānanda of coins can in any way be equated with Hārītiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda of inscription. On paleographic grounds the coins are earlier than inscription, though paleography cannot be absolutely dependable for such purposes. Due to numismatic conservatism, the forms of letters persist in the subsequent period also. Thus it cannot be said with certainty that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda belonged to the same family, though the possibility thereof may not be ruled out. A very important thing is gathered from the Mallavalli Inscription[91] that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda was an officer of Vaijayanti (Banavāsi). There is no doubt that Banavāsi was one of the regional centres of Sātavāhana empire.[92] It is from this *Vijayaskandhāvāra* that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued orders for provincial offices. According to Mallavalli Inscription Hārītiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Sātakarṇi and his grandson Hārītiputra Śivaskandavarmana ruled over Banavāsi. In the Inscription Viṣṇukaḍa Sātakarṇi is said to be *Vai-*

87. Rapson, *BMCAK.*, pp. 57–60.

88. Supplement to the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department 1929. Contains report on Candravalli Excavations.

89. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

90. *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 331.

91. *Ep. Car.*, vol. VII, p. 251; *JRAS.* 1905, p. 304.

92. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, p. 198.

jayantīpurarāja and *Vaijayantipati.* Possibly shortly after, the Kadambas subjugated this region.

Nothing is known in the inscription about Mūḷānanda. Rapson[93] suggested it to be Muṇḍānanda. His coins resemble those of Cuṭukulānanda in legends, types and fabrics and are found in the same region where coins of Cuṭukulānanda are found.[94] He may be connected with Sadakana Kaḷālāya Mahāraṭhi on the basis of Caitya Tree, though paleographically his dates seem to be earlier. Rapson[95] placed Mūḷānanda chronologically later than Cuṭukulānanda.

(c) *The Kuru Coins*

The coins of Kuru Kings from Kolhāpur also offer numerous difficulties in studies. They represent at least three kings. From the Candravalli some coins of some Kuru ending kings have also come to light. Dr. Krishna[96] obtained one lead coin of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakuru from Candravalli. Another coin bearing a very close resemblance to the lead coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi found at Koṇḍāpur and other places is in Dr. Wheeler' collection.[97] On this traces of the legend *go tami* and *vi-ya ka* have been read with satisfaction. The entire legend may be reconstructed as *Raṇa Gotami-Viḷivāyakurasa.* Dr. Rama Rao[98] held that this is Sātavāhana coin of the Kuru kings. It may be noted that Caitya is generally found on one side of the lead coins while only the upper portion of the Caitya is seen on potion coins. Bow and arrow are found on the reverse of both the types. These coins give us the following legends of the kings found on them:

1. Raño Vāśiṭhīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.
2. Raño Mādharīputasa Sivalakurasa.
3. Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakuras.

93. Rapson—*op. cit.*, p. 84-85.
94. *Loc. cit.*
95. *Loc. cit.*
96. Rama Rao refers to it in *JNSI.* 1954, XVI. Pt. II, p. 199.
97. *Ancient India.* No. 4, Pl. CXXVII Coin. No. 21.
98. *JNSI.* XVI. p. 199.

The relative chronology of these Kuru kings is almost certain. Mādharīputra Sivalakuru has restruck the coins of Vāśiṭhīputra Viḷivāyakuru and Gotamiputra Viḷivāyakuru has restruck the coins of both. They, therefore, can be arranged chronologically as they have been arranged above.

The exact significance of the Kuru coins is very difficult to ascertain. It has been suggested[99] that Kuru is the Prākṛt form of Sanskrit word '*Kula*' in which it would be Bahuvrīhi Samāsa e.g. Mihirkula; and in that case it would be translated as Rājaputra of Viḷivāya or Vilavala family. The word *Viḷivāya* is difficult to interpret. But Sivala has been identified with Sanskrit word *Śivadatta*. Sivalakuru has also been regarded as Swāmi Śakasena of the two Kānheri inscriptions.[100] Bhandarkar identified[101] Sadakana and Śakasena of the coins found in other regions. One scholar[102] has gone to the extent of identifying him with Siri Śivaswāti, whose reign period according to *Matsya Purāṇa*[103] is said to be twenty eight years. It may be noted that the one name Sivalā Devi has been found mentioned in one of Nasik inscriptions.[104] Dr. M. Rama Rao[105] has suggested a peculiar theory though unsubstantiated by any evidence. These were Sātavāhana coins restruck by Kuru kings.[106] If we accept this view, we have also to accept that the imperial Sātavāhanas were once defeated by Kuru kings. This is in total defiance of available evidences and therefore baseless.

Whether these coins are in any way connected with Sātavāhana or they were independent kings who issued such coins? Smith[106] held in this connection that Viḷivāyakuru is a personal name. Bhandarkar[107] regarded that these were the titles of provincial governors who were ruling in the Kolhāpur region. Rapson[108] advocated that

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99. Rapson. *op. cit, Introduction,* p. LXXXXIV-V.
100. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *JBBRAS.* XII, p. 408.
101. Bhandarkar,*Early History of Deccan,* p. 35.
102. *ZDMG,* 1902, p. 662.
103. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 272. 11. अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि शिवस्वातिर्भविष्यति ।
104. *Cunningham—Stupa of Bharahut,* p. 131.
105. Rao, *JNSI, XVI,* Pt. XX, p. 198.
106. *Smith, Early History of India,* p. 168.
107. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan,* p. 20.
108. Rapson, Ibid., *op. cit.,* Introduction, LXXXVI.

these were titles of the Sātavāhanas kings. According to him evidences are available that Sātavāhanas have used different titles in different regions. Apart from the difficulty of understanding the exact significance as to why the Sātavāhanas were obliged to use these titles and issue these coins for Kolhāpur region, there is another thing which bespeak of the futile stand of Rapson. This is that there is no evidence of Sātavāhanas using other titles in other regions. Over and above this difficulty there is another one that in that case we have also to admit and that these are new names. Sātavāhanas have used their peculiar matronymic titles. Rapson[109] admits this fact and held[110] that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who restruck the coins of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakuru[111] are one and the same person. Dr. Rama Rao suggested that the ancestors of the Kuru kings were originally Sātavāhana subordinates and that chieftains of this family become independent after the time of Sātakarṇī IV.[112] He also held[113] that the occurrence of bow and arrow indicates beyond doubt that the ancestors of the Kuru kings were subordinates of the Sātavāhanas.

F. *The dates of the Sātavāhana Feudatory Coins*

As regards the date of these Mahāraṭhī, Ānanda, Kuru and Sebaka coins,[114] a keen controversy has centered round this problem. Rapson[115] placed the Mahāraṭhi coins obtained from Candravalli and included in B.M.C. in about 150 B.C. i.e. to the period of Siri Sāta the third member of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Purāṇic list. He held that Sadakana Kaḷalāya was the Āndhra Viceroy of a province, that the word Kaḷalāya might well be restored in the Nanaghat inscription as a part of the title of Mahāraṭhi figuring in it, that it is very much likely that Mahāraṭhī of the coins was identical with the Mahāraṭhī of the inscription. He further held[116] that the coins bear apparently a title and not a personal name, that they might

109. *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVII.

110. *Ibid.*, p. LXVII–LXVIII. p. L. 9–253–258.

111. *Ibid.*, p. XIX, pL. 4. 59–87.

112. *JNSI.* XVIII, Pt. 66.

113. *JNSI.* XVII, Pt. I, p. 66.

114. *Mirashi, JNSI.* VII, p. 94; also *Ibid.*

115. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.PL. VIII. Nos. 233-34.

116. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. lxxiii.

well have been issued by a later member of the same family and that they are closely connected with the reverse type and also with fabrics of the coins of Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda. It is evident that Rapson's main stand is that Kaḷalāya is a title and not a personal name. This presumption was due to the fact that Rapson had before him only the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. But subsequently coins of at least four Mahāraṭhi's have come to light. The reasonable inference is, as pointed out by M. Rama Rao,[117] that Kaḷalāya like Cuṭukaṇha and Kaṇha is a personal name and not a title, which Rapson wrongly presumed. Rapson's second misunderstanding was the supposed similarity of the reverse types of the Mahāraṭhī and Ānand coins. But it is unjustifiable, because the reverse of Mahāraṭhi coins bear Caitya and tree while that of Ānandas bear only the tree. Thus, as well suggested by Dr. Rao, Rapson's original ascription of Kaḷalāya coins to the period of Sātakarṇi is more correct.

Mr. Chakravarti[118] opined that Kaḷalāya of the coins is entirely different from the inscriptions and, therefore, he cannot be contemporary of Sātakarṇi I. He must be relegated to a later date. He offers three additional arguments—(a) North Kannada and North Mysore were not included in the empire of the early Sātavāhanas, (b) It was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who extended the Sātavāhana empire south of Kriṣṇā and it was at this time that the feudatory family of Mahāraṭhī ruled in the North Mysore, (c) The discovery of Roman coin of Augustus with the coins of Kaḷalāya shows that in no case can the Mahāraṭhi coins be dated earlier than first century A.D. The Roman coins must have been current in the country after being introduced in India and this shows that Mahāraṭhīs may be even later. Dr. Rama Rao[119] pointed out that "Mr. Chakravarti does neither take the paleography of Mahāraṭhi coins, nor the number of the generations of Mahāraṭhi chiefs. Four generations of Mahāraṭhis and two of Ānandas seem to have ruled over Cittaldurga region in succession. If they started their rule he argued[120] at the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[121] their rule and that of

117. *JNSI.* XVI, Pt. II, p. 197 I.

118. *Ancient India*, no. 4, pp. 21-22.

119. XVI, Pt. II, p. 201.

120. *Loc. cit.*

121. 781 – 102 A.D.

Ānandas would last up to the third century A.D. And this does not agree with the known facts of the post Sātavāhana period." It may be pointed out that no less than eight generations of Sātavāhana rulers are known to have ruled after Gautamīputra, the twenty-third king of the Purāṇic list. If this fact is accepted, it is quite unintelligible why only six generations of chieftains cannot be accommodated in the later Sātavāhana period.

According to Dr. Wheeler the paleography of the coins of Kaḷalāya is earlier than that of Puḷumāvi and Yajña Siri. They were found in deeper layers, therefore the coins are assignable to pre-Puḷumāvī period, though not, in any case, earlier than 50 B.C. He further[123] held that Cuṭukulānanda, whose coin was found in the sixth layer of Candravalli excavations may be a successor of Mahārathi, whose coins are assignable to 50 B.C. on the ground that characters of their legends resemble those of Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi, assigned to 50 B.C.

M. Rama Rao[124] criticised Wheeler and argued that it is proper to compare coins of Mahāraṭhī with the coin of the early Sātavāhanas and not with the inscriptions. On comparison, they stand earlier in date. Another fact is that the expression Sātakarṇi is to be found in the later inscription, whereas the Nāsik inscription of Kaṇha[125] contains the expression *Sāta (da) vāhana Kule Kaṇha Rājini*....and the coins of the founder of the dynasty has the legend Raño Sātavāhanasa." The conclusion he draws is that the form Sātavāhana is earlier. According to him 'Sadakana' is an earlier form and this point to a time earlier than that of the later Sātavāhanas and nearer to that of the early rulers of Sātavāhana dynasty. Dr. Rao[126] further holds that the date of Mahāraṭhi coins can be determined in another way. He emphasises the order of succession of various families in the Cittaldurga region and the number of kings. The stratification analysis of Dr. Wheeler's excavations at Candravalli shows that the Mahāraṭhis were the earliest and that they were followed by the two Ānanda rulers.

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122. *Ancient India*. No. 4, p. 289.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 290, also see *loc. cit.* f. n. No. 4.
124. *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 201-2.
125. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, p. 189.
126. *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 202.

The approach of the present author is that it is not possible to bank upon the paleography for determining the dates of these kings, because the form of letters sometimes persist in the numismatics conservatism, specially in the pre-Gupta coinage. The region of these coins i.e. North Kannada and North Mysore was not included in Sātavāhana empire at so early a date. The evidence of coin of Augustus with the coins of Mahāraṭhi cannot be set aside and this has not been satisfactorily answered either by Dr. Wheeler or Dr. Rama Rao. Thus the views of Mr. Chakravarti[127] seems correct that these Mahāraṭhis were the feudatories of Sātavāhanas only from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

127. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 21-22, Nos. 6—20.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE AS REFLECTED IN INDIAN SCULPTURES

By B. N. Sharma

Religion has always played an important role in Indian life. It affects the people's way of thinking towards every problem, political, ethical, as well as social and creates an environment which might be considered as peculiarly Hindu. Although there were no religious wars as such, it is true that in the history of Indian religion one can find instances which clearly indicate that the people of different sects did have a certain amount of bitterness at one time or the other. At times such a bitterness aroused the enthusiasm of a particular sect so high as to regard their god superior to those of others. There are also definite evidences, both literary and sculptural, which suggest that there were periods when a perfect religious harmony among all the sects existed.[1] Those who emphasised the tolerance went to the extent of propounding the concepts which led to the formation of images in which the different gods were given more or less equal status. In the followings pages, an attempt has been made to show as to how the two concepts of tolerance and animosity in the religious life of Indit their concrete expression in sculptures.

The religious tolerance that existed in India during ancient and early mediaeval period, also found its expression through the medium of syncretistic images fashioned by the artists. Such images representing the blending of different gods and goddesses have been found throughout India. If there is a multiplicity of gods and goddesses in India, it is due not to superstition, but to the Hindu's faith in one divine being, whose energy is manifested in varied forms, creative, sustaining and destructive. Various forms of deities are

* National Museum, New Delhi-11.

1. Cf. एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति ।
अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥ *Ṛgveda*, 1. 164. 46.

See also *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*, X, 40-41; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 126. 3; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1, 3, 26-27 and our paper 'Purāṇic Message of Religious Tolerance And Its Limitations,' *PURĀṆA*, Varanasi (In Press).

conceived as aids to contemplation and the several heads and many arms are given to symbolize the powers and functions of the deity. It may be pointed out here that the sculptors in India took delight in fashioning his beautiful creations according to poetic or symbolic description in preference to what he merely observed with his physical eye. Now we will discuss in brief some important syncretistic images, which were more popular in Northern India.

Harihara

Harihara images represent the harmonization of the two important sects of Hinduism, namely, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The images of this type show Viṣṇu (the preserver) and Śiva (the destroyer) merged into one body, half being 'Hari' and the other half 'Hara'. Such images have been found in all parts of India and show the one half of the head adorned with the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa of* Viṣṇu and the other half with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of Śiva.[2] A complete description of such type of images is given in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* :[3]

सार्द्धद्विनेत्रं कनकाहिकुण्डलं जटागुडाकेशखगर्षभध्वजम् ।
समाधवं हारभुजङ्गभूषणं पीताजिनाच्छन्नकटिप्रदेशम् ॥
चक्रासिहस्तं हलशार्ङ्गपाणिं पिनाकशलाजगवान्वितं च ।
कपर्दखट्वाङ्गकपालघण्टं सशङ्खटंकारखं महर्षे ॥

Two of the three temples of Harihara of *Pañcāyatana* group are located at Osian (near Jodhpur). The principal back niches of both the shrines possess Harihara images.[4] In an image of the deity from Bihar Hara aspect is emphasised by the sign of *Ūrdhva-liṅga,* though this is not generally found in the images of Harihara.[5] A unique image from the same state shows Harihara flanked by Buddha and Sūrya. This signifies the combination of the four important cults, namely, Śaiva, Bhāgavata, Saura and Saugata.[6] Harihara images come also from the distant East. An inscribed image of the deity from Deopani, and datable in the 9th-10th century A.D. is displayed in the State Museum, Gauhati.

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2. B. N. Sharma, *Roopa-Lekhā,* New Delhi, XXXV, Nos. 1 and 2, 32-33, pl. V.
3. *Vāmana Purāṇa,* 62, 29-30. See also *Agni Purāṇa,* 49, 24-26.
4. *Mārg,* XII, 2, fig. 10 on p. 57.
5. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography,* p. 546.
6. C. Sivaramamurti, *Arts Asiatiques,* Paris, 1954, p. 109.

Epigraphic evidence also proves the popularity of Harihara conception. Sakrāī Mātā inscription[7] refers to the name of the donor as Śiva-Hari.[8]

Harihara-Pitāmaha

To these two members of the trinity,[9] viz. Viṣṇu and Śiva, the third, Brahmā is also sometimes added, and such images are called Harihara-Pitāmaha. Such images can be seen in the museums of Bāḍolī and Ajmer. A magnificent example from Arthūṇā has the bejewelled crown of Viṣṇu on the central head, while the side ones show the *jaṭā-mukuṭas* of Brahmā and Śiva. The arms are lost, hence, it is not possible to decipher the attributes of the deity.

That the cult of Harihara-Pitāmaha was quite popular in Rajasthan during the mediaeval period, is proved by an epigraph which records that a temple was built in honour of the deity at Ghāsā (near Udaipur) in V.S. 1317.[10]

Harihara-Pitāmaha and Sūrya

A nicely carved image showing the blending of the four important gods of Hindu pantheon can be seen on the door-lintel of the main temple at Kirāḍu in Rajasthan. The one-faced image originally had ten hands, of which some are now broken and lost. The objects, held in the hands that have survived, are the two lotuses of Sūrya, the discus and mace of Viṣṇu, the libation ladle of Brahmā and the bow and arrow probably of Śiva; and is flanked on either side by a Naṭeśa figure.[11] Similar images showing four gods in one have also been discovered in other parts of Northern India. The idea behind such images is clearly given in the *Purāṇas* :

ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव वैष्णवी चैव तेतनुः ।
त्रिधा यस्य स्वरूपन्तु भानोर्भास्वान्प्रसीदतु ॥

–*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 106, 71.

7. V. S. 1156 (A.D. 1099).

8. R. G. Agrawala, *The Researcher,* Jaipur, II, p. 16.

9. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* 1, 19, 66.

10. R. C. Agrawala, *Indian Historical Quarterly,* March, 1961; *The Researcher,* II, pp. 18-19.

11. *Progress Rep. Arch. Sury. Western Circle,* 1907, p. 41.

Viṣṇu-Sūrya-Brahmā

Images showing Viṣṇu-Sūrya and Brahmā carved in one single sculpture depict the syncretism among the followers of these three gods. An image was found outside the ancient Sūrya temple at Raṇpur in Marwar, in which the upper part is that of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, while the lower part is that of Sūrya, who is shown wearing the long boots and riding on a chariot driven by seven horses. Similar images have also been noticed at Khajurāho[12] and other places.

Śiva-Brahmā-Sūrya

The Mātājee temple at Bhaval near Mertā in Rajasthan has a six-armed image which carries in the upper two hands lotuses of Sūrya, the serpent of Śiva and the *kamaṇḍalu* of Brahmā. He wears a crown in the middle of the head, while on the two sides the *Jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[13] Another similar image is preserved in the Amber Museum (No. 108).

Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa

A seated four-armed image of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa (showing the blending of Sūrya and Nārāyaṇa)[14] found at Baroda (Dūṅgarpur District) holds a club and a disc and two lotuses, the attributes of Viṣṇu and Sūrya respectively. The boots of Sūrya can also be seen in the image.[15]

Brahmā-Sūrya

A fine example of the Pāla workmanship of the 11th century A.D. from District Dinājpur of Bengal, shows a six-armed deity standing on a lotus and carrying lotuses in the two hands. The remaining four hands show *varada-mudrā*, and a rosary, *abhaya-mudrā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*.[16]

12. S. Kramrisch, *Hindu Temples*, II, pp. 373-4, pl. 5.

13. *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, Western Circle*, 1911, p. 37.

14. In an epigraph of the 12th century, Sūrya has been conceived as the southern eye of Viṣṇu.—*Epi. Indica*, XXIX, p. 82, v. 33.

15. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums, Bombay*, XI, 1955, pp. 21-22 and plate.

16. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 550, pl. xlvii, fig. 3.

Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava

A composite representation of Sūrya and Śiva holding the *āyudhas* of these deities has been termed by K. C. Sircar as 'Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava.'[17] A three-faced and ten-armed image of the god[18] discovered at Manda (Rajshahi), forms a rich collection of the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi. He carries two lotuses of Sūrya and *khaṭvāṅga, triśūla, ḍamaru* and a serpent of Śiva. Flames are shooting up from his head and the shoulders.[19] Another equally interesting image has been noticed on the Sāsa-Bahū temple at Nāgdā (near Udaipur). He is seated in *padmāsana,* wearing a crown and an armour, and carrying a trident and a skull-crowned mace of Śiva in the rear hands and lotuses of Sūrya in the front hands.[20] T. N. Ramachandran has also recently published an image of the deity from the Sun temple at Koṇārka.[21]

Supreme Godhead Sūrya

A rare image of Sūrya comes from the Śaiva temple of Harṣanātha depicting not only the Sun as the Supreme Deity, but also Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu as blended with him. The face has the crown of both the Sun and Viṣṇu. The other two heads are crowned with matted locks and represent Śiva and Brahmā. The six supplementary arms carry a trident and a cobra (of Śiva), a disc and conch, the attributes of Viṣṇu and a manuscript and a water-vessel, both of which indicate the presence of Brahmā. Sūrya here as pointed out by H. Goetz, is represented 'as the essence of all the gods.' Thus, it is a remarkable illustration of the religious thought of the Cauhāna period translated in the stone. But equally important thing is that this image of Sūrya was permitted to be set up in a temple dedicated to Śiva and in an area, where Pāśupata influence was quite predominent.[22]

Ardhanārīśvara Śiva

Rapprochment and reconciliation of the two important creeds, viz. Śaivism and Śāktism can be marked into a new syncre-

17. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* VI, 1930, pp. 465—70.

18. 12th century A.D.

19. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.,* pp. 549-550.

20. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History,* Dec. 1968, pp. 375—78; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Jan.-Dec., 1965, LI, I—IV, p. 98.

21'. See *Bābū Chhotey Lal Smṛiti Grantha, Calcutta,* 1967, p. 104 and plate.

22. H. Goetz, *P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume,* Poona Oriental Series No. 93, 1960, pp. 113-114.

tistic divinity which has the features of both Śiva and Śakti. Not only in the *Purāṇas*,[23] and the works of Kālidāsa[24] but also in the epigraphs[25] of the mediaeval period, detailed descriptions of Ardhanārīśvara Śiva are given. Kālidāsa pays his obeisance to Ardhanārīśvara in the opening verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa* :—

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ॥

—*Raghuvaṁśa*, I, 1.

In such images, the right half of the body is male and the left half female. The dress and the jewelery of the two haves of the deity are also different as they are made to suit a male and a female. A nicely carved out image of Ardhanārīśvara belonging to the later phase of the Pāla art of Bengal was acquired from Purapara (Dacca) and is now displayed in the Rajshahi Museum. The National Museum, New Delhi, has also recently acquired two beautiful images of the deity datable in the 7th-8th century A.D.

Catur-Mukha Śivaliṅga

A four-faced *Śiva-liṅga* discovered from Kalyāṇpur (Rajasthan) shows the figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is inscribed.[26]

We may also describe another *Śiva-liṅga* from the Buddhist site of Bodhgayā. It has the figures of Viṣṇu and Bhairava and an inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla.[27]

Pañcāyatana Śiva-Liṅga

This *Śiva-liṅga* found at Bihār-Sharif and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is another splendid example of the religious tolerance in the mediaeval period. It shows without any doubt

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23. For details see *Śiva Purāṇa, Vāyavīya Saṁhitā, Uttara khaṇḍa*, 4, 10—12; *Śiva Purāṇa, Umā Saṁhitā*, 49, 27—30.

24. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, 1, 4.

25. *Naihāti Copper-plate of Ballālasena, Epi. Indica*, XIV. p. 159; and *Khandelā inscription from Rājasthān, Epi. Indica*, XXXIV, p. 162, vv. 1-2.

26. *Śodha Patrikā* (Hindi), Udaipur, VII, 2-3, p. 5.

27. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (N. S.), IV, p. 102.

that the worship of the five cult deities (*Pañcāyatana-pūja*) existed in Bihar. On its four sides are carved the figures of Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Sūrya and Gaṇapati, which four along with the central *liṅga,* symbolise the cult pictures of the five main sects, namely, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya, and Śaiva.[28]

By the 9th century A.D. Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and was worshipped also by the Vaiṣṇavas. The statement is further corroborated by the archaeological evidence. We find a seated image of Buddha outside a Pratihāra temple at Osian, built in honour of Viṣṇu in the 9th century.[29] That the same feeling of religious harmony existed among the Buddhists towards the Brahmanical faith, is indicated by the fact that almost all the Hindu deities like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇapati, Balarāma, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Yama, Agni, etc. are found represented outside the walls of the famous Buddhist temple at Pahārpura.[30]

The Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism had accepted Brahmā and Indra by their Hindu names in their pantheon, though they were given a lower status than the Buddha had.[31] In a sculpture discovered at Badagāon near Nālandā, Indra and Gaṇeśa are carved flanking the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭi.[32] Still later, when Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna had become very popular, many more Hindu gods were incorporated by them with some minor changes. Hindu goddess of learning Sarasvatī,[33] Gaṇeśa,[34] and the seven mother-goddesses[35] were also taken in the Buddhist fold. The Buddhist goddess Tārā holds a lotus in her left hand and has a calm and serene face like Śrī Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of plenty and prosperity. The Buddhists also borrowed many Hindu gods like Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Kubera and adorned with new names like

28. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 545, pl. xlvi, fig. 2.

29. *Arch. Surv. of India, Anu. Rep.*, 1907-08.

30. R. C. Majumdar, *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 330.

31. *Patna Museum*, antiquity, No. 9591.

32. B. P. Sinha. *Bhāratīya Kalā ko Bihār kī Dena;* pp. 138-9.

33. *Nālandā Museum*, No. 20. 850; B Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 150.

34. See the *Sādhanamālā, Baroda*, xli, ii, p. 592.

35. *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 66, p. 115.

Mārīci,[36] Lokeśvara[37] and Jambhala.[38] Śiva's mild form was given the name of Nīlakaṇṭha[39] and the fierce Vajra.[40] The Buddhist images of Siṁhanāda with his hair arranged in *jaṭā-mukuṭa* fashion and wearing a *siṁha-carma* and a cobra is also a somewhat different adaptation of Śiva of Brāhmanism.

Dr. J. N. Banerjea has mentioned a Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara image from Dinājpur, datable in the 12th century A.D. He is standing under the canopy of a seven-hooded serpent, above which a miniature figure of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha is carved and a figure of dancing Śiva is shown on the pedestal below. Dr. Banerjea opines that this image has got Mahāyāna features, as the way of placing the gadā and cakra on lotuses is found in case of Mañjūśrī and Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara.[41]

How tolerant Hinduism was towards Jainism becomes clear from the fact that like Buddha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[42] An inscription of V. S. 1218 mentions Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as Jinas :

> *Oṁ//Svasti//Śriyai, bhavaṁtu vo devā/Vra* (*bra*) *—hma—*
> *—Śrīdhara—Śaṁkaraḥ sadā Virāgavaṁto ye/Jinā jagati viśru-tāḥ.//*
>
> —*Epi. Indica*, IX, pp. 67-8, v. 1.

Jainism incorporated also numerous Hindu divinities, though giving them a subordinate position than of their own deities. The ceilings and surface of the famous Jaina temples at Ābū in Rajasthan are sculptured with several incidents occurring in the two epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.[43] Even now, Brāhmaṇas act as priest in various Jaina temples in Western India.[44]

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36. *Patna Museum*, No. 3330.
37. *Ibid.*, 1669.
38. *National Museum*, No. 59. 294.
39. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
41. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-5, pl. xlviii, fig. 4; *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 433-4.
42. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* quoted in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 134.
43. K. C. Jaina, *Jainism in Rājasthān*, p. 140.
44. The Pahārpur copper-plate inscription mentions that a Brāhmaṇa had purchased some land for the expanse of the divine *Arhats* at the Jaina *vihāra*.—*Epi. Indica*, XX, pp. 67-8.

Though due to the non-sectarian policy of the rulers, people generally lived in harmony, there is no doubt that certain sections of society did not sometimes see eye to eye with other sects. Bhīmāl was a great centre of Sun-worship and was famous for its magnificent temple of Sūrya called Jagat-Svāmin.[45] The Bhnmāl inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja, a king of the Paramāra dynasty, makes Śiva fold his hands before the Sun in adoration.[46] Another Paramāra king Subhaṭavarmana led his forces against Lāṭa and sacked the city of Dabhoi for its riches not leaving even the gold couples of its Jaina temples. In the eleventh century, the Śaivites are known to have ousted the Buddhist monks from their monasteries at Sīrpur (Madhya Pradesh).[47] Religious ill-feelings are also reflected in some of the literary works composed by Indian as well as foreign writers. Such feelings are clearly expressed by Kṛṣṇa Miśra in his *Prabodhacandrodaya,* though he himself was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[48] The accounts of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan scholar, who visited Bihar in 1234—36, relate that the Buddhists had put an image of Śiva in front of Buddha's image to protect it from the anger of the non-Buddhists at Vajrayāna (Bodh-gayā).[49]

The Buddhists also criticised the followers of Hinduism and even some of their beliefs like that of bathing at *tīrthas* and also in the river Ganges saying that they had no value.[50] The *Sādhanamālā, a* work of the Vajrayānists, describes several verses mentioning the Hindu deities not only as menials but also as subordinate to the Buddhist gods and goddesses.[51]

The sculptors, under the influence of such antagonistic feelings carved many images which depict the religious rivalry among the sects. In some sculptures, particularly from Eastern India, the Buddhist gods are shown trampling the Hindu deities, both male and female. For example, Aparājitā and Vighnāntaka have been

45. *Bombay Gazetteer,* I, Part II, pp. 473-4.

46. *Ibid.,* p. 474.

47. *Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review,* p. 24.

48. pp. 100 ff.

49. *Bibliography of Dharmasvāmin,* Patna, p. 64.

50. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1898, p. 117.

51. No. XLI, II, No. 260, 263, 264, etc.

shown in two different images as pressing Gaṇeśa with their legs.[52] In another image Vighnāntaka is shown riding on his vāhana Gaṇeśa.[53] A three-faced and six-armed image of Buddhist goddess Parṇeśvarī is shown in the *pratyālīḍha*-pose and keeping her left leg on Gaṇeśa, who is lying flat on the ground.[54] Another image shows the Buddhist god Ucchuśma Jambhala trampling Kubera, the Hindu deity of wealth under his feet.[55] A sculpture from Bihar shows Vajrahuṁkāra trampling Bhairava.[56] A description given in the *Sādhanamālā* about Trailokyavijaya has been beautifully translated in stone sculptures. A three-faced sculpture of Trailokyavijaya from Orissa shows him trampling Cāmuṇḍā and Śiva under his feet.[57] Another equally important image in this category is known by the curious name of 'Hari-Hari-Hari-Vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara,' which shows the Buddhist god Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara, riding on the shoulders of Viṣṇu (Hari) who has Garuḍa (Hari) as his *vāhana*, the celestical bird-man again being mounted on the back of a lion (Hari). The word Hari has been used in three different meanings—Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and lion. In this connection Dr. J. N. Banerjea remarks, "advantage was thus taken of some of the various synonyms of the word *Hari* by the sectarian iconographer in order to formulate such a type of icon in which the principal object of worship of the followers of one of the major Hindu cults was shown as a mere mount of a Buddhist divinity.[58]

The Jainas, too, adopted many of the Hindu gods and goddesses in their pantheon. But the Hindu divinities, who enjoyed a very high status, were naturally given a secondary position in the hierarchy of the Jaina deities. Many of the Yakṣas and the Yakṣiṇīs, who are the mere attendants of the Tīrthaṁkaras, were primarily the Hindu deities. The Dikpālas, Navagrahas and several other *devīs* of Jainism are also a copy of Hindu deities. With a slight change, sometimes their physical features and the attributes also remain the same as those of their Brahmanical counterparts.

52. H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, p. 138.
53. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, b.
54. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, b.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
56. B. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
57. *National Museum*, No. 60. 1142.
58. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

Among the various followers of different Hindu sects, there was the feeling that their gods are superior to those of the other sects. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* claims the superiority of Viṣṇu over Brahmā and Śiva.[59] Similarly, the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* says that Śiva was born out of Viṣṇu. On the contrary, the *Saura Purāṇa* remarks that Śiva gave Viṣṇu the *Sudarśana-cakra*.[60] A story related in the *Brahma Purāṇa* says that Śiva had swallowed the *cakra* of Viṣṇu and proved his superiority.[61] The *Saura Purāṇa* also speaks slightingly about the non-Śaivas[62] and goes to the extent of declaring that the followers of the sects like Cārvāka, Buddhism and Jainism, etc. should not be permitted to settle in a kingdom.[63]

This sectarian jealousy mentioned in the *Purāṇas* was also expressed through the medium of sculptures found scattered in different parts of the country. For example, the image of Nṛsiṁha (man-lion) killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu shows the victory of Viṣṇu over Śiva as the former is the incarnation of Viṣṇu and the latter was a great devotee of Śiva. While Śiva in the curious form of Śarabha (man-animal-bird) is depicted killing Nṛsiṁha. Again in the Ekapāda images, Śiva is represented as standing on one leg, while Brahmā and Viṣṇu are seen issuing from his right and left respectively.

Another very important image showing the victory of Śiva over the two other members of the triad is known as "Liṅgodbhava Maheśvara," the detailed story of which is given in the *Śiva, Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*. The story says that 'Brahmā went upwards to find the upper end of the Śiva-liṅga while Viṣṇu went downwards to trace out its lower end, but neither of them could reach the top or the bottom of the immeasurable Śiva-liṅga. Brahmā seeing no good result uttered a lie that he had found out the top of the Śiva-liṅga and consequently, he was cursed not to receive any worship on earth.' He is not enshrined in separate temples excepting a few like Puṣkara. Numerous images relating this interesting story have been discovered from various parts of the country.[64] Among these, the

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59. 1.9.56.
60. 3.6.
61. Ch. 33.
62. 64.44.
63. 38.54.
64. J. Filliozat, *Arts Asiatiques*, VIII, 1961, No. 1, pp. 51 f and plates.

image from Harṣa Hill datable in the Cauhāna period of 10th century A.D. is a great piece of art. Here on the right side of the Śiva-liṅga, Brahmā is shown ascending and Viṣṇu descending on its left side for fathoming it.[65]

In spite of these scattered iconographic evidences that show the religious animosity between various religions and their sub-sects, the religious atmosphere in general was that of peaceful harmony and tolerance. This is why even the outsiders like Alberuni and others wondered at the absence of religious acrimony in India.[66] The people had learnt to live together and also understood the truth in the religious systems of the others. Dhanapāla, the celebrated author of the *Tilakamañjarī* mentions about Malayadevī who adored the Jaina image with *Gāyatrī-japa.*[67] Poet Rājaśekhara was a staunch Śaiva, but from a quotation in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, it is clear that he was not a sectarian.[68] Moreover, the *maṅgala* verse of *Haravilāsa* points out his belief in all the three gods of the trinity. Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū* narrates that on suitable occasions Rājaśekhara had done honour even to Jinas.[69] Another Somadeva, a Jaina writer of the tenth century has given several verses, which prove beyond any doubt that religious tolerance existed between various sects.[70]

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65. *Ajmer Museum,* No. I (27) 374.
66. *Alberunī India,* Tr. by Sachu, I, p. 19.
67. *Tilakamañjarī,* p. 208.
68. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* ed. Dalal and Sastry, pp. 42, 43.
69. 4th *Āśvāsa,* pt. II, p. 113.
70. निजागमोक्तमनुष्ठानं समस्तयतीनां स्वधर्मः ।
धर्मव्यतिक्रमे यतीनां निजागमोक्तमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् ।
यो यस्मिन् देवे श्रद्धावान् स तं देवं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् ।
—*Nītisūtrāṇi,* VII, 15, 16, 17.

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपसर्वपुरुषार्थफलीदं राज्यम् ।
यतोऽभ्युदयानिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।
—*Ibid.,* p. 25.

KING CANDRA OF MEHARAULĪ IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

By S. S. Rana*

The identity of king Candra of the Meharaulī iron pillar inscription has been a subject of great controversy among scholars ever since the inscription was first published by Prinsep in 1834 A.D. Prinsep gave the name of the king as Dhāva on the basis of his reading *dhāvena* for the word *bhāvena* in line 6 of the inscription, but Fleet[1] and Bhau Daji[2] were of the opinion that the name of the king was Candra. No doubt, there has been agreement among scholars on the name Candra, but opinion has differed on his identity. He is sought to be identified with several kings who have Candra as a part of their name or as an epithet. R. C. Majumdar[3] has identified him with Kaniṣka; H. P. Shastri[4] and R. D. Bannerjee[5] with Candravarman of the Sisunia rock inscription; Fleet[6] and Basak[7] with Candra Gupta I and Raychaudhury[8] with Sadacandra Bharasiva. Some scholars have even identified Candra with Candra Gupta Maurya.[9] All these identifications have been refuted by a majority of scholars who have lately discused the problem and identified Candra with Candra Gupta II.

The controversy was more or less finally settled as can be seen by the contributions of scholars like Hoernle,[10] Jayaswal,[11] D. C.

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1. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 140 (Fleet has an alternative suggestion that Dhāva may be the proper name of the king. —Ibid., p. 142, note 2.)

2. *JBBRAS X*, p. 63 ff.

3. *JRASB* (L) IX, 1943, p. 179. Now he appears to support the identification of Candra with Candra Gupta II. (*Ancient India*, 1952, p. 246; *CA*., pp. 20-21).

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 367—71.

5. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 315; XIII, p. 133.

6. *Op. cit.*, introduction, p. 12. Fleet has alternatively identified Candra with one of the brothers of Mihirakula.

7. *Histiry of North East India*, pp. 13—18.

8. *Pol. Hist. of Anc. India*, 4th ed., p. 443, note 1.

9. H. S. Seth (*JIH*, XXVI, p. 177 ff.); B. Prasad (*PIHC*, VI, p. 124 ff.).

10. *IA*. Vol. XXI, pp. 43-44.

11. *History of India*, p. 127; *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 31 ff.

Sircar,[12] A. S. Altekar,[13] R. N. Dandekar,[14] R. K. Mookerji,[15] G. R. Sharma,[16] R. C. Kar,[17] Daśaratha Sharma,[18] J. C. Joshi,[19] and V. S. Agrawal,[20] who have identified Candra with Candra Gupta II. But lately Dr. S. R. Goyal[21] has questioned this identity and re-opened the controversy. He has tried to identify Candra with Samudra Gupta. His main arguments are as follows :—

1. Candra was not the proper name of the king of our inscription. He was known as Candra also by virtue of having a moonlike face and his real name was different.

2. There is no indisputable evidence to prove that Candra Gupta II made the conquests in Bengal, in Balkha and in the South.

3. Candra Gupta II cannot be described as having attained the sole supreme sovereignty by his own arm even if we concede that the victories mentioned in MIPI were achieved by him. He must have something much more beyond these frontier battles, to his credit to boast having achieved *ekādhirājyam* by his own arm.

4. On palaeographical grounds the inscription can be assigned to 410 A.D.[22]

5. Samudra Gupta was known as Candraprakāśa also as

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12. *JRASB* (L), Vol. V, p. 413 ff.

13. *NHIP*, p. 21.

14. *Hist. of the Guptas*, pp. 86-87.

15. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 66—69.

16. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.

17. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVI, p. 184 ff.

18. *JIH*, Vol. XVI, pp. 13—18.

19. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1—4, p. 69 ff.

20. *Matsya Purāṇa, A Study*, p. 229.

21. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. LXIX, No. 3, Saṁ, 2021, pp. 261—281; *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 201—209.

22. Here Dr. Goyal agrees with Hoernle and considers the inscription as posthumous.

shown from a stanza in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana (800 A.D.).[23]

6. The achievements of Candra mentioned in MIPI can be applied to Samudra Gupta and they are a sort of summary of the achievements mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

7. So Samudra Gupta is the king of the MIPI, which was engraved by Candra Gupta II on behalf of his father.

The entire thesis of Dr. Goyal is based on the erroneous suggestion of Fleet that "the king's original name was not Candra".[24] Fleet's suggestion is based on the assumption that the original name might have been *Dhāva* (as read by Prinsep) and the king was called Candra because he had the "beauty of his countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon."[25] As a matter of fact what is read as *dhāvena* in line 6 by Prinsep[26] (and accepted by Fleet[27]) is actually *bhāvena*, the lower ends of the intial letter *bha* having joined. The angular left stroke (comparable with *bha* of *bhūmipatinā* in line 6) definitely proves that it cannot be read as *dha* (as seen in *ekādhirājyam* in line 5). There are several instances in this very inscription in which ends of certain letters have similarly met.[28] Dr. Bhau Daji gave the correct reading *bhāvena* as early as 1875.[29]

Thus the name of the king is definitely Candra which must be taken as a proper name and not as an epithet in consequence of *samagra-candra-sadṛśī-vaktraśrī* as alternatively suggested by Fleet.[30]

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23. सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ॥
(काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, ३.२.२)

24. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 142, note 2.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 629 ff.

27. *Op. cit.*

28. *na* in *sindhor...* in line 2; *ma* in *mūrtya* in line 3; *pa* in *pte* of *prāptena* in line 5; *ja* in *bhuja of bhujārjitam* in line 5; *ga* in *samagra* in line 5; *pa in praṇidhāya* in line 6; *pa* in *pade* in line 6; *pa* in *sthāpitaḥ* in line 6.

29. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 63 ff.

30. *Op. cit.*

It is inconceivable that merely an epithet, and not the proper name, of the king, should be put on a record that describes his glorious achievements. And in the verse of Vāmana quoted by Goyal[31] the expression Candraprakāśa,[32] too, is an epithet used for the sake of alliteration. Moreover, it is neither an exclusive epithet of Samudra Gupta, nor found in any of his records. Therefore, the thesis of Dr. Goyal is jejune and not worthy of serious consideration.

Here is some further incontrovertible evidence in support of Candra's identification with Candra Gupta II. We know from his coins and inscriptional records that Candra Gupta II was severally known as Candra,[33] Candra Gupta,[34] Devarāja[35] and Deva Gupta.[36] He was more popularly known as Candra Gupta and this was his personal name. In the Udayagiri cave inscription[37] of Vīrasena he is called *jyotir....Candraguptākhyam* which is very similar to the expression *Candrāhvena* in the Meharaulī inscription.[38] The Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 524 states that his well-known appellation was Śrī Candra Gupta.[39] The same inscription compares him to the moon in the sky (in the form) of the Gupta family.[40] Further he is compared to a newly risen moon fascinating the eyes of the people.[41] Both these expressions in the Mandasor inscription are almost identical with the expression *Samagracandrasadṛśīṁ vaktraśriyaṁ vibhratā* applied to Candra in the MIPI.

31. *Op. cit.*

32. Candra is more inseparable from Candraprakāśa than from Candra Gupta.

33. One type of his coins has this name.

34. Most of his own inscriptions, the inscriptions of his successors, the Vākāṭakas etc. give this name.

35. The Sāñcī Railing Stone Inscription of CG II (*CII* Vol. III. p. 29 ff.)

36. Cammaka Copper plate Inscription of Pravara-sena II (*CII*, Vol. II. p. 236 ff.)

37. *CII*, Vol. III. p. 35 line 1 of the text.

38. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 141 line 6 of the text.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 12, line 2 of the text—... श्री चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथिताभिधानः।

40. *Ibid.*, line 2 of the text—... गुप्तान्वयव्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः।

41. *Ibid.*, line 2 of the text—... आसीन्नृप लोकविलोचनानां, नवोदितचन्द्र इवापहर्ता।

Now with regard to the achievements of Candra Gupta II, the objections of Dr. Goyal are baseless. As pointed out by G. R. Sharma,[42] the war in Bengal was not of Candra's own seeking.[43] He fought against a confederacy of enemies who had joined together to avenge the defeat they had suffered at the hands of his father Samudra Gupta.[44] It is this victory of Candra Gupta II over that confederacy that has been lauded in the first verse of the MIPI.

The Vāhlīka victory of Candra Gupta II has been discussed and justified by several scholars.[45] It is not necessary to repeat the arguments here. Dr. Goyal's arguments to establish a Vāhlīka victory by Samudra Gupta are not convincing. *Devaputre-Śāhi-Śāhānuśāhī* the frontier kings had voluntarily submitted themselves to the Gupta sovereign.[46] There is no mention of a war with them in the API.

Dr. Goyal has rightly pointed out that the statement that 'the southern ocean is still perfumed with the breezes of his prowess' cannot be explained away by a reference to Candra Gupta's matrimonial alliance or diplomatic activities. But he has wrongly connected this statement in the MIPI with Samudra Gupta. We should not forget that the MIPI does not refer here to any of Candra Gupta II's fresh campaigns in the South. The mention is made only of the reminiscence of his valour which he had exhibited during the campaigns of his father. The expression *adyāpi* implies that the memory of that valour still survives (is fresh) in the minds of the southern people even after the lapse of long years.

The doubts expressed by Dr. Goyal about the acquisition of sole supreme sovereignty by Candra Gupta II with the might of his own arms, are also not tenable. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Candra Gupta II expressly mentions that he had bought the earth

42. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.

43. The expression— शत्रून्समेत्यागतान् in line 1 shows it.

44. The API records the defeat of Candravarman by Samudra Gupta. The confederacy of the enemies against Candra Gupta II might have been headed by this Candravarman.

45. R. N. Dandekar. (*History of the Guptas*, p. 28); G. R. Sharma (*IHQ*. Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.) D. C. Sircar (*P. V. Kane Vol.*, Art. No. 64).

46. Of API, lines 23-24 of the text.

with the purchase money of his prowess'.[47] Further, it is stated in the same inscription that he 'had set out on world conquest'.[48] The Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 524 records that Candra Gupta II 'snatched away the sovereignty of kings by dint of his intellect and valour.'[49] The same idea is contained in the expression *dāsya-nyagbhūta-pārthivā* of the aforesaid Udayagiri cave inscription.[50] The employment of intellect and valour together by Candra Gupta II in destroying his enemies gives credence to the incidents described in the play *Devīcandraguptam*. It appears that after the death of Samudra Gupta, there had occurred some events which disintegrated the Gupta empire and Candra Gupta II had to engage himself in quite a number of battles to consolidate the empire. This fact is echoed in the Mandasor inscription when it says that 'he (i.e. Candra Gupta II) ensnared the earth with bonds of his dynasts, from which she (i.e. the earth) has not yet been able to release herself'.[51]

What else if not these statements are sufficient to give the credit to Candra Gupta II of acquiring sole supreme sovereignty on the earth by the prowess of his own arm? The empire-building activities of Candra Gupta II are clearly borne out by the several statements in the inscriptions.

On palaeographical ground also we are on a sound footing. Hoernle assigned the MIPI to c. 410 A.D.[52] Dani places it in the early fifth century A.D.[53] G. R. Sharma has shown the similarity of the characters in MIPI with those in the Bilsad inscription of Gupta year 96, the Mankuwar image inscription of Gupta year 139 and the Kahaun pillar inscription of Gupta year 141. He places

47. *CCI*, Vol. III, p. 35, line 2 of the text—... विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता... (भूः)

48. *Ibid.*, line 5 of the text.... कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः···।

49. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 12, line 3 of the text—... भुवः पतीनां भुवि भूपतित्वमाच्छिद्य धीविक्रमसाधनेन।

50. *CCI*, Vol. III, p. 35, line 2 of the text.

51. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 12 line 3 of the text—... नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन, स्ववंशपाशैरवपाशिता भूः।

52. *IA*, 1872, p. 43. We required only a margin of 3 years to assign the inscription to the time of Candra Gupta II successor.

53. *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 144-145.

the MIPI in the first half of the 5th century.[54] It is inconceivable that the record was put up on behalf of Samudra Gupta after such a long time after his death.

From all that has been discussed above, the identity of Candra of MIPI with Candra Gupta II is established and there is no scope for expressing any doubt in this regard.

54. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI. p. 207.

BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE NĀYAKA POLITY OF MADURAI

By DR. K. RAJAYYAN*

The Nāyakas ruled over Madurai from A.D. 1529 to 1736. Their administration occupies the period between the zenith of Vijayanagar power and the extension of Mughal sway to the far south. Madurai was the southern-most province of Vijayanagar, but it asserted its independence with the decline of the Empire after the battle of Talikottai. Bounded by the mountains on the west and the sea on the east, the territory extended from Kanyākumārī to Kāverī; at times it included Coimbatore, Salem and Tanjore. The capital was at Madurai but the later Nāyakas shifted it to Tiruchirapalli in the interest of security. Founded by Viśvanātha Nāyaka, a general in the service of Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the Nāyaka dynasty produced a few benevolent and able rulers, of whom the most illustrious was Tirumala Nāyaka.[1] Early in the eighteenth century the kingdom began to decline. In 1736 Candā Sāhib overthrew Queen Mīnākṣī from power and established the Mughal authority.

The theory of checks and balances is a favourite maxim of a democratic government but does not obtain in what the western writers at times call the oriental despotism. Conventions do not command the binding force of constitutional laws. To a large extent the welfare of the subjects depended upon the character of the king. As could be expected, all the Nāyaka rulers were neither able nor responsive to the wishes of the subjects. Did this lead to oppressive rule? Internal dissensions arising out of the struggle with the waning Empire of Vijayanagar, rivalry with Mysore and Tanjore, conflicts with auxiliary powers and the repeated inroads made by the Marathas and Deccani powers rendered the Nāyaka administration a period of tumult and turmoil. Did these developments destroy the foundations of social stability and progress? However their impact upon the polity was at the most superficial. It was restricted to its crest, for it left the main stream of life much unaffected. William

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1. A. D. 1623–1659.

Fullarton, who made a detailed study of political life under the Nāyakas has rightly observed in 1784 that the country had experienced the refinements of civil polity and regulation, suited to its condition, ages before it ever heard the name of the European. The people had their custom as laws, had their own jurisprudence, had evolved an established order and had enjoyed all rights of property. Though the social order had evils as in other societies, the inhabitants had attained and enjoyed a high degree of order, civilisation and material prosperity.[2] The purpose of presenting this paper is to examine what the forces in Nāyaka polity were and how they had balanced against each other in safeguarding popular rights and interests within an autocratic set up.

The working of the Nāyaka polity centred upon a system of balance provided by the princely order, poligari system and village community. In their relations with the people the first was autocratic, the second responsive and the third representative.

The Nāyaka ruler occupied the highest status in the political order. Assisted by a council of ministers, he governed the country and exercised executive, legislative and judicial authority. The separation of powers was not understood. Dalawai, the principal officer, combined in himself civil and military authority. However there were separate ministers for finance, accounts, general administration and foreign affairs. The distribution of executive functions was thus realised but at the most vaguely. The ruler had his own army but in times of emergency he obtained the service of the feudal levies. The sources of income included land revenue, tribute from auxiliary powers, excise and customs. The kingdom was divided into provinces and province into taluqs for the convenience of administration. The high positions in the state were normally denied to the common people, for they were reserved for the members of the royal family. In the absence of set principles for selections and appointments, a complex of strength guided the administration in its attitude towards the people.[3]

Known as poligars and at times as rajahs, the auxiliary chieftains occupied a key position in the political structure between the

2. W. Fullarton, 13 August 1784, Report to Lord Macartney. *Military Sundries*, Vol. 66, p. 241.

3. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *Nāyaks of Madurai*, pp. 235–245.

prince and his subjects. Were they a class of robbers and free booters? The British administration either deliberately or inadvertently had depicted them as an order of lawless banditry. This characterisation fell in consonance with its established policy of maligning its victim before it did away with it. However, the people held a diametrically opposite view. In 1799, the inhabitants of Rajapalayam in Tinnevelly represented to the Madras Council that when the poligars exercised their jurisdiction over them, they treated the inhabitants with respect and extended their assistance and protection to them. They helped in the settlement of disputes between the people and public servants and obtained for the ryots the Circar's permission for the cultivation of public lands. If the administration exceeded in its demands beyond the terms of settlement, the poligars intervened on behalf of the inhabitants, took them under their protection and forced the Circar to do justice.[4] Adherence to reason and justice by these chiefs in the administration of their territory was indeed remarkable. In Anamalai palayam in Coimbatore the poligar assessed his people nothing more than what he was forced to pay to the Circar as rent, while he himself contented with what he could raise from his own private land, for which he kept 120 ploughs.[5] However, it cannot be denied that there were instances when one poligar or another committed depredations into princely territories, oppressed the people and robbed each other. This was particularly a later development of the eighteenth century. In their bid to mobilise the total resources of the country for their aggressive wars against the Indian and European powers, the English East India Company made exorbitant demands upon the allied princes; unable to furnish them, the latter, supported by the British arm, turned against the subordinate chiefs and in their turn they turned against the villages. This phenomenon in consequence reflected upon the stresses and strains excited by alien sway; for which the English were entirely responsible and guilty. The poligars in fact rendered an inestimable service to the community. Regularised in their possession of territories, called palayams, by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, these chiefs assumed a constitutional responsibility as a second line of defence against external aggression and as guardians of public order and peace against internal commotions. They paid rent to the ruler for their lands and maintained bands of armed men for service with the troops of the state in critical times. They

4. *Board of Revenue*, 14 January 1799, Proceedings, Vol. 217, p. 374.

5. *Ibid.*, 22 May 1797, Vol. 178, p. 2921.

assumed responsibility to protect private property against robbery and to pay compensation in the event of their failure.[6] Guardians of public welfare, they enforced police authority, administered justice, founded villages, conducted religious festivals, maintained temples, promoted cultivation and undertook charitable activities.[7] As intermediaries they did what the rulers normally neglected to do in promoting public welfare. While the common people found it beyond their reach to obtain positions in the central administration, they experienced no such difficulty in the poligari establishments. This created and nurtured a bond of affnity between the poligars and the masses.

The working of the village communities ensured to the inhabitants the basic requirements, primarily local, at a time when life had not become sophisticated, what they felt essential for the promotion of their well being. Presided over by a headman called patel or maccadam, the village had its own local assembly and administrative establishment. All land-holders or all communal heads sat in the assembly as its members. The administrative establishment consisted of village guard, local jury, revenue-peons, accountants and scavengers. The village guards, known as *kavalkars*, paid by the community, kept watch at night, noted all arrivals and departures, observed the movements of the strangers and reported all suspects to the patel. They traced culprits, keeping track of their footprints. If the stolen property could not be recovered, the village community paid compensation to the victim of robbery, as the poligars did, either by a levy on the village guards or on all members of the community.[8] The local jury called the panchāyat settled the disputes, generally through arbitration and occasionally by verdict. The revenue-peons of the village collected the taxes, assessed by the Circar for the village, remitted the amount to the public treasury and kept the residents regularly informed about rules, issued by the Circar from time to time. Endowed with its own revenue, levied on harvests, the village administration regulated the distribution of water for irrigation, kept the village-streets clean, looked after the welfare of travellers and conducted public festi-

6. *Madras ,Council,* 4 September 1799, Revenue Consultations, Vol. 97, p. 2246.

7. B. S. Ward, *Memoir on Madura and Dindigul,* Vol. 3, pp. 68–72.

8. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and Society in the Carnatic,* pp. 93-94.

vals.[9] In fact, the village communities combined in themselves social welfare policy with republican and representative principles. The inhabitants whose interests were limited and needs local appeared to have remained indifferent to the political convulsions, so long as the autonomy of their villages was left undisturbed.

The integration of the *kaval* system of the villages with the poligari system not only strengthened the bond of unity between the two institutions but accorded recognition to the poligars as the accepted leaders of the villages. From time immemorial every village had its local police called *kaval* or watch. Whenever disorders engulfed the established order and rendered the task of the village communities in keeping law and peace quite onerous, the villages appealed to the poligars for protection. These chieftains assumed control of *kaval*; they appointed the village guards or appointed their own servants and restored peace. In return for this service and the continued performance of this duty, the communities paid them a voluntary but nominal contribution called *deśa-kaval*. The assumption of this responsibility, on the one hand, guaranteed the stability of village communities and on the other, vastly enhanced the influence of the poligars.[10] The combination of the spirit of independence of the poligars and the principle of representation of the village communities on the one hand imparted a fresh vigour to political stability at the popular level and on the other, strengthened the people's will to fight any encroach ment, made by the central administration upon what they consider ed as their traditional spheres of activity.

The aggressive policy pursued by the powers of the north presented a constant threat of external intervention and the consequent spread of anarchy. However, a sharing of military responsibility, with the anciliary powers, as provided by the Nāyaka policy, enabled it to cope with the situation for long. The king maintained his own armed forces and permitted by him the poligars enlisted into their service such number of armed men as they could support with one third of their revenue. While the central authority provided for the first line of defence, the local powers furnished to the land a second line of defence. In times of war the king's troops engaged the

9. *Selections from the Records of Fort St. George*, 13 May 1815, No. 2.

10. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, pp. 67-68.

hostile forces while the poligars supported law and order. In times of emergency the ruler obtained the services of the troops of the poligars too, as Tirumala Nāyaka did; in which event the responsibility for maintaining law and order devolved upon the village communities. Thus the Nāyaka policy was geared to the needs of defence, though it cannot be denied that the presence of subordinated military establishments presented a threat to the central authority too. In 1736 the Nāyakas ceased to be a political force, yet the resistance by the poligars appeared so formidable that the Nawab of Arcot found it impossible to assert his sway. It was not until he brought in the British forces to his rescue that he succeeded in the suppression of these auxiliary powers.

What served as a corrective to the evils of autocracy and the anomalies of princely administration was the mutual restriction imposed upon each other by the parallel working of the princely order, poligari system and the village communities. All these institutions had their own independent sources of revenue. Centred upon agriculture and inflexible as these sources were, any excess committed by the one agency marked an overt or covert encroachment upon the sources of other political institutions. This excited a natural reaction. The king or the poligar collected a proportion ranging up to fifty per cent of the produce as public share after making a deduction of five per cent to provide for the expenses of harvest, while the villages claimed twenty per cent as their share.[11] As the village communities were of the people, it was beyond their scope to increase their share except with the consent of the ryots. On the other hand if any of the other powers exceeded in their demands it was open to the villages to seek the support of the one or the other or to offer passive resistance like the neglect of cultivation or evasion of payments through co-operative endeavour.[12] This competitive existence of the political forces, however, did not lead to conflict thanks to the significance attached to the observation of custom or *mamool,* for, unwritten laws, sanctified by tradition, precedents and long usage, regulated their mutual relations with the inhabitants. J. Hodgeson in his report on Tinnevelly has categorically asserted that the poligars considered themselves as the defenders of custom and they remained loyal to

11. *Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of Trichinopoly,* 1867, p. 34 and S. S. Raghavaingar, *Progress of the Madras Presidency*, pp. 20-21.

12. *Revenue Consultations,* Madras, 4 September 1799, Vol. 96, p. 1765.

the ruler to the extent that the ruler remained loyal to custom.[13] In spite of this as the central government appeared powerful, it found it possible to violate the custom and practice oppression But this was balanced by a strong bond of union that developed between the poligars and the village communities. Ryots among the ryots and leaders of armed men, furnished by the villages, the poligars shared in the vicissitudes of fortune with the common people. This promoted an affinity of great importance. As the English had admitted, the poligars extended their protection to the victims of princely oppression[14] and the inhabitants looked upon them as the protectors of the defenceless cultivators.[15] If the inhabitants were subjected to repression by the administration, the poligars represented the local grievances to the king, for which they stationed their representatives called the *stanapatis* in the court and if no redressal could be had, they guided the inhabitants in their subsequent dealings with the Circar.[16]

It may be incorrect to consider that the distribution of powers and responsibilities among the prince, the poligars and the village communities represented the working of a form of federalism. The system lacked defined jurisdictions, peaceful settlement of conflicts and universal applicability. Yet by and large while the ruler assumed the responsibility of defence and general administration, the poligars the preservation of law and order and the village communities the promotion of economic welfare and cultural pursuits. Thus they complemented each other. This policy based upon a vague division of powers, a system of balances and a compromise of autocratic institutions at the summit with the representative institutions at the bottom offered no alternative to that based upon democratic principles, but in the absence of anything better it went a long way in safeguarding the rights and promoting the interests of the individuals.

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13. J. Hodgeson, *Report on Tinnevelly*, p. 22.
14. *Revenue Consultations*, Madras, 24 July 1801, Vol. 110, pp. 1405–6.
15. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 27 August 1799, Vol. 257, p. 5678.
16. *Revenue Consultations*, Madras, 24 July 1801, Vol. 110, pp. 1405–7.

RECOGNITION OF MERIT IN CASTE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. Jogiraj Basu*

Grave injustice has been done to the much-maligned caste system by most of the eastern and western critics, sociologists and historians who are blind to the fact that merit was always given due recognition in caste system in ancient India. If a man of the lower caste or mixed caste happened to possess the wisdom of the brahmins, if he was highly enlightened he was held in esteem by the brahmanical class even. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛgveda* thus records the anecdote of Kavaṣa son of Ilūṣa (इलूष) 'In the days of yore, the sages attended a sessional sacrifice called 'Satra' performed on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. Finding in their midst Kavaṣa, son of Ilūṣa who was a bastard born of a maid-servant (*dāsī-putra*) the sages mused thus, 'How could this bastard born of a maid-servant, a cheat who is not a brahmin be initiated into the Sacrifice with us.'[1] Musing thus the sages expelled him from the sacrificial campus of the Soma-Yāga and transported him to a land far away from the river Sarasvatī where no water was available so that he might die of thirst. But Kavaṣa was granted the vision of the Vedic hymn called *Āponaptrīya-Sūkta*[2] and chanting that hymn, he gained the favour of water-goddess; the river Sarasvatī began to flow on all four sides of him. Then the sages who externed him ruthlessly were sorry for their hasty act. They called him back and accepted him as one of their colleagues. Another Brāhmaṇa text of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Kauṣītaki*, also recounts the same narrative with slight variations. 'The sages said to Kavaṣa "You are a bastard born of maid-servant; we shall not dine with you." Kavaṣa became angry and propitiated goddess Sarasvatī with his hymn. Then the sages considered him as shorn of sin and made obeisance to him saying, —'O Seer, we bow down to you; please do not bear any malice towards us; you are superior to us as Sarasvatī follows after thee." Thus they appeased his wrath.'

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1. *Ait. B.*, 2–8–1.

2. *Ṛgveda*, X–30.

These texts of the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* brāhmaṇas merit great importance as they categorically prove that the Vedic hymns were seen by sages of lower castes as well, and that brahmins representing the topmost rung in the social hierarchy admitted the superiority of and paid regards to such enlightened souls. Kavaṣa was addressed as a ṛṣi by the priests. Thus we find that learning or enlightenment could wipe out the barrier of caste, and obtain due recognition. The name of Mahidāsa, the author of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* a Vedic text, is another illustration in point. A controversy rages round his name as to whether Mahidāsa was a Śūdra. His birth and the traditional story concerning his parentage bear testimony to his belonging to the Śūdra caste. His mother's name was Itarā, a tell-tale name, and his father had other sons by his other wives as well. His father lavished all his affection on his other sons whereas Mahidāsa was shabbily treated. From the differential treatment of the father, from the name of the mother and Śūdra-like name of Mahidāsa having the word *'dāsa'* suffixed, many scholars of the East and the West headed by the erudite Indian Vedic scholar of name and fame Satyavrata Sāmaśramī arrive at the conclusion that Mahidāsa's mother belonged to the Śūdra community. Observes Sāmaśramī in his famous and scholarly work *Aitareyālocanam* : 'That he (Mahidāsa) was born of a female servant (Dāsī) is an established fact; not to speak of the authorship of a brāhmaṇa text, even vision (authorship) of Vedic hymn (mantra) is ascribed to a son of maid-servant *(Dāsī-puttra)*' :

'Sidhyatyeva Mahidāsasya Dāsīputratvam . . . mantradraṣṭṛtvamapi jñāyate dāsīputrasyāpīti.'[3] Sāmaśramī cites the ancedote of Kavaṣa to bear out his contention regarding revelation of Vedic hymn through a person be'onging to a low caste.

In this recognition of merit of the enlightened souls one can trace the origin of upgrading of caste through knowledge and illumination met with in the Upaniṣadic era and the post-Vedic age. Caste or birth cannot stand a bar in a man's spiritual amelioration or scholarly aspiration. The *Dharmasūtras* lend support to this fact and attach greater importance to spiritual attainment than to heredity in express terms. Observes *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* :

'Dharmacaryayā jaghanyo varṇaḥ pūrvaṃ pūrvavaṃ vrṇamāpadyate jāti-parivṛttau; adharmacaryayā pūrvo varṇo jaghanyaṃ

3. *Aitareyālocanam* ; P. 14, second edition, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1906.

jaghanyaṃ varṇamāpadyate jātiparivṛttau.'[4] 'Through acts of piety the inferior castes attain to the status of their immediate higher castes; similarly, through vice or sinful acts higher castes are degraded to their next immediate lower castes.' Manu also lends countenance to this view when he asserts the truth,—

'Śūdro brāhmaṇatāmeti brāhmaṇaśceti śūdratām.'

'Through illumination or learning, a śūdra attains to the status of brāhmaṇa whereas a brāhmaṇa becomes a śūdra through ignorance.' Patañjali the famous author of *Mahābhāṣya* observes,—*'Trividho vai brāhmaṇo bhavati—jātyā, karmaṇā, tapasā.'* 'One becomes a brahmin through three ways—birth, action or conduct, and penance.' A brahmin's son becomes a brahmin through heredity. Again like Vidura, Dharmavyādha, etc. one belonging to Śūdra caste can attain to brahminhood through acts of piety or knowledge, par excellence. Again like King Viśvāmitra one can become brahmin through penance. The profound knowledge and spiritual excellence of King Janaka attained wide celebrity in ancient India so much so that the Vedic, Epic and Pauranic literatures ring with his profound wisdom, God-intoxication and munificence. His court was a famous seat of learning adorned by Sage Yājñavalkya, female savant Gārgī and other learned people of the day. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* recounts the fact that the sages moved by the profound scholarship and spiritual merit of King Janaka addressed him as brāhmaṇa and accepted him as such. They approached him and said,—*'Tvaṃ brāhmaṇo'si'* (Thou art a brāhmaṇa). It is not obligatory that the sons of a higher caste will belong to that caste if their conduct gives the lie to the definition of that caste. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* records that the hundred sons of King Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya, gradually deteriorated in merit and turned into mixed castes, low castes and outcastes. 'Viśvāmitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhucchandas and fifty younger. He asked his sons not to think themselves older than Śunaḥśepa. Those that were older did not think this right. Viśvāmitra cursed them saying,—'Your offspring shall inherit the ends (of the earth). These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra.'[5] Thus the sons of King Viśvā-

4. 2–5–10, 11.

5. *Ait. Br.*, 7–33–6.

mitra who was an āryan and Kṣatriya, became non-āryans and out-castes. This fact illustrates the observation of Manu,—

'Aryād āryo bhaved guṇaiḥ.'[6] 'The son of an āryan father can become an āryan through merit alone, not through heredity.' Many passages can be cited from the *Mahābhārata* lending support to this view and establishing the truth that caste is determined by conduct or merit and not by birth. *'Karmaṇā varṇo na tu janmanā varṇaḥ.'* The following observation of the great Epic speaks for itself;—

'Jātyā na Kṣatriyaḥ proktaḥ Kṣatāt trāṇaṃ karoti yaḥ.
Cāturvarṇya-bahiṣṭo'pi sa eva Kṣatriyaḥ smṛtaḥ.'[7]

It means,—'One does not become a Kṣatriya by birth; one who renders protection and succour to the distressed, he alone is called Kṣatriya, no matter to which community he belongs; he may belong to a low caste outside the four castes.' This categorical assertion establishes the fact that caste is recognised through action or conduct and not through heredity. Manu says,—learning and knowledge are the marks of a brāhmaṇa, rendering protection to others is the mark of a Kṣatriya, trade is the mark of a Vaiśya, and service is the mark of a Śūdra.

'Tapo vidyā ca viprasya niḥśreyasakaraṃ param.
Brāhmaṇasya tapo jñānaṃ, Kṣatriyasya tu rakṣaṇam.
Vaiśyasya tu tapo vārtā, tapaḥ śūdrasya sevanam.'

In the "Anuśāsana-parvan" of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma of supreme wisdom instructs Yudhiṣṭhira about the truth underlying the caste system in the following words :—

'Na Kulena na jātyā vā dvābhyāṃ vā brāhmaṇo na hi;
Caṇḍālopi vratasthaḥ cet brāhmaṇaḥ sa Yudhiṣṭhira,
Śūdro'pi śīlasampanno guṇavān brāhmaṇo bhavet.
Brāhmaṇo'pi kriyāhīno śūdrāt pratyantaraṃ bhavet.'

'One does not become a brāhmaṇa by lineage or by birth. O Yudhiṣṭhira ! know that caṇḍāla to be a brāhmaṇa who possesses

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6. *Manu,* X—66.
7. *Mbh.* "Śāntiparvan".

the merits attributed to brahminhood. A Śūdra possessing the merits of brahminhood becomes a brahmin, whereas a brahmin shorn of the determining merits or conduct of a brahmin is worse than a Śūdra.'

The *Mahābhārata* states in clear and unambiguous terms: 'O Yudhiṣṭhira! there was only one Varṇa or one caste in this world at the dawn of creation; later on that one Varṇa was split up into four varṇas according to different professions and activities.'

'Ekavarṇamidaṃ pūrvaṃ viśvamāsīt Yudhiṣṭhira!
Kriyā-karma-vibhedena cāturvarṇyaṃ pratiṣṭhitam.'

In the "Śāntiparvan" of the same great Epic, sage Bharadvāja says to Bhṛgu :—'There is no difference amongst the castes; in fact all castes are in essence one Varṇa, viz., Brāhmaṇa that was created by Brahman while creating the universe. That one Varṇa, viz., brāhmaṇa has assumed four different varṇas on account of difference in callings, not on account of difference of stock:

'Na vibhedo'sti varṇānāṃ sarvaṃ brahmamidaṃ jagat,
Brahmaṇā pūrvasṛṣṭaṃ hi karmabhiḥ varṇatām gatam.'

The great Epic goes further and adds :—'Nor source (*yoniḥ*) nor impression of previous birth, nor learning, nor heredity, determines brahminhood; conduct or character alone marks out a brahmin.'

'Na yoniḥ, nāpi saṃskāro, na śrutaṃ, na ca santatiḥ,
Kāraṇāni dvijatvasya, vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam.'[9]

The discussion between Yudhiṣṭhira and Nahuṣa regarding the determinant of varṇa recorded in the "Vanaparvan" of the *Mahābhārata* merits great importance. Yudhiṣṭhira defines brahminhood in the following way—'He is called a brahmin in whom the qualities of truthfulness, generosity, mercy, good conduct, harmlessness, penance and love are found.'[10] Nahuṣa questions Yudhiṣṭhira. 'Sometime, we find these qualities in men of the Śūdra community; in

8. *Mbh.* "Śāntipurvan" 188—10.

9. *Ibid.,* Chapter 313.

10. 151—21.

that case how will you designate those Śūdras?"[11] Yudhiṣṭhira replies :—

'Śūdro ca tad bhavellakṣma, dvije cet tat na vidyate,
na sa śūdro bhavet śūdro, brāhmaṇo na ca brāhmaṇaḥ.
Yatraitat lakṣyate sarpa ! vṛttaṃ sa brāhmaṇah smṛtaḥ,
Yatraitat na bhavet sarpa ! taṃ śūdramiti nirdiśt.'[12]

'If these qualities are found in a Śūdra, that Śūdra is no longer a Śūdra but a brāhmaṇa; on the other hand, if these determining marks are absent in a so-called brāhmaṇa he is not a brahmin. Wherever these qualities are noticed know him to be a brahmin and wherever they are absent designate him as a Śūdra.'

Lord Buddha strongly supports this view of varṇa when he categorically asserts, 'Him shall I call brāhmaṇa who does not commit any crime through mind, body and words. Nobody can become a brahmin through external signs like matted locks etc., or lineage or birth, but he indeed is a brāhmaṇa and he is really happy who is the abode of truth and virtue.'[13]

Lord Kṛṣṇa states in the Gītā,—*'Cāturvarṇyaṃ mayā sṛṣṭaṃ guṇa-karma-bihāgaśaḥ.'*[14] 'The four varṇas have been created by me according to the division of merit and profession.'

The life of the illustrious Dharmavyādha is recorded in the *Mahābhārata*. Though he belonged to the low community of Vyādha or hunters and used to sell meat he was respected by the brahmins even for his profound wisdom in religious matters, and piety. Brahmins also received instructions from him regarding metaphysical and ethical matters. The famous Dharmavyādha himself supports this truth about the determining factor of castes when he says,—

'Brāhmaṇaḥ patanīyeṣu vartamāno vikarmasu,
Dāmbhikaḥ duṣkṛtaprāyaḥ śūdreṇa sadṛśo bhavet
Yastu śūdro dame satye dharme ca satataṃ sthitaḥ,
Taṃ brāhmaṇamahaṃ manye, vṛttena hi bhaved dvijaḥ.'[15]

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11. 151—23.
12. 151—25, 26.
13. *Dharmapada*, XXXVI, *Bāhmaṇavaggo*, 9, 11.
14. 4—13.
15. "Vanaparvan," 212—219.

'A brahmin who is arrogant, wicked and indulges in vicious deeds is equal to a śūdra; again, I regard that śūdra as a brāhmaṇa who is self-controlled and who always sticks to the path of truth and piety. One becomes a dvija by his conduct.' Dharmavyādha himself is a concrete example of his statement.

Many labour under the delusion that Viśvāmitra's conversion from Kṣatriya into brahminhood is a solitary example in the sacred texts. Hundreds of such examples of conversion of lower caste into higher caste through merit may be cited from the sacred texts of the Sanātana Dharma. The second, third and twentyfirst chapters of the ninth Skandha of *Śrīmad-bhāgavatam* mention various gotras and lines of brahmins springing up from non-brahmins. The literal translation of those ślokas of *Bhāgavata* is given below :—

'Agniveśa was born in the royal (Kṣatriya) line of Dhṛṣṭa. Agniveśa's son Agniveśyāyana became brāhmaṇa. Again, Nābhāga, one of the sons of king Diṣṭa became Vaiśya swerving from the conduct of Kṣatriya because of his attraction for cow-herding. One son of Manu, Śaryāti by name, became a noted brahmin by his knowledge, *par excellence,* and the very next day he uttered Vedic hymns in the Sacrifice (performed by sage Aṅgirasa) as one of the brahmin priests of the sacrifice. Śini, born of Garga, was a Kṣatriya but from that Kṣatriya Śini sprung two gotras of brahmins known as Gārgya and Gārgyāyana. Even Śini's father Garga, though a Kṣatriya, became a brahmin and performed the natal rites of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa and prepared Kṛṣṇa's horoscope. Three sons of king Duritakṣaya became brahmins; their names were Trayyāruṇi, Kavi and Puṣkarāruṇi. Kṣatriya king Bharmyāśva had five sons. One son was Mudgala. Mudgala's sons became brahmins of the Maudgalya gotra. Again, the eldest son of Mudgala, Divodāsa by name, retained the Kṣatriya character of his father and became the king of Varanasi. Again, Kṣatriya Divodāsa's sister Ahalyā was married to the brahmin sage Gotama. Their son was Śatānanda. (This Śatānanda was one of the priests in the marriage ceremony of Rāmacandra and Sītā).'

The "Anuśāsana-parvan" of the *Mahābhārata*[16] also furnishes many instances of such upgrading of castes through merit. The text

16. *Adhyāya*, 53.

runs as follows:—"Persons descended from the so-called Vaiśya or Śūdra community have also attained brahminhood through penance. Sage Kapiñjala etc., born of a woman of caṇḍāla caste became brahmins and realised souls (Brahmarṣi). Śakti, the son of sage Vaśiṣṭha married Adṛśyantī, the daughter of Vaiśya Citramukha. Sage Parāśara, the father of Vedavyāsa was born of this union. The author of the *Mahābhārata*, the renowned sage Vedavyāsa was begotten by Parāśara in the womb of Satyavatī, the daughter of a fisherman. The great king Vītahavya was converted into a brahmin by the mere words of sage Bhṛgu." King Vītahavya was defeated by king Pratardana in a grim battle; the latter chased Vītahavya to kill him. To save his life Vītahavya took shelter in the abode of sage Bhṛgu, Pratardana, in hot pursuit, arrived there to track down his adversary, and asked Bhṛgu, 'Where is king Vītahavya ?' To save his protege sage Bhṛgu replied,—'There is no Kṣatriya in my place.' To honour his declaration, king Vītahavya became a brahmin from that day and practised penance to translate sage Bhṛgu's words into reality.

As a rule, the teaching profession was the exclusive right of the brahmin community. But in many of the Upaniṣads, we find famous Kṣatriya kings as exponents of Brahma-vidyā or knowledge of the Supreme Reality. Even learned brahmins approached the Kṣatriya teachers to receive instruction in Brahma-vidyā. As Dr. Radhakrishnan rightly points out, it is a peculiar feature of upaniṣadic lore that reputed Kṣatriya kings were custodians of Brahma-vidyā or knowledge, par excellence, and imparted it to brahmin sages some of whom were renowned scholars. Some instances are cited below to bear out this point.

King Janaka of Videha was a versatile scholar whose fame attained wide celebrity. He was called *"Rājarṣi"* or sage king on account of his profound wisdom and God-realisation. His court was a famous seat of learning. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[17] states that some brahmin seers approached him. Requested by them, he explained the mystery of "Agnihotra".

The *Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad*[18] mentions the name of the brāhmaṇa Bālāki Gārgya who was well-versed in the Veda. He was so pround

17. 11–6–2–1.

18. 4–1.

that he acquired the designation of Dṛpta Bālāki (दृप्त बालाकि) i.e., proud Bārākī. He met Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī. Bā āki was defeated and silenced by the display of superior knowledge on every topic by Ajātaśatru. Bālāki approached the king with humility, fuel in hand and requested the king to instruct him. At first the king refused that as a Kṣatriya he should not instruct a brāhmaṇa. Hard-pressed he agreed and instructed him accepting Bālāki as his pupil. Similarly, Śvetaketu the great scholar and his father Gautama were silenced in debate by king Pravahaṇa Jaivāli. The king imparted supreme knowledge to both of them.[19] As recounted in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*,[20] *Śvetaketu* the brahmin sage met king Pravahaṇa in the assembly convened by the Pañcālas. The king asked him, 'O boy, did your father instruct you properly?' Śvetaketu replied in the affirmative. Pravahaṇa asked him whether he was enlightened by his father regarding the next world, eschatology, regarding the doctrine of rebirth and metempsychosis and the different paths of transmigration of the human soul like Devayāna, Pitṛyāna. Śvetaketu admitted that his father did not instruct him in these matters. The king slightingly said, 'When thou do not know these eschatological matters how can you say you have been properly instructed by your father.' Thus humiliated Śvetaketu went back to his father and charged him for not instructing him properly. He referred to king Pravahaṇa as *'Rājanya-bandhu'* which means a king of low status. Śvetaketu's father Gautama frankly admitted his ignorance regarding matters relating to the next world and rebirth. Hence Gautama himself approached the king to receive proper instruction. The king paid due homage to the sage, asked him to stay with the king for one year. The king said,— 'This supersensuous knowledge regarding eschatology and metempsychosis was confined amidst Kṣatriyas till to-day; now it is imparted to the brahmins for the first time.' (*'Iyaṃ na prāk tattaḥ purā vidyā brāhmaṇān gacchati tasmadu sarveṣu lokeṣu kṣatriyasyaiva praśāsanam abhuditi tasmai hovāca'*).[21]

In the same Upaniṣad in the First Chapter, it is recorded that two sages Śilaka, son of Śātāvata, and Caikitāyana Dālvya received

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19. *Vide Śatapatha Br.*, 14–9–1–1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 6–1. *Chāndogyipaniṣad*, 5–3.

20. 5–3.

21. 5–3–7.

instructions from king Pravahaṇa regarding the theory of space (Ākāśa) as the final resort of all creation.[22]

Another learned teacher was king Aśvapati of Kaikeya. Five learned brahmins approached him with fuel (समिम्) in hand to become his pupils. They placed their fuels in the king's sacred fire-pit; the king accepted them as his pupils and explained to them the significance of Vaiśvānara.

If heredity and merit were the determinant of varṇa, God would have incarnated Himself in the brahmin family alone. As per scriptural testimony we find that three of the greatest divine incarnations, Avatāras, viz., Srī Rāmacandra, Lord Kṛṣṇa called Pūrṇa-avatāra, and Lord Buddha revealed themselves as princes in the royal (Kṣatriya) family. In the present age also this recognition of merit is amply testified to in the case of renowned saints and realised souls born in non-brahmin families. Nānaka, Rāmānanda and the like, ascetics and religious reformers belonged to non-brahmin families. Two of the greatest spiritual luminaries and religious teachers of Assam Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and Śrī Mādhavadeva were born in Kayastha families. Many brahmins became their disciples and propitiated them. Even now there are Satras in Assam where non-brahmin spiritual preceptors called Satrādhikaras initiate brahmin disciples as well. Three of the greatest apostles of His Holiness Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa viz., Swāmī Vivekānanda, Swāmī Abhedānanda and Swāmī Brahmānanda alias Rākhāl Mahārāj, the founder president of Belūr Maṭh, were born in non-brahmin families. Hundreds of thousands of brahmins paid homage to them and bowed down at their feet. Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa, their light and spiritual guide proclaimed their greatness as realized souls, apostles and spiritual teachers in clear and unmistakable terms.

The above discussion drives home the truth that merit was the important factor in determining castes in ancient India,—the truth that 'caste is character.'

22. 1–8, 9.

SOME PROBLEMS OF HŪṆA HISTORY

By Dr. Upendra Thakur*

I

In a seemingly inspired article,[1] R. C. Majumdar has bitterly criticized some of our assumptions and statements connected with the problems of the history of the Hūṇas in India. He has accused us of being "often rude and unbecoming" while referring to learned scholars from whose views we have differed in our account of the Hūṇas. While apologizing to the great scholar for the lapses on our part, if any, we admit that he has also exceeded the limits of decency in condemning my statements and, like him, we equally feel unable to improve upon his language in correctly presenting his views in the article under reference. The entire article from the beginning to the end abounds in scholarly prejudices and mental inhibitions, quite uncharacteristic of a great scholar of his age and learning.

Now, we propose to discuss below some of the interesting points raised by Dr. Majumdar which may be summarised as follows:

(1) The statement that "the country of Nābhāka, mentioned in R. E. XIII of Aśoka, as the city of Nabhikapura in the land of the Uttarakurus, has been located in the Thianshan mountains on the confines of Scythia"[2] violates some of the fundamental principles of historical writing.[3]

(2) The conquest of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Madras, and other well known republican tribes by Toramāṇa who dashing beyond took Magadha, Banaras and Kauśāmbī in the course of a lightning march[4] is "more suitable to a romance than sober history, particularly when the evidence for all these assumptions is very flimsy."[5]

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1. Being a review of my book, "The Hūṇas in India" published in *JIH*, 1967, pp. 828–30.
2. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 59..
3. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 828.
4. *The Hūṇas in India*, *p.* 112.
5. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 829.

(3) The cotnention that Toramāṇa encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasiṁhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakaṭāditya as king of Magadha at Kashi while inciting Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper[6] has been denounced as figments of author's fertile imagination.

(4) The identification of *Ha-Kārākhya* with Toramāṇa[7] and *Bhakārakhya* with Narasiṁhagupta[8] is enigmatic.

(5) The arguments to disprove the theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputas are weak and no new light has been thrown on the problem.

Before dealing with the above points we would like to point out to our readers that though Dr. Majumdar has sweepingly criticized all our views, unfortunately he has advanced no constructive suggestions or solutions of his own which would have benefited the author and the readers alike.

II

As regards the first point we are told that it violates some of the fundamental principles of history-writing because (i) it conveys the impression that Nābhāka has been equated with Nabhikapura in the Rock Edict of Aśoka which is of course not a fact;[9] (ii) it is an identification proposed by Cunningham many, many years ago, and not a well established fact[10] and (iii) the objections raised by D. R. Bhandarkar against Cunningham's views and the suggestions made by the former about the location of the Nābhākas in his book *Aśoka* have been totally ignored.[11]

In this connection we would like to point out that though D. R. Bhandarkar has challenged the identification proposed by Cun-

6. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 128-29.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
9. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 828.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 828.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 828.

ningham and has given his own suggestion about the location of the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis, the identification still remains a subject of great controversy. Indeed, the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified,[12] and for long, it seems, this will remain a big question mark.

Bühler has cited a passage from the *Vaivartta Purāṇa* which refers to a city called Nābhikapura belonging to the Uttarakurus. This probably shows that the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis might have been a Himalayan people towards the north-west, the neighbours of the Kambojas.[13] Rock Edict V[14] mentions the Gandhāras in place of the Nābhapantis who might be connected with them. Further in the *gaṇa-pāṭha* of Pāṇini[15] also, the names *Nābhāka* and *Ūrṇa-nābha* occur and Jayaswal is inclined to believe that the *Ūrṇa-nābhas* might be connected with Gandhāra famous for its wool since the Ṛgvedic times.[16] In other words, the *Nābhākas* or *Nābhapantis* were either neighbours of the Gandhāras or some sub-division thereof.[17]

Thus, from the above, it is clear that different scholars have advanced different views about the location of the Nābhākas and yet their exact location is not established. We, therefore, fail to understand how the citing of Cunningham's view on this question, which though challenged has not yet lost its ground, violates some of the so-called fundamental principles of history-writing. It was not our intention to propose an identification of Nābhākas or Nābhikapura in our account of the Hūṇas, we have simply mentioned them by way of reference while discussing the expansion of the Hūṇa territory and this does not in the least affect our conclusions or assumptions in the given context.

III

It is true, the fuller story of the rise and disappearance of the tribal republics in ancient India has not been told yet

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12. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 37.
13. R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 168.
14. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
15. iv. i. 112. Also cf., iv. 2. 53.
16. *Hindu Polity*, Pt. i, p. 145.
17. For details, *Ibid*, p. 145.

and nothing definite can be said in the present state of our knowledge. The sundry literary references as well as epigraphic and numismatic data clearly establish that most of the tribal republics, such as the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas etc., had a continuous history of about one thousand years with temporary eclipse in between. They not only survived the Mauryan empire, but also the Satraps, the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas. They are lost to history sometime before the seventh century. The Johiyā Rajputas found on the bank of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur Frontier have been identified as being the modern remnants of the ancient Yaudheyas.[18] Both on philological and territorial grounds this identification appears to be sound.[19] Similarly the story of the name Mālava still survives in the close community of the Brāhmaṇas, called Mālavīs or Mālavīya.[20]

It is true, with the end of the fifth century republics also disappear from Hindu India. The old Licchavis, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and other republican states as well as the young Puṣyamitras quitted the political scene and were now confined to small pockets devoid of all their past glory and grandeur. Whatever little was left of them was finally put to an end by the Hūṇa barbarians whose sword of destruction was greatly responsible for the fall of the Gupta empire in India. It is also true, the Hūṇa invasion alone cannot explain the causes of the decay of the republican order: the causes must also be internal which have yet to be investigated. There is, however, no denying the fact that the tottering republican order was given the final blow by the Hūṇas. And, to denounce this statement as being "more suitable to a romance than sober history" is to shut one's eyes to stark reality. Dr. Majumdar knows more than any one else that the views of most of the eminent writers on the history of ancient India are based on the so-called flimsy grounds and are subject to modifications in the light of further researches.

As regards the advance of Toramāṇa from the west to the east we are quite in agreement with Majumdar. In this connection we need hardly add that while discussing the routes followed by the Hūṇas

18. Cunningham, *ASR* xiv, p. 140; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 151.
19. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
20. For details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 149—157.

we have stressed upon the fact in many places in our account[21] that Toramāṇa advanced from the west to the east and not from the east to the west. Judged against this background it would be clear that our intention was not to enumerate the three countries of Magadha, Banaras and Kauśāmbī in the order Dr. Majumdar has understnod it. Toramāṇa advanced from the west and naturally, therefore, he sacked Kauśāmbī and proceeding further occupied Banaras and Magadha and on his return to Banaras from Magadha he died at Kashi.[22]

IV

Regarding the contention that Toramāṇa encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasiṁhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakaṭāditya as king of Magadha at Kashi, while inciting Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper,[23] we have to submit that keeping in view the confused politics of the period under reference, this is probably the only assertion that can be made. A rational student of history would not entertain very grave doubts about these statements only if he cares to analyse the available materials with an unprejudiced mind. It has been rightly suggested that "the invasion of Magadha by Toramāṇa and the consequent defeat and humiliation of the emperor Narasiṁhagupta afforded a favourab'e opportunity to the different scions of the imperial family to embark on a career of adventure and carve out independent principalities !'[24] Vainyagupta succeeded in East Bengal,[25] while Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor probably became quite influential in Magadha. Considering the confused political situation of Eastern India resulting from the collapse of the imperial Gupta power leading to another ferocious Hūṇa invasion under Toramāṇa, after their utter rout at the hands of Skandagupta only after two decades, it can be safely suggested that Toramāṇa as a shrewd statesman may have adopted the policy of divide and rule which no doubt paid him rich dividends. It is, therefore, natural

21. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 123-24.

22. For details, on *Ibid.*, pp. 123—25.

23. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 128-29.

24. B. P. Sinha, *DKM*, p. 95 fn.

25. *IHQ*, vol. v, p. 45 ff.

to suggest that Vainyagupta was encouraged by Toramāṇa to become the ruler of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire and the latter installed Prakaṭāditya, a son of Vainyagupta on the throne at Kashiī.[26] The evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in this respect may be vague but it is the only source of our information that throws some light on this episode. If relying on this piece of literary evidence is to exceed all limits of sobriety, then we would humbly point out to Dr. Majumdar that these limits were already crossed by the earlier writers on this subject.[27] Our statement can be challenged only when reliable evidences are available in future.

V

The enigmatic method followed in identifying *Ha-Kārākhya* with Toramāṇa and *Bhakārākhya* with Narasiṁhagupta was adopted much earlier by K. P. Jayaswal,[28] supported by B. P. Sinha[29] and others; and we have simply accepted this identification on good grounds. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* while narrating the exploits of Toramāṇa does not name him, but simply calls him the Śūdra conqueror who was "H- initialled." *H* here stands for Hūṇa (Conqueror) who was no other than Toramāṇa in this context.[30] He has, therefore, been rightly identified by Jayaswal with Toramāṇa,[31] as he was during this period master of a larger part of northern India, besides western and central Asia.

About the identification of *Bhakārākhya* with Narasiṁhagupta we are also not very certain. We have simply suggested, on the authority of others,[32] that he may probably be identified with Narasiṁhagupta.[33] According to some scholars, *Bhakārākhya* is to be identified with Bhānugupta but this identification also does not seem convincing in this context.[34] On the coins of Vainyagupta we come

26. *DKM*, p. 93 fn.
28. *IHI*, p. 53 ff.
28. *IHI*. p. 53 ff.,
29. *DKM*, pp. 91, 95 fn.
30. *IHI*, p. 57,
31. *Ibid*., p. 53 ff.
32. *DKM*, p. 95.
33. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 127.
34. For details see *DKM*, p. 95 fn.; *EHI*, p. 201: Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 183 ff; *UGA*, p. 190 ff: *PHAI*, 503 ff.

across the simple letter *Bha*. The question therefore arises: is *Bha* of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* the same as Vainyagupta? But how can *Bha* stand for *Va*? In view of these vague and conflicting statements the only probability seems that *Bhakārākhya* refers to Narasiṁhagupta.[35] But we have clearly stressed that it is not possible to be positive about one or the other possibilities. The identification of *Hakārākhya* with Toramāṇa, however, is quite convincing.

VI

On the question of the theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputs propounded by D. R. Bhandarkar and others, Dr. Majumdar charges us of not having grasped the full significance of the arguments which we seek to refute and of having inadequate knowledge of the literature on the subject.[36] This is a very sweeping generalization which we never expected at least from the doyen of Indian historians. We claim that we have discussed all the available literature and epigraphic records on the subject and only then we have tried to come to the conclusion that the Hūṇas were not one of the thirty-six clans of the Rajputas as popularly believed, and that it would be unfair to the mediaeval Rajputas to brand them all as having descended from the foreigners such as the Hūṇas, the Gūjars or the Gurjaras etc. Besides discussing other aspects, we have taken into consideration their anthropometrical characteristics which are purely āryan and therefore ethnologically they cannot be branded as foreigners from whom the later Rajputas are said to have sprung up. They are āryans with the best āryan noses and historically the vaiśyas of the Vedas and the Smṛtis.[37] They were, however, degraded in later times due to their deviation from the Vedic rites and adoption of various professions and matrimonial alliances with non-Rajput elements such as the Hūṇas etc.[38] Thus, our only fault is that we have not accepted blindly the view of Bhandarkar and earlier writers to which Majumdar seems inclined to subscribe. We would feel grateful to him if he could throw some new light on this much vexed problem of Indian history.

35. *DKM*, p. 95 n.
36. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 8
37. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 256-57.
38. Ibid., p. 257.

VII

In one place[39] in our acrount we have discussed the view of Dr. Majumdar and shown that he is doubtful about his own contention.[40] Dr. Majumdar says that in any case the Gupta suzerainty in this region (Malwa) etc. was soon re-established and continued from A.D. 510 to atleast A.D. 528. The Guptas still ruled over the old empire from Bengal at least to Central India or Eastern Malwa.[41] But we have shown that the rule of Toramāṇa in Malwa was not terminated in 510 A.D. On the other hand, his sphere of influence rapidly continued to spread further. Without entering into a discussion on this point we would simply request the readers to read the passages side by side before charging us of ignorance and not having understood the passages properly as Dr. Majumdar has done.

It is true that a pioneer work like the present one on the history and culture of the Hūṇas is bound to suffer from many defects. But the way Dr. Majumdar has tried to find fault with the book does not fall in the best gradation of reviewing a book or citicizing views without advancing construstive suggestions to benefit the readers. Every student of history has a right to interpret things in his own way without, however, distorting the contents, and we should not feel outraged, if our views are not accepted or supported by others.

39. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 120.

40. *VGA*, 191.

41. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

WERE THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS VICEROYS OF THE KUṢĀṆAS?

By RASESH C. JAMINDAR*

The very long mooted and long discussed question in the ancient history of India is–whether the Western Kṣatrapas, particularly Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Cāṣṭan, were in any way subordinate kings under the Kuṣāṇa kings, especially Kaniṣka I? Since many years scholars have tried to tackle this problem. There are many historians who believe that Kuṣāṇa emperors were the overlords of the Kṣatrapas of Western India;[1] there are few who deny it.[2]

One of the Nasik cave inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna contains the important information that the rate of exchange between Kārṣāpaṇa and gold coin, named Suvarṇa, was as 1 to 35.[3] The reference here of Suvarṇa, must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas, according to Prof. Rapson; and on this basis he makes Nahapāna a subordinate ruler under the Kuṣāṇas.[4] The same inscription mentions the word *Kuśāṇamūle*.[5] Dr. Bhandarkar, concentrating on the same word, observed that the

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1. Rapson E. J., *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc.* (henceforth *Catalogue*) 1908, p. cvi-cvii; Bhandarkar, D. R., *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 153; Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part I, 1929, p. LXVII; Levi, S., *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, pp. 61ff.; Banerjea J. N., *A Comprehensive History of India*, (henceforth *CHI*), vol. II, 1957, p. 274; Sircar, D. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity* (henceforth *AIU*), 1960, p. 179; Puri, B. N., *India under the Kuṣāṇas* (henceforth *IUK*), 1965, pp. 21–23.

2. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (henceforth *EHNI*), 1958, pp. 83–88, 105; Sircar, D. C. *AIU*., p. 180.

3. ....कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि ७००० पंचत्रिंशक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्ण सहस्रणं मूल्यं (see *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 82.)

4. *Catalogue*, p. clxxxv.

5. ...यत चानेन अक्षयनिवि काहायणा सहस्रानित्रिनि ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इमस्मिं लेणे वसंतानं भविसति चिवरिक कुशणमूले च.... see as in no. 3.

name Kuśāṇa "appears to have been given to the silver coinage of Nahapāna, because he issued it for his overlord, who must have been known as Kuśaṇa i.e. Kuṣāṇa."[6]

The rulers of the Western India were designated as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa as it is known from their coins and inscriptions. These two terms tempted many scholars[7] to think that these rulers were the viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas, as the early Kṣatrapa rulers were the contemporary of the Kuṣāṇa kings, particularly Kaniṣka I, for he ruled over his vast empire through subordinate rulers enjoying the status of Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas, which is indicated in some of his inscriptions.[8]

But none of the abovementioned assumptions specifically prove that the Western Kṣatrapas were the feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas. The occurrence of the words like *Suvarṇa* and *Kuśāṇamūle* may not, however, indicate any political supremacy of Kuṣāṇas over Western Kṣatrapas. The mere mention of the word 'Suvarṇa' i.e. 'gold coin' does not specifically refer to the currency of Kūṣāṇas, for, the gold was used as coins even during the Vedic age. Thus Prof. Rapson's view is not acceptable. Equating the word 'Paḍiko' of the Kanheri inscriptions[9] with *'Kuśāṇamūle'* Prof. Senart has pointed out that it, here, refers to 'expenses of outside life;'[10] the interpretation goes against Dr. Bhandarkar's theory.

Scholars like Levi identifiy Sandares, mentioned in the Periplus, with Candana, Chinese Chen-tan a royal title given to Kaniṣka and then think that Kaniṣka's sway extended over North-Western

6. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics,* 1921, pp. 199-200.

7. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cvi. Raychaudhury, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India,* p. 310; Smith, *Early History of India,* 1957, p. 211; Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, fn. 1; Banerjea, J. N., *CHI*, pp. 240—42; Tripathi, R. S., *History of Ancient India*. p. 217, fn. 4; Konow, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 14, p. 140.

8. Puri, B. N., *IUK.*, Appendix B.

9. See *Archaeological Survey of India,* vol. V.

10. See *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 8. Senart clarifies the meaning of '*Kuṣāṇa*' thus: Kuṣāṇa means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year and probably to be applied for his food. He further writes.. the distribution of the '*Kūṣāṇamūla*' appears to have been strictly paralleled with that of the '*Civarika*' or 'money for clothes....'

part of the Deccan.[11] But many scholars do not agree with this identification, on the contrary they identify Sandares with a Sātavāhana prince.[12] Apart from this, the theory does not tally with the known epigraphic records of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty as pointed out by Dr. Chattopadhyaya.[13]

Dr. B. N. Puri interprets the meaning of Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa in a little different way: 'Like Chashtana, Nahapana too was a Kṣatrapa first and then a Mahākṣatrapa. The assumption of the higher title in course of time seems to have some significance—it might imply the assertion of the independence from the overlord. The overlord does figure in both the cases."[14] Suppose, if this is true, it means that not only the Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana but almost all the Western Kṣatrapa kings, then, must surely be the subordinate kings under the Kuṣāṇa emperors, as the former were always known as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa. Is it ever possible? For the simple reason that the reign of Vāsudeva, the last in the line of the imperial Kuṣāṇas of Kaniṣka group, ended sometimes between 241—272 A.D. as Dr. Puri himself observed;[15] on the contrary the Western Kṣatrapas ruled till the end of the fourth century after Christ. Thus the theory assumed by Dr. Puri does not stand forth.

Dr. Puri[16] thinks very likely that Nahapāna was owing allegiance to some Kuṣāṇa monarch who seems to be Wima Kadphises. For this he argues thus: "In the Nasik record of Uṣavadāta[17] there is a reference to his going to conquer the Mālavas at the command of the overlord (Bhaṭṭāraka). This word could not have been used as an epithet for Nahapāna who is mentioned in that record as a Kṣatrapa, its reference could be only to the overlord of Nahapāna as the meaning of the word signifies." But it has escaped his notice that in the same record the specific additional title 'Rājā' is also used along with the title 'Kṣatrapa.' Apart from this we also know that a very big hoard of Nahapāna's coins has been un-

11. *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, pp. 61. ff.
12. *AIU.*, pp. 199-200.
13. *EHNI*, p. 83-84.
14. *IUK.*, p. 22.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
16. *Ibd.*, pp. 22-23.
17. *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 8, p. 78.

earthed near Jogalthembi (Nasik district),[18] which also proves his independent status. So it is impossible to accept Dr. Puri's theory.

Geographical limits of Kaniṣka's empire in India can be determined by his inscriptions, which have been discovered in Peshawar, Manikyāla (near Rawalpindi, now in Pakistan), Sri Vihar (Bahawalpur state), Zeda (near Und), Mathura, Shravasti, Kosambi, Sarnath; and his coins are found in Bengal, Bihar, Azamgarh proper, Azamgarh district, Sahet Mahet—all forming part of North India.[19]

Thus from the findspots of his epigraphic records, coins and the tradition of his conquests, one can easily infer that the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, United Provinces and country still further east were included within the empire of Kaniṣka (see the map). While Nahapāna extended his authority over as far as Ajmer in the north, Saurāṣṭra and Kachchha in the west, Malwa in the east and in the south including South Gujarat, North Konkaṇa as well as Nasik and Poona districts (see the map). Thus it proves emphatically that Gujarat was not under the sway of Kaniṣka.

Dr. Chattopadhyaya, who for the first time, so far as I know, emphasized on the basis of epigraphic records, refuting the theory of Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar, that "There is, however, absolutely no evidence to show that he (Nahapāna) was in any way subordinate under Kaniṣka I. In other words, there is no evidence to prove that Kaniṣka's sway extended over any part of the Deccan."[20]

But this also requires further discussion. The present writer, having agreed with Dr. Chattopadhyaya, has tried, here, to add many new points:

(1) It is already stated above that Kaniṣka maintained a satrapal system of Government. In his epigraphs he has mentioned the names of his viceroys, which do not include either Bhūmaka or Nahapāna. If both of them were his vassals like Kharapallāna, Vanasphara, Veśpaśi and Liaka, Kaniṣka being the most warlike and ablest Kuṣāṇa king, must have mentioned their names in his epigra-

18. See Scott, *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, vol. 22, pp. 223—243.

19. As in no. 8.

20. *EHNI.*, pp. 83-84, 105.

phic records. But the absence of their names, naturally, proves that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were never under Kaniṣka's suzerainty. On the contrary the absence of Kaniṣka's name in the records of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas supports this view. This has been further confirmed by the absence of Kuṣāṇa coins and inscriptions from Gujarat.

(2) It was a tradition adopted by the Western Kṣatrapas to issue their coins both as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, which clearly shows their independent status. Such a powerful king like Kaniṣka might not have allowed them to issue coins if they were his subordinate.

(3) It was a practice amongst these kings to have their royal titles as 'Rājā Kṣatrapa' and 'Rājā Mahākṣatrapa.' The inclusion of the term 'Rājā' specifically proves their independent status once again. Only the use of the word 'Rājā' in the numerous coins of Nahapāna strengthens this view.

(4) The term 'Kṣatra' in Sanskrit literature is used in the sense of dominion, supremacy and power.[21] The word 'Kṣatrapati' was derived from 'Kṣatra' in connection with its first meaning, the usage of which is seen in the old book like *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. It is used in the sense of ruler in *Ṛgveda*.[22] According to *Brāhmaṇas* 'Kṣatra' indicates the rank of member of the reigning or military order.[23] Thus the meaning 'the possessor of dominion' of 'Kṣatrapa' is significant here.

Lastly, the term 'Kṣatrapa' seems to be the Sanskrit adaptation[24] of an Īrānian word *'Kṣathṛapāvan.'*[25] This word has its origin in *Avestā*. Here, the assumption of the word *'Kṣathrapāta'* seems to have some significance;—*Kṣathra* means Bhūmi and *Pāta* means Pālaka (Protector) i.e. *Kṣathrapāta* means *Bhūmipāla*, in which connection western Kṣatrapas seem to mean Bhūmipāla—Bhūpāl i.e. the king.

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21. See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 325.

22. See *Ṛgveda*.

23. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 5; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 1, 5, 2.

24. This word is twice used in the Behistun Rock Inscription No. 3 of Darius, the great of Iran.

25. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p.c.; Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 47, 1918, p. 72; *Konow*, *Modern Review*, Vol. 29, 1921, p. 464; Bhatt, Janardan, *Bauddhakālina Bhārata*, 1925, p. 285; Shastri, N., *CHI*, p. 263; Tripathi, R. S., *History of Ancient India*, p. 214, fn. 1.

The name Bhūmaka, the first known western Kṣatrapa king, significantly draws our attention in this light;—if we consider the meaning of Bhūmaka as Bhūmipati i.e. landowner.

In the end, I would like to sum up that the western Kṣatrapa kings were not at all the viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas at the present state of our knowledge. In other words, they were independent kings.[26]

26. A paper read at the 28th session of the Indian History Congress in December 1966, which was held at Mysore.

AN INTERESTING STONE PANEL FROM THE VIṢṆUPADA TEMPLE

By DR. BHAGWANT SAHAI*

The Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya in the state of Bihar, which was constructed by the order of the saintly Maharani Ahalya Bai Holkar of Indore in the 18th century A.D., is one of the most sacred temples of the Hindus. In the womb-house of this temple, the holy foot-print of Lord Viṣṇu is regularly worshipped by the devout followers of Brahmanism from all over the country. In the temple area, within the *garbha-gṛha* and without it, and even outside the main compound of the temple, there is a large number of sculptures belonging to the period when the mighty Pālas ruled over Bihar and Bengal. While some of them are lying scattered here and there, others are placed in smaller shrines as objects of worship and the remaining are firmly embedded in the walls of the secondary shrines and of the compound. These sculptures, like others of the period, are carved out of black basalt and may be assigned to the flourishing period of the Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D. On account of these sculptures being exposed to the sun and the rains and on account of application of greasy material and vermillion over them, they have become weather-worn, and most of them have lost their lusture; but still enough remains of them to provide very good specimens for the study of the iconographic features of the Brahmanical and a few Buddhist divinities. Usually in the temple area. our eyes meet with stone panels representing the group of the nine divinities known as the Navagrahas (Nine Planets) and the images of Gaṇeśa with raddish in one of his hands; but there are also images of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu, Durgā, Ekamukhī Liṅga of Śiva and the Buddhist goddess Tārā. But of all the sculptures noticed in the Viṣṇupada temple area, there is a panel in black stone which is of special interest as in it is represented a group of five male Hindu divinities[1]—a composition like of which has not been found elsewhere.

The panel, firmly embedded in the wall to the right side of the doorway leading to the courtyard of the temple, is about 9 inches

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1. Please see the Plate.

in height and 1 foot and 8 inches in length. As indicated above, it exhibits five male divinities, all of them excepting the one on the extreme right side of the panel being accompanied by their respective mounts. The divinity at the extreme left is pot-bellied and slightly heavily built. He is represented as seated in the *paryaṅkāsana* (or the so-called European fashion). He is two armed having a rosary in his right hand and a water vessel in the left. He has a beard as well. It may, however, be noted that Agni, in accordance with the iconographic texts, is characterized by a rosary and a water vessel in his two hands, a ram or a goat as his vehicle, and a halo of flames emanating from his shoulders or upper part of his body.[2] Some of the texts also provide him with a beard.[3] Judged from the standards laid down in the canonical works, the depiction of Agni in the panel under study is endowed with all the essential iconographic features. In actual sculptural representations, Agni is usually represented as sitting or standing on a pedestal with the figure of a ram, the vehicle of the god, carved either on the front face of the pedestal or below the seat over which the god sits.[4] Unlike the hitherto known examples, Agni is shown seated astride in such a way that his *vāhana* could not be shown in its entirety. What renders the figure interesting is that the ram, intended to be portrayed as facing to front, has only its head shown with its two long and prominent ears, over which the god seated in the *paryaṅkāsana* has placed his both the legs. The figure of Agni, thus, besides adding one more number to the already existing short list of the sculptural representations of the god, presents an entirely new variety not known so far.

The figure next to Agni is also seated but in the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* with his left leg tucked up on the seat and the right one pendent. Here the divinity is seated on the back of an elephant facing to left, the abscis of the slightly curved trunk of which is holding a fully expanded lotus on which the right pendent leg of the divinity is placed. The deity represented as a beautiful youth is two armed with his left hand placed on the seat he is sitting upon

2. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, Pt. I. 3. 1. 811; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/15; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 261/9.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Cf. Banerjea, J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Pl. XLV. 4; Sinha, B. P. *Bhāratīya Kalā ko Bihār kī Dena*, fig. 77; Dikshit, K. N. *Excavations at Paharpur* (MASI—55), Pl. XXXII. b; JBRS, LII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.

and the right one holding a two-knobbed object obviously regarded as a thunderbolt *(vajr)*. Indra has been described in the iconographic works as having a thunderbolt *(vajra)* as his emblem and an elephant as his vehicle.[5] Some works also enjoin that he shou d have a third eye horizontally marked on the forehead. Thus the figure of Indra depicted in the Viṣṇupada temple panel also possesses all the essential iconographic traits. A study of the north Indian figures of Indra indicates that the artists in the northern part of the country resorted to various modes in representing the deity. In stone sculptures, however, in the Gupta and the Early Mediaeval periods, he is represented either seated or standing, holding a thunderbolt in one of his hands, the other being in the *abhaya* or the *varada mudrā* or placed on the waist or holding some flower *(pārijāta)*, and also accompanied by his Airāvata mount,[7] which is absent in the earlier examples from Bhumra[8] and Bhubaneshwar.[9] Indra, in the present instance, however, differs from the known examples in the manner in which the deity is shown riding on his vehicle. In this instance also, as in the case of the *Vāhana* of Agni, the elephant is not shown in its entirety, but indicated only by its head along with the trunk. Moreover, as already mentioned, the trunk of the elephant is curled up in such a way that the lotus held in the abscis fully supports the pendent leg of the god. A new variety is thus also afforded by the representation of Indra in the present panel.

The central and third figure is represented similarly seated as the second one, i.e. in the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* with his left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right one hanging down and kept on a fully blossomed lotus. This deity is also two armed placing his left hand on the seat in the same way as the second figure, and also holding an object in his right hand. The object held in the right hand is obviously a *daṇḍa* or a club which is held

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5. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/42; *Abhilaṣitārthacinitāamaṇi*, Pt. I. 3. 1. 811; *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 51/14 *(Indri vajri gajārūḍhaḥ)*; *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 260. 66ff.

6. *Bṛhta-saṁhitā, ch.* 57/42.

Śiva has also a third eye on the forehead, but it is marked vertically.

7. Munshi, K. M. *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Pls. 55.c and 56.a; MASI No. 44, Pl. X; MASI No. 55, Pl. XXVII. d; Munshi, K. M. *Indian Temple Sculpture*, Pl. 15.

8. Cf. MASI No. 16, Pl. XIV. c.

9. Cf. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar*, fig. 358.

by its lower and placed against the shoulder. Beneath the deity is the mount which is a buffalo. Here as well the buffalo is indicated by his front portion and the animal can be identified only through its head. Yama, in the textual descriptions, has been endowed with a terrific appearance, a staff in one of his hands and a buffalo as his *vāhana*.[10] Some of the texts also provide him with a noose in the other hand;[11] but, in the opinion of J. N. Banerjea,[12] like the noose of Varuṇa, *daṇḍa* is the most characteristic weapon of Yama, the lord of death and regent of the southern quarter. In actual sculptural representations, Yama is found represented either seated on his characteristic mount or standing with his mound shown on the pedestal.[13] This vehicle of the god is, however, absent in some of the figures of the earlier period.[14] Usually the deity is two armed, holding invariably a club (sometimes topped by a human skull as in the *khaṭvaṅga*) in one of his hands.[15] In the present example, Yama has been pictured in a most significant manner, as in the Bhumra example,[16] but with the addition of the buffalo beneath, upon which the god is made to sit. In this instance, the vehicle is not to be identified by its head only, but also by the front part of its body.

It is, however, the fourth figure which is highly interesting. Seated similarly as the second and the third figures, with the right leg pendent and the left one folded and placed on the seat, the objects held in the hands of the deity are not quite clear. In his left hand, which is held low near the thigh, the deity appears to be holding some circular or flowery object which may be regarded as a rosary or a lotus flower. The other hand lifted up and showing the attitude of protection (*abhaya*) also seems to be holding some indistinct object, looking more or less like a noose (*pāśa* or

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10. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/57; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/14; Rao, T. A. G. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II. ii. B. p. 257.

11. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, 3.1.811; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 261.12 268.13; *Śri-tattvanidhi*, p. 105.

12. Banerjea, J. N. in *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 463.

13. Munshi, K. M. *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 68; Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 35A.

14. Cf. MASI No. 16, p. 12; Kala, S. C. *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*.

15. Munshi, *op. cit.*, pl. 60; Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pl. 35A.

16. MASI No. 166, p. 12.



STONE PANEL—VIṢṆUPADA TEMPLE, GAYA (BIHAR)

daṇḍa-pāśa). But the deity has a peculiar *vāhana* which presents considerable difficulty with regard to his identification. The hind part of the figure is treated like a pair of human legs folded at the knee in a manner done at the time of swimming. The waist, the hip and the thigh are more or less human-like. But the front part is quite peculiar. It is not a human torso. Its delineation is suggestive of a particular kind of species of fish having the main part of the body much flat. Such a variety of fish is commonly found in the Ganges. The mount has two attachments on its front on either side. They are certainly not the two human arms. The joints of the two extension-like objects are against furnishing such a suggestion. They also appear to have been provided with the sole intention of suggesting the parts to be usually used in the act of swimming. The figure of the *vāhana* is thus not a real representation of any particular living creature, but a purely imaginary creation of the artist's fancy. This much is, however, quite evident that the mount of the deity has been endowed with features which are indicative of its association with water, and, hence, may reasonably be regarded as a sea-monster. Now, Varuṇa, who is the regent of the western quarter and lord of the waters, is to be represented in the sculptures as of strong constitution, sitting or standing upon a fabulous marine monster.[17] The figure of the *vāhana* carved below the deity may, therefore, be reasonably regarded as the *vāhana* of Varuṇa. This view is further strengthened as the deity carries a noose in one of his hands, which is a special emblem of Varuṇa and which earned for him the name of Pāśī (the noose-career). Successful warriors are said to defy the bolt (*vajra*) of Indra and the noose of Salilaraja (i.e. Varuṇa).[18] The figure has also another important feature which, however, is not very often shown in the sculptural representations. In the figure, the deity is shown slightly pot-bellied, as he is required to be made *'kiñcit-pralaṁba-jaṭhara'* according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.[19] This deity sitting upon a mythical figure of the waters and holding noose in one of his hands is no other than Varuṇa, the lord of the waters. Usually in sculptures, Varuṇa is represented in association with a Makara—an animal having the head and the legs of an antelope and the tail of a fish—or a crocodile as his vehicle; but whatever the mount may be, it has

17. *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/15; *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/42. & c.
18. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 6.71.34.
19. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, ch. 52; Rao, *op. cit.*, II. ii.B. pp. 260 ff.

certainly features showing its association with the waters. It is but natural that the lord of the waters should have a mount from amongst the species of the sea; and, it is, therefore, nothing unusual if an imaginary mount but having the characteristics of creatures living in the waters has been provided to the god. The figure is, however, quite queer, not so far found in any of the sculpturai representations of Varuṇa, excepting in the one just described.[20]

The fifth and last figure at the extreme right of the panel is again that of a male divinity; but his body is not as elegant and well proportioned as that of the second, the third and the fourth figures, rather he is pot-bellied, and more or less of similar build as the first one. He is seated with his both the legs crossed one over the other and placed on the seat. In this instance, as already referred to, the mount of the god beneath his seat is conspicuous by its absence, and the place of the mount is occupied by a comparatively large pot (*kalaśa*) —evidently a receptacle of wealth, gold and jewellery. This god is also two-armed; but unfortunately the object held in his right hand is so indistinct that it is practically impossible to make anything out of it. The object in his left hand is also not clear; but something like a string of beads appears to be dropping down from this hand of the god, which may be regarded as a string of golden beads. Texts are, however, not unanimous as to the objects in the hands of Kubera; but features like pot-belly and well nourished body, richly jewelled ornaments and receptacle of wealth in his association are appropriate to the lord of riches.[21] In the mediaeval period, the iconography of Kubera, the personification of material wealth and prosperity, is advanced. He is depicted more often with two or more or even eight pots of treasure

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20. I had first identified the figure of the mount as that of a sea-monster, but then I was hesitant on the point. Dr. Sushil Malti Devi, Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, also tuned the same chord; and she drew my attention towards another equally significant feature of the deity too, i.e. his being *'kiñcit-pralaṁba-jaṭhara''* (slightly-pot-bellied). The whole credit of identifying the figure of Varuṇa should, therefore, go to her, and for which I am thankful. Dr. Mahesh Chandra Srivastava, another Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, discerned 'acqueous character' in the delineation of the figure of the vehicle of the deity.

21. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā,* ch. 57/57; Hemadri in Banerjea, J. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39; *Amsumadbhedagama, Suprabhedagama* and *Śilparatna* in Rao, *op cit.*, pp. 263-64; *Matsya-Purāṇa,* ch. 260/20-21; *Viṣṇudharmottara,* III/53. 1—7.

carved on the pedestal or on the either side of his head and on the pedestal or shown as hanging from the boughs of the wishfulfilling trees.[22] But in all such examples, the vehicle of the god is conspicuous by its absence. Kubera in the present representation is, however, to be identified only by means of his corpulent body, the golden beads trickling down from his left hand and the single receptacle of wealth carved on the pedestal. Thus, although an ordinary, yet a representative illustration of Kubera in the mediaeval period is furnished by the panel.

The Viṣṇupada temple panel, thus, presents a group of five male Hindu divinities, Agni, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera who are the guardian deities of the South-Eastern, Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern quarters of the universe respectively. Carved out of black basalt, the present piece of sculpture, datable on stylistic ground in between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D., stands as a class by itself, for it represents a group of such deities the like of which has not been met with so far in the other parts of the country.

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22. Cf. ASI—AR, 1927-28, p. 160 (from Nalanda); JBRS, XLII, p. 6, fig. 3 ,(from Benisagar, Singhbhum district); Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 244.

The jars of treasure already begin to make their appearance in the Gupta period (cf. MASI No. 16, pl. XIII a) and continue to be depicted in association with the god in the mediaeval period.

ORIGINAL SITES OF SOME IMPORTANT TEMPLES OF VARANASI.

By Kubera Nath Sukul*

Varanasi saw the destruction of her temples at least four times, if not five, and each time they sprang up once again soon after these waves of tyranny passed off—some times in their original splendour, but often in a more subdued form. If their original sites were situated at a distance from the seats of local Muslim rulers there was no difficulty, but when this was not the case their location had to be changed. Thus some important temples have had to be shifted more than once while others have changed their place only once. To illustrate this point the temple of Viśveśvara had to move from its place twice, while Kāla Bhairava moved but once. Not only this, each wave of destruction resulted in the disappearance of dozens of shrines, for all of them could not be rebuilt. Thus, in course of time popular memory about these matters started growing dim and as this uncertain and unfortunate condition continued for almost five hundred years, some important facts were forgotten and also some misconceptions arose. After the downfall of the Moghuls, these cataclysms ceased and the temples of Varanasi once again raised their proud heads in peace. Hundreds of temples in ruins—some of them for hundreds of years—were re-built and in this process quite a good number of them got duplicated. This peaceful revival began during the reign of Maharaja Balwant Singh of Varanasi and continued during the British rule.

Recent historians, writing about Varanasi as a centre of Hindu religion, have raised certain controversies about the original sites of some well-known temples; changes in the location of some others due to the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim rulers of India have also obliterated popular memory about their earlier sites. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to clear these misconceptions and to revive those older memories once again.

* 31/25-26 Kal Bhairava, Varanasi.

1. Between 1194 A.D. and 1669 A.D.

(i) *Viśveśvara*

The temple of Viśveśvara has been the greatest victim at the hands of these historians, who have placed it everywhere except at its real site. Dr. K. V. Rangswami Aiyyangar's statement[2] that "it is more than doubtful if the present shrine of Viśwanatha stands on the site of that of the original Avimukteśwara or even of the less important Viśveśwar known to Lakṣmidhara" is a truism, which every child in Varanasi knows because portions of the earlier temple forming part of the Jñānavāpī mosque of Aurangzeb proclaim this fact in quite uncertain terms.

Dr. Altekar in his *History of Benaras* contents himself with saying that "we have very little evidence as to its site and size" but continues to prove that it was not situated at the site of the Ādiviś-veśvara temple. In this connection he produces two arguments—one, that if "Ādi-viśveśwara were the same as "Viśwanātha, and if his temple was shifted first to the site of the mosque of Aurangzeb and then to the place of the present Viśwanātha temple, one fails to understand how a temple of Ādi-viśveśwara could be existing at present apart from, and in addition to the present temple of Viśwanātha," and second, that Purāṇas mention that Jñānavāpī was to the South of the temple of Viśvanātha; tradition knows no such well to the south of the old Ādi-viśveśwara temple in its compound. Later accepting that the present Jñānavāpī is the south of the original Ādi-viśveśvara temple, he argues that this does not satisfy the Purāṇic description because it is more than four hundred feet away from it and because "the big Lala Lajpat Rai Road, which separates the compounds of the old Viśvanātha and the old Ādiviśveśwara temple appears to be quite an old road, dividing the two compounds from ancient times."

This question about the original site of the Viśveśwara temple is discussed at greater length and in more than one place in Dr. Moti Chandra's *Kāśī-kā Itihāsa* published recently.

(1) On page 171 he practically repeats Dr. Aiyyangar's views given above but adds that according to *Kṛtyakalpataru Tirtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa* the place of Avimukteśwar was in the north of Varanasi.

2. In his Introduction to Lakshmidhar's *Kṛtyakalpataru's Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa*.

(2) On page 401 he paraphrases Dr. Altekar's views and says that when the old temple of Viśvanātha was destroyed the new temp'e was erected nearby. Paurāṇic lore places Jñānavāpī south of Viśvanātha temple but there is no such well south of Ādiviśveśvara.

(3) Later, on the some page (401), he states that it is not definitely known where the temple of Viśvanātha was in the Gaharwal period but it is possible that it must have been in the northern part of the city.

Let us now examine this question on its merits. Dr. Aiyyangar, writing at Baroda–quite a thousand miles away from Varanasi had to depend on literature available to him. He had no occasion to investigate such matters himself and depended on second hand material. It is even doubtful if he ever saw the Jñānavāpī mosque and its western facade. The vagueness of his statement can, therefore, be understood.

Dr. Altekar's position is, however, different. He wrote at Varanasi and after seeing things for himself. He must have read Sherring's book, which had accepted the position that the mosque adjoining the Ādi-viśveśvara temple may have been the original site of the Visveśvara temple. Speaking about the Ādi-viśveśvara temple, Sherring says:[3] "On the eastern side of the enclosure, the ground becomes considerably elevated, and upon it stands a mosque built of very old materials, the pillars of which date as far back as the Gupta period and possibly earlier. May not these old stones and pillars be remains of the original Visheshwar ?" Later, he says:[4] "There is no doubt in our mind that the Ādi-Visheshwar temple stood on this site, and was destroyed by the Mohammedans, who, as usual transferred its stones to their own mosque." It is, therefore, surprising that instead of basing his conclusions on Purāṇic grounds alone that Jñānavāpī is not as near the Ādi-viśveśvara temple as it should be, he supports his views by referring to the Lajpat Rai Road as an old one. In fact, however, he is on unsure ground in both these arguments. It is obvious that he had not read *Kṛtyakalpataru's* Tirtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa, for if he had done so, he would have not only learnt that before 1194 A.D. Jñānavāpī was to the south of Avimukteśvara not Viśveśvara, but also that the original Viśveśvara

3. In his famous book on p. 55.

4. P. 320.

temple was situated on the elevated ground mentioned by Sherring. Nor had he seen Princep's and Bax's maps of Varanasi it appears, for if he had, he would have discovered that Lajpat Rai Road is not even a hundred years old. It did not exist in 1822 or even in 1863 when Bax published his map of Varanasi.

To take up now the views expressed in *Kāsī-kā Itihāsa,* it can be squarely asserted that *Kṛtyakalpataru Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa* does not say anywhere that the temple of Viśveśvara or Avimukteśvara was situated in the northern part of the town. Nor does it say that Jñānavāpī was to the south of Viśveśvara temple; and if Lakṣmīdhara's contemporary testimony as suggested by his quotation of *Liṅga Purāṇa* on the subject of the site of Viśveśvara temple is of any value we are not left in any doubt about its location in Gaharwal period.

पूर्वोत्तरदिशाभागे तस्य (विश्वेश्वरस्य) देवस्य सुन्दरि ।
अवधूतं महत्तीर्थं सर्वपापापनुत्तमम् ।।
तस्य पूर्वेण संलग्नं नाम्ना पशुपती वरम् ।5

This quotation from *Liṅga Purāṇā* clearly says that to the north-east of Viśveśvara, there is the big Avadhūta Tīrtha, to the east of which is the temple of Paśupatīśvra. This latter temple is well-known and the topography of the locality clearly indicates that the big lake known as Avadhūta Tīrtha extended right up to the eastern edge of the Lajpat Rai Road, where the Allahabad Bank and Khatri Medical Hall are situated. And just across the road towards south-west of this point is situated the structure known as Razia's mosque. Could there is a more dependable description of the location of the Viśveśvara temple?

Our historian friends have also shut their eyes to the fact that the Ādi-viśveśvara temple does not claim to be an old one. It was built, as every one knows, by Sawai Jai Singh in the eighteenth century to mark the locality near where the original Viśveśvara temple had stood. The temple was erected when the present Viśvanātha liṅgam had been already installed for many years and was being worshipped by every one as Viśveśvara. So the intention of erecting this temple near the old site was merely as a memorial and not as a subsitute of the then existing Viśvanātha.

5. लिंगपुराण—कृत्यकल्पतरुतीर्थ विवेचनकाण्ड—पृ०—९३.

(ii) *Kāla Bhairava*

The original site of Kāla Bhairava temple has been so completely forgotten that even though clearly indicated in Paurāṇika literature, it is no longer part of popular religious memory. The reason for this is not far to seek. After the first iconoclastic depredation of 1194 A.D., the then Muslim officers in charge of Varanasi took up their residence near the locality where Kāla Bhairava's temple had stood and when the first re-construction of the temple took place it was considered impossible to re-erect the temple on the old site. The deity was an important one and the number of devotees paying their homage regularly had been quite considerable. So, it was decided to instal Kāla Bhairava in a safer locality away from the direct eye of the Muslim Officers. There was the ruin of the old Bhairaveśvara temple and it was certainly a suitable place, so it was thought; and Kāla Bhairava was duly installed at this new site—the present one. This event took place before the present form of *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* got into shape i.e. more than six hundred years ago. No temple was erected and the deity continued to be worshipped under a tiled roof, which saved it from destruction during subsequent iconoclastic cataclysms. As these six hundred years rolled on, the original site was completely surrounded by Muslim houses, mosques and what not, and out of 50 or 60 temples in the locality before 1194 A.D. only three exist now. This accounts for the total obliteration of the original site from popular memory. *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions both the sites in two different places:

Bhairava had Brahmā's fifth head sticking to his left hand and could not get rid of it. He moved round from one Tīrtha to another till he came to Varanasi and took his bath at a place where the Ganga and Matsyodarī waters were mingling at the time due to high floods, and by virtue of this bath the head dropped from Bhairava's hand and Bhairava took his abode near that place and the Tīrtha came to be consequently known as Kapāla Mocana Tīrtha, a tank. This tank was to the north of Matsyodarī Tīrtha and south of Ṛṇa-Mocana Tīrtha.

(१) तत्रैव तीर्थं परमं कपालेशसमीपतः ।
कपालमोचन नाम तत्रस्नातोश्वमेधभाक् ॥
ऋणमोचनतीर्थं तु तदुदग्दिशि शोभनम् [काशीखंड–९७।६५–६६]

(२) अन्यश्च ते प्रवक्ष्यामि महातीर्थं यशस्विनि ।
कपालमोचनं नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ।।
कपालपतिनं तत्र स्नातस्य मम सुन्दरि ।
कपालेश्वरनामानं तस्मिंस्तीर्थं व्यवस्थितम् ।।
तस्यैव चोत्तरे पार्श्वे तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।
ऋणमोचनकं नाम्ना विख्यातं भुवि सुन्दरि ।। [6]

It was very near the Oṅkāreśvara temple towards the west. Rani Bhawani constructed stone steps round it and in Princeps' map (1822 A.D.) it is called Rani Bhawani's Tank. Bax in his map (1863 A.D.) calls it Matsyodarī Saṅgama. The tank is now lying dry in ruins and residents of the locality make use of its stones in the construction of their houses. For reasons mentioned in the case of Kāla Bhairava above, this tank too was left to its fate and along with it, the temple of Oṅkāreśvara on its high mound, which latter is now being used as a Muslim grave-yard. At some stage during these six hundred years the Bhairava Tīrtha attached to Mahāś-maśāna Stambha and Kula Stambha was re-dedicated as Kapāla Mocana Tīrtha and is now known as such.

(iii) *Vīreśvara*

Vīreśvara, now known as *Ātma-Vīreśvara,* is also an early settler in his present surroundings, but later than Kāla Bhairava for *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions only his original place. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, he had occupied his present site along with his neighbours as *Tristhalī Setu* and *Guru Caritra* mentions his present location *in situ* as an accepted fact.

Old *Liṅga Purāṇa,* as quoted in *Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtya-Kalpataru,* places Vīreśvara to the north of Svarlingeśvara in the Pañcamudrā mahāpīṭha. Candreśvara, Vidyeśvara, Vāsukīśvara, were nearby and Sagareśvara was towards its north-west. Svarliṅgeśvara temple is near the Rajghat road where it reaches the Ganges east of Prahladghat, and north of it somewhere nearby should be the old site of Vīreśvara, now entirely lost to memory. *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions Agnīśvara as situated to the east of Vīreśvara on the western bank of the Gangā[7] and the old site of Agnīśvara is still remembered

6. लिंगपुराण—कृत्यकल्पतरुतीर्थं विवेचन काण्ड पृ०—४०—५५
7. वीरेश्वरस्व पूर्वेण गंगायाः पश्चिमे तटे—काशी खंड ११।१६०

and is located near house no. A12/2, not far from Svarliṅgeśvara. On this basis the location of Vīreśvara could be approximated, but more research is needed to fix the exact location. This site is very rich in old and broken Śivaliṅgas jumbled together in ruins in a topsy-turvy condition.

(iv) *Mahādeva*

This deity, known by this simple name, has been the cause of confusion to *Kāsī-kā Itihāsa* and has created absurdities in that book, because he has been there given the name of Avimukteśvara without any authority and in utter disregard of *Liṅga Purāṇa* itself, where it has been called simply 'Mahādeva', and where every reference to it has been made under this very title.[8] *Liṅga Purāṇa* as quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru* starts its enumeration of Śiva-liṅgas in Varanasi with Mahādeva and places others in reference to him. Thus Varanasi Devī and Mahādeva Kūpa are placed near him and Goparakṣeśvara to his east. South of the latter were Dadhīceśvara, Ātrīśvara, Madhu-kaiṭabheśvara, Vījavareśvara successively. To the east of Goparakṣe-śvara were Balākeśvara, Vījavareśvara, and Vedeśvara, one after the other, and to the north of the last named was Keśava and near him Saṅgameśvara. Thus Goparakṣeśvara was not very far from Keśava now known as Ādikeśava, at the Gaṅga-Varuṇa Saṅgama. To the north-west of Goparakṣeśvara was a well, the Hiraṇyakaśipu Kūpa, and to its east Gaṇeśvara. All these deities have lost their original places, except perhaps Vedeśvara and Keśava, so we get little help from them in fixing the location of Goparakṣeśvara, but the wells are of help. There are three wells in a line east and west in the old Rajghat fort area and perhaps the eastern-most could be the Hiraṇyakaśipu well. In that case the middle well could be the Mahādeva Kūpa and the original site of Mahādeva temple could be located there. The Banaras Hindu University may perhaps some day excavate the nearby sites of these three wells and we may then be definite about this matter.

Mahādeva, at present, known as Ādi-Mahādeva, is now housed in a modern temple towards the east of the famous shrine of Trilocaneśvara. At one time it was a very important place of pilgrimage but it no longer commands that position now.

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8. Vide pp. 41, 42 and 46.

(v) *Kedāreśvara*

In spite of the popular local belief that the temple of Kedāreśvara escaped unhurt during the various iconoclastic storms that overran Varanasi, there is evidence to prove that this temple too was demolished and re-built in due course at a new site some hundred yards northwards of the original place. *Guru Caritra,* a Marathi book written towards the end of the fifteenth century describes the pilgrimage route followed in the Dakṣiṇa Mānasa Yātrā at the time. According to this list the pilgrim after visiting Kedāreśvara and Gaurīkuṇḍa paid his homage to Vṛddhakedāra before reaching the Hanuman Ghat. Thus the old site of Kedāreśvara had a rededicated Śiva liṅgam at the time and was situated between Kedāraghāt. Tradition, now being forgotten and lost, placed the Ādi-Maṇikarnikā of *Kāśī Kedāra Māhātmya* of the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa,* at the ghat, lying between these two ghats, now called Hariścandra ghāt, where there is a cremation ground too in memory of and out of respect for his Ādimaṇikarṇikā, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the Ādimaṇikarṇikā, representing the Gaurī Kuṇḍa, the Haṃsa Tīrtha, and the Reta Kuṇḍa of the Himalayan Kedāra Shrine lay under the shadow of Lord Kedāreśvara himself. Thus the original site of this great temp'e lay on the top of the present Hariścandra ghāt and there is still a temple and a Śiva liṅgam there though its name has been forgotten. It may be clearly mentioned here that this ghāt has nothing whatsoever to do with Mahārāja Hariścandra, the truthful, who was sold at the Maṇikarṇikā ghāt and not here.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT LAND OF UTTARAKURU

By DR. SHYAM NARAIN PANDE*

The whole of the world is divided into several dvīpas by the ancient Indian geographers. The number of the dvīpas is variously enumerated by different authorities as four[1] and seven;[2] the number is increased also to nine,[3] thirteen[4] and eighteen.[5] The four-island conception places the Meru mountain as the pericarp of the four petalled earth-lotus. The Uttarakuru is the northern petal. Its situation has been described in between Meru and Nīla mountains.[6] Nīla has not yet been identified. Shri Nand Lal De locates it

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P.=*Purāṇa.*

Mb.=*Mahāhbhārata*—Poona Critical Edition.

1. *'Tasya pārśve tvime dvīpāścatvāraḥ saṁsthitā prabho.*
Bhadrāśvaḥ Ketumālaśca Jambūdvīpāśca Bhārata.
Uttarāścaiva Kuravaḥ Kṛtapuṇya pratiśrayāḥ.'
Mb., 6. 7. 11.

'Sa tu meruḥ parivṛto bhuvanairbhūta bhāvanaiḥ.
Yasye me caturo deśā nānāpārśveṣu saṁsthitāḥ.
Bhadrāśvaṁ Bhāratañcaiva Ketumālañca paścime.
Uttarāścaiva kuravaḥ kṛtopuṇya pratiśrayāḥ.
Matsya, p. 113. 43-44.

2. *Ādi, P.* 4. 48-49; 5. 6. 7; 16. 2. 14.
Harivaṁśa P. 4. 4. 5;5. 291; 5. 577.
Mb., 1. 22. 5; 3. 214. 31; 6. 8. 18; 6. 9. 2; 6. 12. 11. 12; 6. 13. 6. 9. 24; 9. 16. 50; 12. 14. 23 (footnote).

3. *Agni P.* 219. 54—56.
Vāmana P. 13. 8. 11.

4. *Naiṣadhacarita*, I. 5.

5. *Harṣacarita—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* (Dr. V. S. Agrawala), p. 121-22.
Liṅga, P. 20. 20.
Vāyu P. 2. 15.

6. *Vāyu*, p. 34. 45-46 (for lotus-shaped earth).
'Dakṣiṇena tu Nīlasya Meroḥ pārśve tathottare.
Uttaraḥ Kuravo rajanpuṇyāh Sidhaniṣevitāḥ.'
Mb., 6. 8. 2.

towards Kunlun range, which location is baseless. His identification of Uttarakuru with North Korea[7] has got no meaning when Candradvīpa, the original homeland of Śakas has been accepted in the east of Uttarakuru.[8] The *Matsya Purāṇa* introduces a varṣa (i.e. country) named Ilāvṛta around Meru mountain[9] which pushes the locations of all the four dvīpas to their respective directions. In Buddhist tradition eastern and western dvīpas get new names.[10] The northern Uttarakuru dvīpa is also called Kurudvīpa.[11]

The other concept of seven islands locates Uttarakuru in the utmost north[12] as one of the nine varṣas of Jambūdvīpa. This new conception created greatest confusion. Jambūdvīpa which was the southern dvīpa in the former concept comes to denote the whole of the world of that conception. The other new six dvīpas are imaginary and geographically they existed nowhere. The four dvīpas of the former conception are called as varṣas having their original locations on earth. The southern dvīpa of the former conception is now called Bhāratavarṣa while the other name of this very land is borrowed to represent the world of the four dvīpas. Like the Matasya Purāṇa tradition, the four new varṣas, Ramyakavarṣa, Hiraṇmayavarṣa, Harivarṣa and Kiṁpuruṣavarṣa, are introduced making the real position of the former four divisions unaffected. There is no account of territorial transfer of Uttarakuru or Bhāta which may lead us to think that these were the names of some parts of the former dvīpas. These new varṣas should utmost be taken as named after the utilization of un-inhabited regions in the north and south of Meru. Thus even after the introduction of the new varṣas in the seven-dvīpa concept the position of Uttarakuru remains unchanged.

The Jains divide Jambūdvīpa in two bhogabhūmis, Devakuru and Uttarakuru.[13] Uttarakuru here also retains the former position.

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7. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, (1927).
8. *Indian Art*, part I, page 70 (Late Dr. V. S. Agrawala).
9. *Matsya P.*, 113. 37.
10. *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 159, 378; *Lalitavistara*, p. 19; *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 84.
11. *Dīpavaṁśa*, p. 16.
12. Vide map No. 2-concept of seven islands.
13. *Ādi P.* 3. 24.

CONCEPT OF FOUR ISLANDS

WITH SOME MODIFICATION IN THE MAP GIVEN BY
SHRI RAI KRISHNA DAS IN 'BHARAT SAVITRI'

MAP No. 1

In the descriptions regarding Uttarakuru, given in the religious books of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, it was a country within the Greater India periphery. The land has also been attributed with heavenly qualities[14] to the extent that it was considered a fairy land. Thus a misunderstanding[15] in its location on the earth is aroused. The complex problem of the exact location of this land is sti.l un-olved and it has not yet been properly identified.

An effort has been made to locate Uttarakuru—known to have been an important Indian province in the past—in spite of confusing statements in ancient books. We have to give full margin to the

14. The *Mahābhārata* describes that 'Siddhas' reside there; there the trees are always covered with sweet fruits and flowers; some of them yield fruits according to the will of the plucker; some of them yield milk, 'amṛta', clothes and ornaments; the men born there have fallen from the *Devalokas*, women are like 'apsarās' in beauty, they are free from illness; they are cheerful and live a long life of 11000 years (*Mb.*, 6. 8. 2 to 10).

In "Ātānātiya Sutta" of *Dīghanikāya* (Vol. 3, p. 154 Nalanda Edn. 1958) it has been said about the people of Uttarakuru that they do not possess individual wealth; they do not work hard for their livelihood but the foodgrains grow themselves; 'Yakṣas' have been said to be the people of this country. In *Aṅguttaranikāya* (*Manoratha Pūranī*, I, p. 264) and *Majjhimanikāya* (*Pañcasūdanī*, II, p. 948) it has been said that there is a 'Kamparukha' which remains for one 'Kalpa'. *Theragāthā* (Vol. II, pp. 187-88) gives a description saying that the people of this country have got no homes and they sleep on ground; they are not greedy and they do not collect wealth; they live up to a fixed age; they are of gentle and amicable nature. Ācārya Buddhaghoṣa in *Divyāvadāna* (p. 215) says that the people of Uttarakuru do not break the laws of 'Sadācāra' present over there (*Ādi P.* 3. 38—40).

According to Jain literature Devakuru and Uttarakuru are the two 'Bhogabhūmis' in Jambūdvīpa (*Ādi P.* 3. 24). Ten kalpatarus have been said to be present over there (*Ādi P.* 3. 38—40).

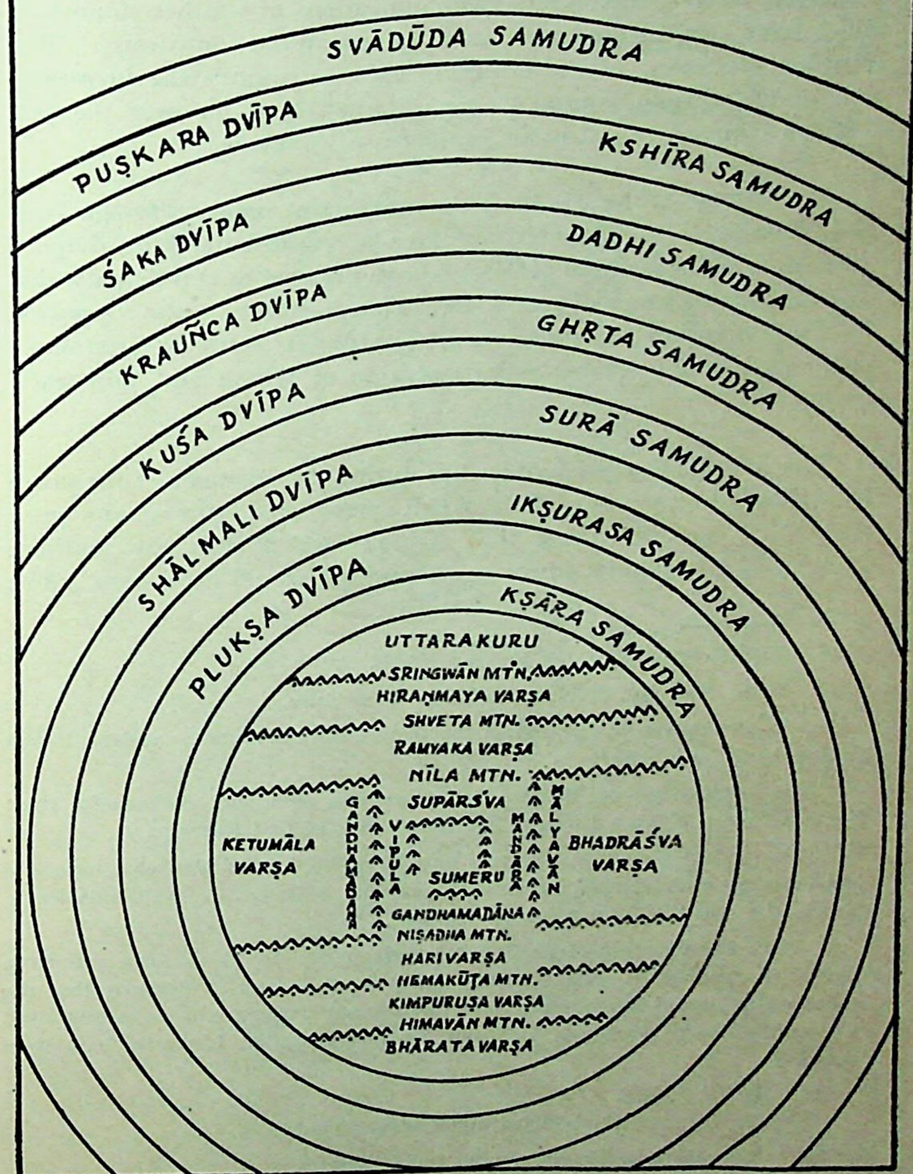
15. (i) In the *Mahābhārata* a confusion has been created by placing Uttarakuru in Viśāla Badarī region. It is a geographical error. *Mb.* 3. 145. 15.

(ii) In Buddhist literature, 'anotattadaḥ', a place where Buddha took his meals has been considered as "Mānasarovara" near Kailāsa. (*Vinayapiṭakā*, Hindi, p. 91).

(iii) *Ādi Purāṇa* also creates confusion by describing Sitodā river and Nīla mountain from the South to the North of Meru (*Ādi P.* 4. 51-52).

(iv) *Padma Purāṇa* (Chapter 128) describes the origin of Ganga river in Meru.

(v) The only mountain in Śakadvīpa is also named Meru. (*Mb.*, 6. 12. 14).


CONCEPT OF SEVEN ISLANDS
(Shri Rāi Krishna Das)
SVĀDŪDA SAMUDRA
PUṢKARA DVĪPA
KSHĪRA SAMUDRA
ŚAKA DVĪPA
DADHI SAMUDRA
KRAUÑCA DVĪPA
GHṚTA SAMUDRA
KUŚA DVĪPA
SURĀ SAMUDRA
SHĀLMALI DVĪPA
IKṢURASA SAMUDRA
PLUKṢA DVĪPA
KṢĀRA SAMUDRA
UTTARAKURU
SRINGWĀN MTN.
HIRAṆMAYA VARṢA
SHVETA MTN.
RAMYAKA VARṢA
NĪLA MTN.
SUPĀRŚVA
GANDHAMADĀNA
VIPULA
MANDĀRA
MĀLYAVĀN
KETUMĀLA VARṢA
SUMERU
BHADRĀŚVA VARṢA
GANDHAMADĀNA
NIṢADHA MTN.
HARIVARṢA
HEMAKŪṬA MTN.
KIMPURUṢA VARṢA
HIMAVĀN MTN.
BHĀRATAVARṢA

MAP No. 2

fact that these are not geography books. Geographical facts pointing to Uttrakuru in Western and Northern Siberia have been interwoven by the authors side by side in a haphazard way without any sequence.[16] The authors have compressed much relevant information regarding rivers, mountains, topographical features, products, settlements, travels and clear indications of weather conditions which have been utilised here, to set at rest an old controversy. The scientific treatment of the evidence leads us towards the identification of Uttarakuru around "Tarim Basin", a region near the present-day Chinese and Russian provinces of Sinkiang.[17]

According to the *Purāṇas,* the mountains named "Śriṅgavāna" and "Jārudhi" and "Mahābhadra" lake belong to Uttarakuru dvīpa.[18] The 'Matsya' incarnation of 'Viṣṇu' is also related to this dvīpa which may indicate its position near a sea. This possibility is also supported by the conception of saltish ocean towards the north of Uttarakuru mentioned in the seven-island conception of Hindu and Jain traditions.[19]

The *Mahābhārata* describes that during the conquest of the north by Arjuna the people of Uttarakuru surrendered without any resistance.[20] It may be taken that Arjuna reached only the southern frontier of Uttarakuru wherever its position would have been. The

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16. *The Geography of the Purāṇas,* (S. M. Ali) p. 87.

17. *Vide,* Map No. 3, Identification of Uttarakuru.

18. A description of the rest of the three dvīpas is found as under (*Matsya Purāṇa*—a study, p. 185):—

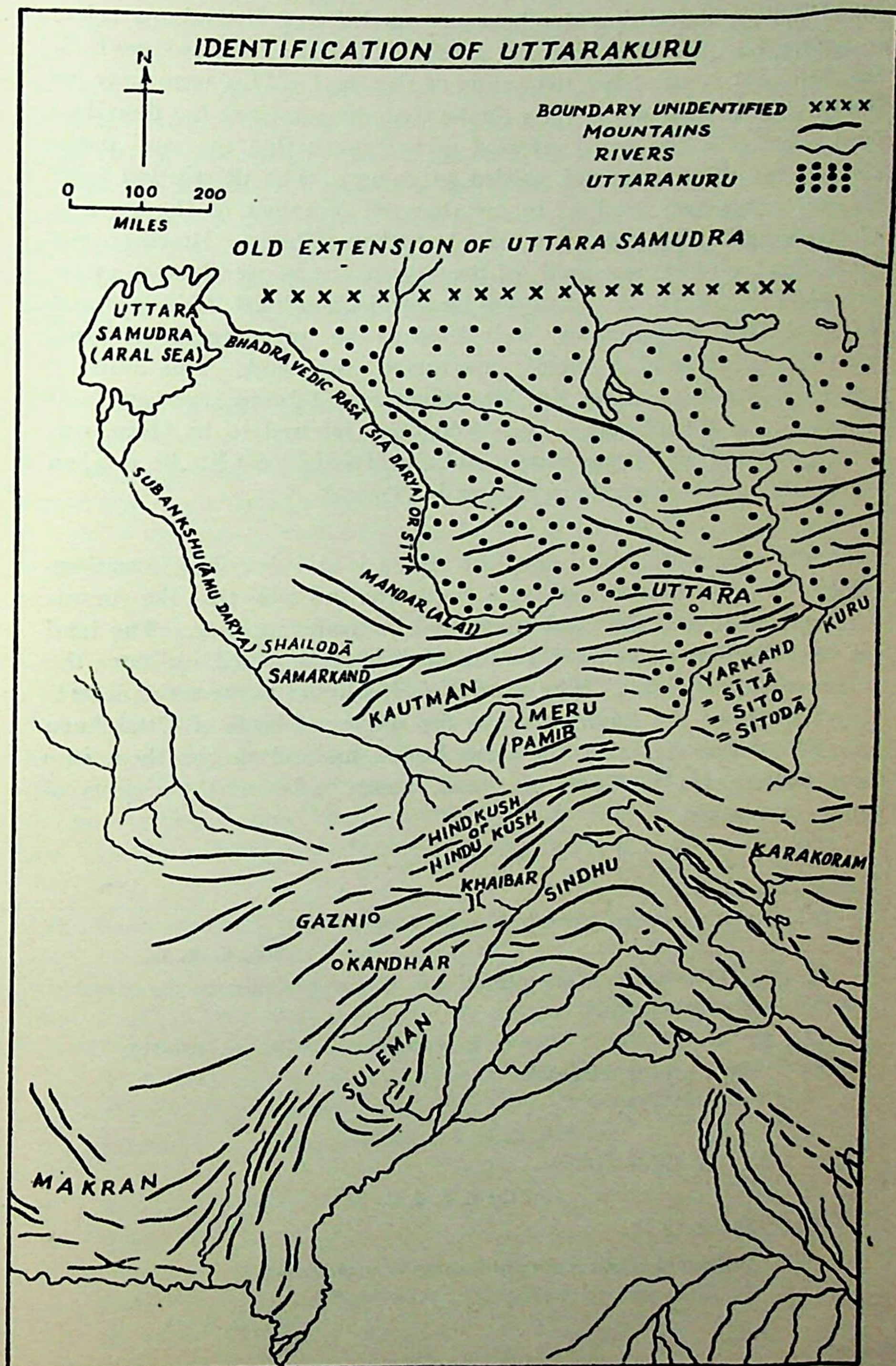
(i) Jambūdvīpa or Bhārata has Himavāna mountain, Alakanandā river, Nandana forest, Mānasa lake and the incarnation of God Kacchapa.

(ii) In the Ketumāla dvīpa of the West Ṛṣabha and Pāriyātra mountain and Svarakṣu river identified as modern Vaṅkṣu or Oxus river, Vaibhrāja forest, Sitodā lake and the incarnation of Varāha.

(iii) The meaning of Bhadrāśva is holy horse. In China, horse was given such a recognition in social, cultural, religious works and in fine arts that the country was named Bhadrāśva. Here Deokūṭa and Jaṭhara mountains, Sītā river, Caitraratha forest, Varuṇoda lake and the incarnation of Hayagrīva have been described.

19. *Ādi P.* 5. 6. 7.
(In between Jambūdvīpa and Ghātakīkhaṇḍa).

20. *'Na cāpi Kiñcijjetavyamarjunātra pradṛṣyate.*
Uttaraḥ Kuravo hyete nātra Yuddhaṁ pravartate.'
Mb., 2. 25. 11.


IDENTIFICATION OF UTTARAKURU
N
0 100 200
MILES
BOUNDARY UNIDENTIFIED
MOUNTAINS
RIVERS
UTTARAKURU
OLD EXTENSION OF UTTARA SAMUDRA
UTTARA SAMUDRA (ARAL SEA)
BHADRA VEDIC RASĀ (SIA DARYA) OR SĪTĀ
SUBANKSHU (ĀMU DARYA)
MANDAR (ALAI)
SHAILODĀ
SAMARKAND
KAUTMAN
MERU
PAMIR
UTTARA
KURU
YARKAND = SĪTĀ = SITO = SITODĀ
HINDKUSH or HINDU KUSH
KHAIBAR
SINDHU
KARAKORAM
GAZNI
KANDHAR
SULEMAN
MAKRAN

MAP No. 3

Mahābhārata describing the heavenly qualities of Uttarakuru refers to the land as full of rubies and sands. A definite term *Sūkṣma-Kāñcanabālukā*[21] is used for the sands of the land. This term may be interpreted in two ways. If we take that the composer has described land poetically, the word referred to will mean that the sand particles are small in size and golden in colour. The description with this meaning may lead us to say that the composer of the verse is clearly mentioning the loose soil of southern Siberia. However, the 'gold dust' or the 'ant gold' of the region is also well-known as referred to by Sir W. W. Tarn and Dr. Moti Chandra.[22] This reference of 'gold dust' may also be well fitted to the meaning of the word that the small gold particles were mixed with sand. This Siberian gold was known among the Mangolian and Tibetan sages and was exported to Bactria etc. The 'gold dust' referred to by Herodotus and 'ant gold' by Megasthenese and the *Mahābhārata* has been taken to be the gold of southern Siberia by Tarn.[23]

The climatic condition of the region is also described in various ślokas.[24] The presence of trees, fruits etc. indicates that the seasons are agreeable and the land is situated in temperate zone. The land is described as *niṣpaṅka*[25] in the *Mahābhārata* which indicates the absence of miry land. The word *niṣpaṅka* indicates the water absorbing nature of the land. One of the species of birds of Uttarakuru named Bhāruṇḍa takes the dead bodies up and throws them into mountain caves.[26] Thus the land seems to be in the vicinity of some mountain.

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21. *'Sarvā maṇimayī bhūmiḥ sūkṣma-kāñcanabālukā.'*
Mb., 6. 8. 6.

22. Dr. Motichand: *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata—Upavanaparava* (1954).

23. Sir W. W. Tarn: *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 106–108.

24. *'Nitya puṣpaphalopagāḥ.'*
'Vṛkṣa Madhuphalā.'
Mb., 6. 8. 3.
Kṣīriṇo nāma Vṛkṣāḥ...
Mb., 6. 8. 4. 8.

25. *Mb.*, 6. 8. 4.

26. *'Bhāruṇḍā nāma Śakunāstīkṣṇatuṇḍā mahābalāḥ.*
Te nirharanti hi mṛtāndarīṣu prakṣipanti ca.'
Mb., 6. 8. 11.

Uttarakuru was definitely known to Buddha and his disciples. The *Jātakas* clearly place the region in the north of Himalaya mountain.[27] The *Vinayapiṭaka* says that Buddha took his lunch at Anotattadah.[28] In Pali literature Uttarakuru has been described as an agricultural country. Not only Buddha but many of his disciples visited this country from time to time to get alms.[29] Jotika, the father of Dīrghāyu Upāsaka of Rājagṛha, was married in Uttarakuru.[30] It shows close connections between India of Buddhist time and the ancient land of Uttarakuru. The scholars have identified the Uttarakuru of the Buddhists with the Uttarakuru of the *Ṛgveda*.[31] The *Ṛgvedic* description leads us to conclude the position of Uttarakuru in southern Siberia.

The key to exact location of Uttarakuru is also provided in Jain literature by a relative description which makes the position of Uttarakuru specific on the banks of the river Stodā.[32] This is also supported by the local name of Yarkand river, a tributary to Traim as 'Sito',[33] the name 'Sito' may well be taken to have been derived from 'Sitodā'.

According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[34] the river flowing to the east from Meru is called 'Sītā'. Its presence helps in identifying 'Sitodā', 'Sito' and 'Sītā' as the same river having different names. They are identical and help in the location of Uttarakuru which was situated to the north of this river. Some confusion is created by Nand Lal De who indentifies 'Sītā' as 'Sir Darya'[35] of Greek literature. Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawala says that in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* 'Sīta' is a river flowing towards the west.[36] Hence, it is concluded that these versions

27. *Soṇānanda-jātaka*, Jātaka, V. p. 316.

28. *Vinayapiṭaka* (Hindi), p. 91.

29. *Dhammapadātthakathā*, III, p. 222. *Aṭṭhasālinī* (Hindi), p. 14. *Mahāvaṁsa* (Hindi), 1. 18. *Jātaka*, V, p. 316; VI, p. 100. *Pañcasūdanī*, I, p. 340. *Paramātthajotika*, II, p. 420.

30. *Vinayapiṭaka, pārājikapāli*, p. 10 (Edited by Bhikkhu J. Kāsyapa).

31. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 356.

32. *'Dvīpe-a-paravidehesmin sitodānadyudaktaṭe.'*
Uttara P. 59. 109-10.

33. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa kā Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 139.

34. *Viṣṇu P.* 2. 2. 35–37.

35. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (1927).

36. *Matsya P.–a Study*, p. 208.

refer to two different rivers of the same name, one flowing towards the east is called 'Sito', 'Sitodā' or 'Sītā' and the other flowing towards the west is identified as 'Sītā' or 'Bhadrā' or Vedic 'Rasā'[37] or 'Sir Darya'. Dr. Agrawala's reference to river 'Sītā' flowing through 'Sindhu Maru' which ultimately falls in western sea creates confusion by a map of Shri Rai Krishna Das reproduced by Dr. Agrawala in that very volume in which 'Sindhu Maru' is identified in the east and not in the west.[38] It appears that the confusion between two rivers, though indicated, was not clear to scholars hence the contradictions. Both the rivers in the upper stages flow through the land of Ruṣāṇa tribe which may be identified as steppes of modern Russia according to Dr. Agrawala. The position of Uttarakuru shown by Shri Rai Krishna Das should be extended towards the east up to 'Sitodā' or 'Sītā' or 'Sito'. Thus an area shown by him in Bhadrāśva comes in Uttarakuru.[39] More clearly the whole of Uttarakuru is located between both the rivers by the name of 'Sītā' along with the northern boundary south of the probable past extension of the Aral sea.

Uttarakuru has been described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[40] as situated beyond Himalayas which confirms the above identification.

Dr. K. P. Jaiswal[41] and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri[42] have identified Uttarakuru as the present Siberia on the assumption that it is surrounded by 'Uttara Samudra' taking it to be Arctic ocean. Now the scholars identify the 'Uttara Samudra' with "Aral sea"[43] and not the "Arctic ocean." It is just possible that it was much bigger in the past and has gradually shrunk to its present dimension. When viewed in this light the description of 'Uttara Samudra' in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[44] does not create any confusion. The "Śrīdharī Ṭīkā" of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also recognizes its position to the South of 'Uttara Samudra' with a quotation from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[45]

37. Vide Map No. 1 (towards western boundary of Uttarakuru).

38. Vide Map No. 1 (towards east).

39. Vide Map No. 1 (towards north of 'Sito', 'Sitodā' or 'Śītā').

40. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14. 4.

41. *Indian Antiquity*, 62. p. 170.

42. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 71.

43. Shri Rai Krishna Das: Vide Map No. 1.

44. *"Uttara payasāṁ nidhiḥ." Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, 4. 43. 56.

45. *Vāyu P.* 2. 2. 44.

From the way in which Aral sea is still shrinking, it can be easily presumed that though it is smaller than many lakes, it has retained the name of sea owing to its original dimensions which must have provided still better agreeable climate in the absence of which now-a-days, Southern Siberia is facing a severe climate.

THE ĀRYAN PROBLEM

By S. K. GUPTA*

Most of the anthropologists and geologists appear to be agreed that the modern man developed from some humanoid stem in the Pleistocene or the Recent era and has survived the Ice Age of this era. It has been held that originally human race is one which originated and developed at one place and spread from there throughout the world. Modern racial distinctions arose after man had migrated to distant lands from his birth place because of differences in altitude, climatic conditions, environment, group isolation, diet, environmental conditions and other more intangible factors which account not only for differences of pigmentation but also for shape and character of face, nose, hair and eye, the cephalic index, stature, physique, certain biochemical changes in blood and all other physical variations–and these are the basis of classification of human races today. These changes have not touched the basic traits in respect of which all members of the human species remain fundamentally alike, but only surface traits show Mendalian separation. All modern races of the world have spread from Northern India and Indo-China.[1]

Basically, therefore, there is only human race. All further categorisation is based on superficial physical or zoological differences which are supposed to distinguish one group from another. But there is no pure race. All have practically mixed together and inbred.

No problem of Āryan race as such, therefore, fundamentally exists. Sense of political, religious, social and cultural superiority over others and the desire to exploit them have given rise to racial distinctions and the consequent problems from time to time. Before the advent of the modern sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology, Socio-

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1. See Calvin Kephart, *The Races of Mankind*, Peter Owen Ltd., London (1961); Hadden, *Races of Man and Their Distribution, Cambridge* (1929); B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, Oxford University Press (1944).

logy and the like, religious and cultural problems existed but no racial problems appear to be traceable. These problems are a creation of these sciences.

Let us examine the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*. Some scholars have inferred from the use in the hymns of words like varṇa, anās, dāsa, dasyu and asura that there were two races—the Āryans and the Pre-Dravidian Aboriginals. The word Varṇa has been used in various senses in the *Ṛgveda*. Kṛṣṇa and dāsa varṇas signify the long period of darkness of Brahmā's night.[2] This is designated asura in *Rv.* X. 124 and the manyu or dāsa in another place.[3] Individual souls are eager to be relieved from this state. The long periods of dawn represent the six periods of creation from the first desire-seed sown by *Tad Eka* in the *apraketa salila*[4] and the appearance of the modern man.[5] Anās has been used of dasyus only once[6] in company with *mṛdhravācaḥ*—false (a term applied to Āryas also)[7] and hence can only be taken as a contemptuous term like the 'Hindi' *nakaṭā*. There is no more evidence in regard to the shape of nose, head, face, stature, eyes, blood and other physical features. Some gods have been described as possessing shining, white, compact and sharp teeth.[8] Agni and other gods possess brown, oily, shining, dense and waving hair.[9] No other information about human teeth and hair has yet come to light.

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2. See Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Vedalāvaṇyam* (Hindi), 10. 3, Bharati Mandira, Gorakhpur (now Jaipur).

3. *Ṛgveda* (Text, abbreviated as Rv.) I. 104. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, X. 129. 4.

5. Man was born at a very late stage in the process of creation. See *Manu Smṛti*, I. 8—31.

6. *Rv.* V. 29. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, VII. 18. 13.

8. Cp. the words *śúcidan* (*Rv.* V. 7. 7; VII. 4. 2); *śréṇidan* (*Rv.* X. 20. 3); *hiraṇyadantam* (*Rv.* V. 2. 3) and *krivirdatī* (*Rv.* I. 116. 6).

9. Cp. *hárikeśa* (*Rv.* III. 2. 13; X. 37. 9; 96. 5; 8; 139. 1); *hiraṇyakeśa* (*Rv.* I. 79. 1; Feminine form in *Rv.* VIII. 32. 29; 93. 24); *ghṛtákeśa* (*Rv.* VIII. 60. 20); *śociṣkeśa* (*Rv.* I. 45. 6; 50. 8; 127. 2; III. 14. 1; 17. 1; 27. 4; V. 8. 2; 41. 1); *vṛkṣákeśāḥ* (*Rv.* V. 41. 11); *vāyúkeśān* (*Rv.* III. 38. 6).

The word *vāra* when used as a second member in compounds, i.e., in compounds with the words puru, viśva, aśasta, dāti, bhūri, ṛdhad, vīta, jihma and nīcīna has not been interpreted as 'hair' by Sāyaṇa and others since its translation as 'hair' in these compounds is incompatible in the stanzas where they occur.

The *Ṛgveda often*[10] refers to five tribes which are often identified with the Yadus, Druhyus, the Turvaśas, the Purus, and the Anus. Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu*[11] regards these names as synonyms of man. Mankind has been classified here from various considerations into classes ranging from one to five. The *Yajurveda* raises the number to about 20. The classification into (a) Ārya and Dasyu or Dāsa, (b) Śūdra and Arya or Ārya are significant in our context.[12]

Śūdra has always been used before Arya and Ārya in Vedic stanzas[13] and has been associated with tapas by the *Yajurveda*.[14] It probably stood for the most learned and the holy among the Vedic people—the "ṛṣis."

The dasyus have been described as deceitful, inactive, unbelieving, inhuman, devoted to (unhealthy ?) vows, rich, unholy, non-sacrificing, opposed to gods, jealous, guards of iron cities, liars and dependent upon relatives. Āryas have also been described as liars. Mahidāsa Aitareya holds that some descendants of Viśvāmitra became dasyus.[15]

The words arya and ārya have the same connotation, Kephart[16] traces it to *Arii*, an ancient Persian tribal name, meaning 'noble men'. It has been used by the Persians, Bactrians, the Indians, the White and the Brown races of Āryas as a national name. It is, therefore, used as a racial name and has given rise to the Āryan Problem. Max Müller was careful enough to use the term strictly in its philosophical sense. In the *Ṛgveda*, it signifies a noble, gentle, godfearing, believing, truthful, active and human being as contrasted with the dasyus. It also stands for cultivators and was thus a generic name for all the Vedic people. Dayānand Sarasvatī also holds so.[17]

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10. See the phrases 'pañca janāḥ' and 'pañca kṛṣṭīḥ'.

11. *Nighaṇṭu* of Yāska edited by Dayananda Sarasvati, Ajmer, (1968 V. S.).

12. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Saṭippaṇā Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtrāṇi*, Bhūmikā Paras 42—49.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Yajurveda*, XXX, 5—'*tapase śūdram*'.

15. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Ṛksūktāni*, 16. 9.

16. Kephert, *Races of Mankind*, London (1961). pp. 72-73

17. *Dayananda Sarasvati ke Patra aura Vijñāpana*, edited by Bhavaddatta, Lahore, (2002 V.S.). Letter No. 298, PP. 361. Para 7—cp. '*isa deśa vālō kā nāma (ārya) aura isa deśa kā nāma "Āryāvarta" hai.*' Also see letter No. 48, pp. 99. His interpretation of the word '*ārya*' in his commentaries on Vedic stanzas may also been seen.

The term *Śiśna Devāḥ* has merely a cultural and religious connotation.[18] It has no bearing on the racial contents.

There is, thus, no anthropological and ethnological evidences or information in the *Ṛgveda* in regard to the Āryan and Non-Āryan Pre-Dravidian Aborigial races.

What could then be the original home of the Āryan or the human race? On linguistic, geological and traditional accounts of *Vedic* and *Paurāṇika* literature supported by evidences from the *Avestā* and elsewhere, some Indian scholars have located the original home of the Āryans somewhere in Northern Indian hills and plains.[19]

As I have pointed out elsewhere[20] the Vedic language originates from a monosyllabic source. Monosyllabic languages are spoken in some form or the other in some Himalayan tracts, Burma, Malaya, Anam, Tibbet and China, as well as in Sudan.[21] Except the last, the rest lie in one geographically closely knit area. Vedic language too must have originated and developed somewhere in this or near this belt. At the time of flood, Manu takes shelter in the Himalayan region called *Manoravasarpaṇam*.[22] In the Pre-flood period there appears to have been a close connection with Tibbet, which is known as *Triviṣṭapa* and the land of gods in Indian literature. The Himalayas have risen to their present height in the Recent Era. There is no conclusive evidence in regard to the topography of 'Sapta Sindhu.' Efforts to trace it in Iran and elsewhere are futile. Names can be borrowed and carried by migrating persons and hence are deceptive. *Aryaṇam Vaejo* is Skt. *Āryāṇām Vāsaḥ* and not *Āryāṇām Bījaḥ* as surmised by Dr. J. P. Singhal.[23] It appears, therefore, that

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18. See S. K. Gupta, Coconut (Tryambaka) in the *Ṛgveda* is the origin of Śiva Cult, Paras 17—28, Śodha Bhāratī, Lucknow, I. 1.

19. See Lachhmi Dhar, *The Home of the Aryas*, Delhi (1930); Abinash Chandra Das, *Ṛgvedic India*, Calcutta (1927); Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi (1963); Articles listed in R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Bibliography*, II. 81. 1; 13; 62; 65; 66; 84; 92; 115; 129; 130, 131.

20. S. K. Gupta, "Monosyllabic Origin of the Vedic Language", *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. XIX, No. 1—4.

21. Bhola Nath Tiwari, *Bhāṣā Vijñāna*, Allahabad, (1961), pp. 77.

22. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Acyuta Granthamālā Kāryālaya, Kashi (1994 VS), 1. 8. 1. 6.

23. Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi, (1963), pp. 23.

the Sapta Sindhu[24] signified the entire tract of land occupied by Vedic Āryans. It was divided into three regions—the *Tri-sadhastha*[25] (probably Tibbet), the mid-regions[26] (probably the Himalyan tracts) and this land[27] (the Northern India from east to west). The centre of activity appears to have been diverted from the land of the "devas" to the land of the "manuṣyas" through the land of the gandharvas and we, thus, know of the land of "manuṣyas"[28] only. There is no conclusive and reliable positive or negative evidence about the birthplace of the first man. All information relates to post-flood period. Since there is no reference to Manu's flood in the *Ṛgveda*, the accounts of this work can safely be regarded pre-flood.

The floods of Manu, Noah and Avestā, the uprising of the Kaśyapa lake in Kashmir, and the Ice Pleistocene Era (Ice Age of the geologists) probably refer to the same event. In this event most of the pupulation of the world perished. Some people survived here and there. Isolation and climatic conditions produced the racial traits now known to us. Agastya's drinking of the ocean symbolises the disappearance of the Tethys sea and the emergence of land connection of the Northern India with the Lemurian or the Gondwana continent.[29] Manu's descendants spread in Northern India, Southern India and elsewhere from the *Manoravasarpaṇam*. The *Nadī-Sūkta*[30] records a westward migration, probably of the pre-flood era.

Linguistic and cultural distinctions are uncertain in determining racial types. Monosyllabic languages transform into polysyllabic through various processes of pairing by permutation and combination of sounds which tend to change in different climates.[31] Main features of all the linguistic families are traceable in the *Ṛgvedic*

24. *Sapta* means 'many, several'. See Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Veda Lāvaṇyam*, 9, 3 (iii).

25. *Rv.* X. 61. 14.

26. *Rv.* I. 108. 9-10; V. 60. 6; X. 81. 5.

27. *Rv.* I. 154. 3; X. 81. 5.

28. Also see Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi (1963), Chapter IV, especially the last paragraph.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

30. *Rv.* X. 75.

31. S. K. Gupta, "Monosyallabic Origin of the Vedic Language." *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1—4.

language.[32] Cultural developments also depend upon geographical and other factors, e.g. cremation of the dead is resorted in a densely populated area with abundant fuel and burning material but yields place to burial in places of scarce burning material.

To conclude: There is no Āryan Problem as such, whether racial, cultural or linguistic. It is all a creation of the 19th and the 20th centuries in particular and is based in the sense of superiority and purity in the minds and thinking of a group of people desirous of exploiting the other people. The original home of the first man was somewhere in the Himalayas in Northern India from where all existing races of the world have dispersed and inhabited various lands.

32 Sudhir Kumar Gupta, 'Vaidika Bhāṣā Swarūpa' (Hindi), *Gurukul Patrika, Kangri*, Vol. 18. 1. Bhādrapada, 2022 V. S.

THE DATE OF THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

By K. C. Ojha*

Now it has become an almost established fact that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, as we have it to-day, is a work of the early Christian centuries. Some of the Indian scholars, however, still persist in holding the traditional view that it belongs to the time of Candra Gupta Maurya. Recently Sri R. P. Kangle has come forward with a new edition and English translation of this work in three volumes. In the introduction of his work he has collected all the arguments in support of this opinion. But these arguments can hardly bear a close scrutiny.

Authorship

Almost all the manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* attribute its authorship to Kauṭilya in its numerous colophons at the end of its Chapters— "इतिकौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रे' It clearly means that the *Arthaśāstra* is the famous *Arthaśāstra* named after Kauṭilya. But a verse at the close of this work provides some more information about its authorship. It says that this particular *Arthaśāstra* was redacted in its present form by one Viṣṇugupta out of its numerous confusing texts :

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिम् वहुधा शस्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।
विष्णुगुप्त स्त्रयं चकार सूत्रञ्च भाष्यञ्च ॥

All this no doubt indicates that the original *Arthaśāstra* going in the name of Kauṭilya was in *Sūtra* form. Later on these *Sūtras* came to be associated with various commentaries or *bhāṣyas*. The *Arthaśāstra* which we find to-day is such an *Arthaśāstra* written by Viṣṇugupta. It is not the original *Arthaśāstra*.

Sri Kangle and other scholars accepting the traditional opinion take this verse at the fag end of our *Arthaśāstra* to be a later addition. But such an approach is obviously against the rules of textual criticism. When the verse is found in all the manuscripts, we have no

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authority to reject its authenticity. If the text found in the Mss. were not to be acccepted, the authenticity of the whole *Arthaśāstra* and for that of all the old works will have to be rejected.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the later Sanskrit writers have identified Viṣṇugupta with Kauṭilya out of confusion or mistake or reverence. In the early works Kauṭilya is never known as Viṣṇugupta. The well-known Sanskrit writer Dandin wrote his *Daśakumāracaritam* in the seventh century A.D. In this work at one place he says that Viṣṇugupta made a redaction of the *Arthaśāstra* literature 'recently' (इदानीम्). Kāmandaka, who composed his *Nītisāra* on the basis of the *Arthaśāstra* at about this time, refers to Viṣṇugupta as his teacher. So the latter also must have flourished about this time.

Style

All the works of the Sanskrit literature may be divided in two broad groups on the basis of their form. The earlier of them are written in the condensed *Sūtra* style as they had to be memorised for want of the common practice of writing books at that time. The detailed works appear only later on after the beginning of the Christian era. The *Arthaśāstra* as found to-day is a big work giving every thing in detail. At places, it no doubt bears the traces of *sūtra* style. But on the whole it is a work of *bhāṣya* type. At any rate on the basis of its style the present *Arthaśāstra* can hardly be placed among the early *Sūtra* works of the 3rd-4th centuries B.C. It must be placed much later after the opening of the Christian era when the first detailed works of Sanskrit literature came to be written.

Contents

The *Arthaśāstra* contains some material which is definitely indicative of its lateness. To cite only one example, it mentions not only China (Cīnabhūmi) but also China-silk (Cīnapaṭṭa). Now, the name China came into existence only in the third century B.C. No reference to the Chinese silk trade with the western world goes earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The Chinese did not know any country to the west of the river Oxus till 128 B.C. The western countries including Greece and Rome, had no idea of China till still later times. So the *Arthaśāstra* containing the above references must have got its final shape much after the fourth century B.C. But Sri Kangle and other scholars of his way of thinking put forward

two lame excuses against this doubtless inference. First, they say that China might be known to the Indians even in the fourth century B.C., and it may be a mere chance that no other early writer happens to refer to this country. This type of thinking is, however, against all the principles of scientific induction. Without some positive evidence for the know'edge of China to India in the fourth century B.C. we cannot presume its existence. As said above, China itself was not known by this name up to this time. Secondly, there is a tag added by a later hand. This also is a conjecture pure and simple. Even if it be accepted to be correct, the fact remains that the present *Arthaśāstra* was finalized at a late date.

In its sūtra 1. 5. 14, the *Arthaśāstra* says that *itihāsa* means *purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharaṇa, dharmaśāstra,* and *arthaśāstra.* It shows that the present *Arthaśāstra* was written after all these works which can hardly be placed before the beginning of the Christian era. Sri Kangle thinks that this sūtra "is a marginal gloss... which got into he text." If numerous *sūtras* like this have got into the text of the *Arthaśāstra,* why should this work as a whole not be assigned to a later time?

In the earliest Sanskrit literature the political matters have been discussed only in the *dharmaśāstras.* Independent works on polity appear on!y in the later times. In the earliest *sūtra* literature also many other branches of learning have been grouped together. They begin to deve!op separately only in the later times. Even in the other o!d civilizations of the world, the secular books branch off from the religious treatises only at a later stage. On this ground it is generally thought that the *Arthaśāstra* must be dated much after the *dharmasūtras* which are generally placed in the fourth-fifth centuries B.C. But the traditionalist scholars presuppose the existence of the works on *Arthaśāstra* side by side with the *dharmasūtras* without any evidence for the existence of any *Arthaśāstra* at this time.

Similarly it is thought that the *Arthaśāstra* cannot be dated much before the Indian works on architecture, town-planning, alchemy, jewellery, go!dsmithy, weapons, training of horses and elephants, writing of state documents and so on and so forth. All these works appear several centuries after Christ and contain some material found in the *Arthaśāstra.* But Sri Kangle says that the information in the *Arthaśāstra* on these matters might come from the earlier works on these subjects without adducing any evidence for their existence.

The earliest works of the ancient literatures all over the world containing common materials are generally thought to have been redacted at the same time from the general mass of literature floating in tradition. Some material of the *Arthaśāstra* is found also in the *Epics, Dharmaśāstras* etc. It means that the Arthaśāstra must be more or less contemporaneous with these works composed in their present form in the early Christian centuries. But without any positive evidence the traditionalists think that the *Arthaśāstra* is the earliest of all these works which have borrowed all the common material from it.

These scholars fail to appreciate the fact that the Indian civilization revealed by the *Arthaśāstra* is much more developed than that of the third-fourth centuries B.C. known definitely by the Indian archaeology including the inscriptions of Aśoka. Many terms and expressions found in later inscriptions appear in the *Arthaśāstra*. The strict control of the state over all the activities of society as envisaged in the *Arthaśāstra* was not posible in very olden times marked by the absence of easy means of transport and communication.

Thus there can be no legitimate doubt about the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* as we have it to-day is a redaction of the vast *Arthaśāstra* literature made by Viṣṇugupta about 600 A.D. Candragupta Maurya, who founded the first empire in India, might have initiated a new system of administration and thus brought into existence the branch of learning known as the *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya may be a historical person or he may be only an anonymous originator created by the later tradition.

जल-प्लावन—एक ऐतिहासिक घटना

डा० द्वारिकाप्रसाद सक्सेना*

विश्व-साहित्य में जल-प्लावन की घटना का अत्यन्त गौरवपूर्ण स्थान है। शतपथब्राह्मण में इस जल-प्लावन को 'ओघ' कहा गया है,।[1] पुराणों में इसे 'प्रलय' के नाम से पुकारा गया है और अंग्रेजी साहित्य में डैल्यूज (Deluge) नाम दिया गया है। ब्रह्मपुराण और विष्णुपुराण में तीन प्रकार के प्रलयों का उल्लेख मिलता है—नैमित्तिक प्रलय, प्राकृतिक प्रलय और आत्यंतिक प्रलय। एक कल्प के अन्त में होने वाले प्रलय को 'नैमित्तिक प्रलय', दो परार्द्धों में होने वाले प्रलय को 'प्राकृतिक प्रलय' और सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि का विनाश करने वाले प्रलय को 'आत्यंतिक प्रलय' कहा जाता है।[2] इन तीन प्रलयों के अतिरिक्त अग्निपुराण तथा भागवतपुराण में नित्य-प्रति प्राणियों का विनाश करने वाली एक चौथी 'नित्य प्रलय' का और उल्लेख मिलता है।[3] यह जल-प्लावन उक्त तीन प्रलयों में ही आता है।

इस जल-प्लावन अथवा प्रलय का वर्णन ऋग्वेद में नहीं मिलता। ऋग्वेद में 'नासदीय सूक्त' के अन्तर्गत केवल इतना ही कहा गया है कि सृष्टि के विकास से पूर्व यहाँ चारों ओर अंधकार छाया हुआ था और सर्वत्र जल ही जल व्याप्त था।[4] यजुर्वेद तथा सामवेद में भी इस जल-प्लावन की चर्चा नहीं मिलती, किन्तु अथर्ववेद में अवश्य इसका संकेत मिलता है। वहाँ 'कुष्ठ' नामक ओषधि का वर्णन करते हुए उसे हिमालय की उस चोटी पर उत्पन्न हुई बतलाया है, जहाँ पर शून्य में भटकती हुई एक स्वर्णिम नौका पूर्वकाल में उतरी थी।[5] अतः सर्वप्रथम हमें अथर्ववेद में ही जल-प्लावन तथा उसमें से बचने वाली मनु की नौका के हिमालय पर पहुँचने का क्षीण संकेत मिलता है।

जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन सर्वप्रथम हमें शतपथब्राह्मण में उपलब्ध होता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि एक बार प्रभात के समय हाथ धोने के लिए

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१. शतपथब्राह्मण १/८/१/२

२. ब्रह्मपुराण २३१/१, विष्णुपुराण ६/३/१-२

३. अग्निपुराण ३६८/१-२, भागवतपुराण १२/४/३५

४. ऋग्वेद १०/१२९/३

५. अथर्ववेद १९/३९/७-८

जल लेते समय मनु के हाथ में एक छोटी सी मछली आ गई और उसने मनु से अपनी रक्षा-हेतु प्रार्थना की। साथ ही उस मछली ने मनु को जल-प्लावन की सूचना दी और कहा कि उस जल-प्लावन में सब कुछ डूब जायेगा, किन्तु तुम एक नौका बनाकर उसमें चढ़ जाना। मैं बड़ी होकर उस जल-प्लावन से तुम्हें बचा लूँगी। मनु ने उस मछली की रक्षा की और कालान्तर में वह एक बहुत बड़ा मत्स्य हो गई। उस मछली के बतलाये हुए समय पर ही भयंकर जल-प्लावन (जलौघ) हुआ, जिसमें सारी सृष्टि डूब गई, किन्तु अकेले मनु ही उस मत्स्य के सींग में अपनी नाव बाँधकर उत्तर गिरि की चोटी पर पहुँच गये और उस जल-प्लावन से बच गये।[६] शतपथब्राह्मण में उत्तरगिरि की उस चोटी का नाम 'मनोरवसर्पण' दिया है।[७]

जल-प्लावन की इसी घटना का क्षीण आभास जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण में भी मिलता है। यद्यपि वहाँ जल-प्लावन से मनु की रक्षा कोई मत्स्य नहीं करता, तथापि सामवेद की ऋचायें स्वयं स्वर्णिम नौका बनकर मनु की रक्षा करती हैं।[८] तत्पश्चात् जल-प्लावन की यह कथा 'महाभारत' में बड़े विस्तार के साथ मिलती है। यहाँ आते-आते शतपथब्राह्मण की कथा में पर्याप्त परिवर्तन हो गया है। एक तो यहाँ मनु को बदरिकाश्रम में तप करते हुए दिखाया गया है और वहीं चीरिणी नदी के किनारे मनु की उस महान् मत्स्य से भेंट हुई है। दूसरे, मनु को यहाँ विवस्वान् का पुत्र तथा एक प्रतापी महर्षि बतलाया गया है। तीसरे, मत्स्य ने आकर यहाँ मनु को यह सूचना दी है कि अब सभी पदार्थों के विनाश का समय आ गया है और अब उसी विनाश-कार्य के हेतु भयंकर जल-प्लावन होगा। चौथे, उस महान् मत्स्य को यहाँ प्रजापति ब्रह्मा घोषित किया गया है, जिसने मनु से कहा है कि अब सृष्टि के विनाश के उपरान्त तुम ही मेरी कृपा से आगामी नूतन सृष्टि की रचना में सफल होगे। पाँचवें, यहाँ केवल मनु ही उस जल-प्लावन से शेष नहीं रहते, अपितु समस्त पदार्थों के बीज और सप्तर्षि भी मनु के साथ उस नौका में शेष रहते हैं। छठे, जिस स्थान पर मनु उतरे थे, उसका नाम महाभारत में 'नौ बन्धन' दिया गया है। सातवें, यहाँ पर जल-प्लावन का अत्यन्त रोमहर्षक एवं रोमांचकारी वर्णन किया गया है।[९]

तत्पश्चात् जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन मत्स्यपुराण में मिलता है। यहाँ आकर इस घटना में और भी अधिक परिवर्तन हो गया है। जैसे, यहाँ मनु को दक्षिण देश का राजा कहकर मलयाद्रि पर तपस्या करते हुए दिखाया गया है और उसी पर्वत के समीप तर्पण करते हुए मत्स्य से भेंट करायी गयी है। दूसरे, मत्स्य को

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६. शतपथब्राह्मण १/८/१-६
७. वही १/८/६
८. जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण ३/९९
९. महाभारत, वनपर्व १८७/२-५५

यहाँ बीस अयुत योजन लम्बे आकार का घोषित किया गया है। तीसरे, मत्स्य को यहाँ विष्णु का अवतार माना गया है। चौथे, मत्स्य ने यहाँ मनु को यह संदेश दिया है कि इस जल-प्लावन के अनन्तर जब नूतन सृष्टि का विकास होगा, तब सतयुग के प्रारम्भ में तुम्हीं इस चराचर जगत् के प्रजापति होगे और मन्वन्तर के अधिपति होकर समस्त देवताओं के भी पूज्य होगे। पाँचवें, यहाँ पर मनु के साथ ऋक्-यजु-सामवेद, समस्त विद्यायें, सम्पूर्ण पुराण, चन्द्रमा, सूर्य, नर्मदा नदी, महर्षि मार्कण्डेय तथा शंकर के अवशिष्ट रहने का उल्लेख मिलता है। छठे, यहाँ मनु स्वयं नौका का निर्माण नहीं करते, अपितु देवताओं के द्वारा निर्मित नाव स्वयं मनु के लिए उपस्थित होती है। सातवें यहाँ यह वर्णन नहीं मिलता कि मनु जल-प्लावन के उतरने पर सर्वप्रथम किस स्थान पर उतरे थे।[१०] मत्स्यपुराण की इस कथा पर धार्मिक प्रभाव अधिक दिखाई देता है। इसी कारण यह कथा अधिक विस्तृत हो गई है और इसमें असाधारण बातों का समावेश अधिक हो गया है।

इसके उपरान्त जल-प्लावन की घटना का यह वर्णन भागवतपुराण में भी मिलता है। यद्यपि इस वर्णन में मत्स्यपुराण की घटना से अधिक अन्तर तो नहीं है, तथापि कुछ बातें यहाँ अनोखे ढंग से बतलाई गई हैं। जैसे, मनु का नाम यहाँ सत्यव्रत दिया गया है और उन्हें द्रविड़ देश का राजा घोषित किया है। उन्हें मलयपर्वत के समीप कृतमाला नदी में तर्पण करते हुए लिखा है, जहाँ पर मत्स्य से उनकी भेंट होती है। मत्स्य ने ठीक सातवें दिन जल-प्लावन एवं प्रलय का होना बतलाया है। मनु के साथ यहाँ समस्त प्राणियों के एक-एक जोड़े, सभी प्रकार के बीज तथा सभी तरह की औषधियों के शेष रहने का उल्लेख मिलता है। मत्स्यपुराण की भाँति यहाँ सूर्य-चन्द्र के शेष रहने का नहीं, अपितु नष्ट हो जाने का वर्णन मिलता है और इनके अभाव में सप्तर्षियों के प्रकाश में ही मनु का नौका के द्वारा बचना बतलाया गया है। यहाँ पर मत्स्य का आकार एक लाख योजन लम्बा तथा उसे स्वर्णिम रंग का बतलाया गया है। शेष समस्त कथा मत्स्यपुराण के ही समान है, जिसमें मत्स्य को विष्णु का अवतार बतलाया गया है और मनु के समीप देवनिर्मित नौका के आने का वर्णन किया गया है।[११] भागवतपुराण के ही समान जल-प्लावन की घटना अग्निपुराण में भी मिलती है और इन दोनों के वर्णन में कोई अन्तर नहीं है।[१२]

इसके अतिरिक्त जल-प्लावन की घटना का उल्लेख भविष्यपुराण में भी मिलता है। यहाँ मनु का नाम 'न्यूह' दिया गया है और उन्हें आदम का पुत्र बतलाया गया है। न्यूह को भारत का एक विष्णु-भक्त राजा घोषित किया गया है, जिसे एक

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१०. मत्स्यपुराण १/१०-३४

११. भागवत पुराण ८/२४/४१-५४

१२. अग्निपुराण २/१-१७

दिन स्वप्न में विष्णु भगवान् यह आदेश देते हैं कि आज से सातवें दिन भयंकर जल-प्लावन आयेगा। अतः तुम एक नौका बनाकर अपने परिवार सहित उस पर चढ़ जाना। न्यूह ने विष्णु के कथनानुसार एक ५० हाथ चौड़ी तथा ३०० हाथ लम्बी नाव का निर्माण किया और प्रलय होने पर अपने परिवार के लोगों के साथ-साथ समस्त जीवों के एक-एक जोड़े को भी नौका पर चढ़ा लिया। जल-प्लावन के समाप्त होने पर वे हिमालय की 'शिषिणा' नामक चोटी पर उतरे और वहीं से आगामी नूतन सृष्टि का विकास किया।[१३] भविष्यपुराण की यह घटना बाइबिल की घटना से पूर्णतया मिलती-जुलती है। बाइबिल में हजरत नूह का भी ऐसा ही आख्यान मिलता है, जिसका उल्लेख आगे किया जायेगा। यहाँ इतना बता देना ही अभीष्ट है कि भविष्यपुराण में न्यूह को आदम की संतान कहा गया है। वैसे भी वैवस्वत मनु आदिमनु स्वायंभुव की संतान माने जाते हैं, क्योंकि अग्निपुराण में लिखा है कि विष्णु के पुत्र ब्रह्मा या आदिमनु हुए, उनके पुत्र मरीचि हुए, मरीचि के पुत्र कश्यप हुए, कश्यप के पुत्र सूर्य हुये और सूर्य के पुत्र वैवस्वत मनु हुए थे, जिनको जल-प्लावन का भयंकर दृश्य देखना पड़ा था।[१४] अतः आदिमनु का सम्बन्ध 'आदम' से और मनु का सम्बन्ध 'न्यूह' से सहज जोड़ा जा सकता है, क्योकि भाषाविज्ञान की दृष्टि से 'आदिमनु' शब्द में से अन्तिम 'नु' तथा मध्यवर्ती 'इ' का लोप हो जाने पर 'आदम' शब्द बन गया होगा और 'मनुः' शब्द में से प्रथम 'म' का लोप हो जाने पर 'नुः' (उच्चारण 'नुह') 'नुह' या 'नूह' अथवा 'न्यूह' बन गया होगा।

बौद्ध जातक-कथाओं में जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन तो नहीं मिलता, किन्तु 'मच्छजातक' में बोधिसत्व के मछली की योनि में जन्म लेकर तथा जल-वृष्टि कराकर संसार का कल्याण करने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[१५] ऐसे ही 'सीला-निसंसजातक' में समुद्र देवता द्वारा एक सदाचारी नाई को नौका में बैठाकर समुद्र से पार होने तथा अन्य सभी दुराचारी व्यक्तियों के जल-मग्न होने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[१६] परन्तु जैन-ग्रन्थों में जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तारपूर्वक वर्णन मिलता है। श्री धर्मघोष सूरि कृत 'कालसप्ततिका' ग्रंथ में अग्रतन अर (प्रथम युग) का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि इस अर (युग) के अन्तर्गत क्रमशः क्षार, अग्नि, विष, अम्ल तथा विद्युत् से युक्त होकर मेघ सात दिन तक भयंकर वर्षा करेंगे। उस समय कुत्सित पवन चलेगी, अत्यन्त रुग्णकारी जल-वृष्टि होगी और समस्त गिरि तथा स्थल प्रदेशों को जल-मग्न करके एक-सा कर देगी। अग्नि-वर्षा के कारण पहले पृथ्वी तृणादि विहीन हो जायेगी और सर्वत्र "हा दैव ! हा दैव !! कैसे जीवित रहेंगे" ऐसी करुण पुकार

१३. भविष्यपुराण, प्रतिसर्ग पर्व ३/४/१-५४
१४. अग्निपुराण ५/२
१५. जातक, खंड १, पृ० ४३०
१६. जातक, खंड २, पृ० २७४

सुनाई देगी। समस्त पक्षी, कच्छ-मच्छ तथा गंगादि नदियाँ समुद्र में विलीन हो जायेंगी। अर्थात् भयंकर जल-प्लावन में सब डूब जायेंगे। इसके अनन्तर द्वितीय अर (युग) के आने पर विमलवाहन नामक प्रथम मनु होंगे और वे अपनी योग्यता से जगत् की पुनः व्यवस्था करेंगे।[१७] ऐसे ही जिनसेनाचार्य कृत 'महापुराण' में भी जल-प्लावन की कथा मिलती है, जिसमें विमलवाहन को सातवाँ मनु अथवा कुल-कर माना गया है और कल्पवृक्ष आदि समस्त पदार्थों के जल-प्लावन में नष्ट हो जाने के उपरान्त इनका जन्म होना लिखा है। शेष कथा 'कालसप्ततिका' जैसी ही है।[१८] इससे यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि विमलवाहन नामक मनु से पहले जल-प्लावन हुआ, जिसमें सभी कुछ नष्ट हो गया तथा विमलवाहन सातवें मनु हैं।

जल-प्लावन की भयंकर घटना का उल्लेख दक्षिण भारत के कतिपय प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भी मिलता है। तमिल भाषा में लिखित 'तमिलम् तमिलरम्' नामक ग्रन्थ में जल-प्लावन का वर्णन करते हुए बतलाया गया है कि पहले दक्षिण में लेमूरिया या कुमारखंड नामक एक विस्तृत भूखंड लंका से दक्षिणी ध्रुव तक और अफ्रीका से सुमात्रा-जावा द्वीप-समूह तक फैला हुआ था। भयंकर जल-प्लावन में वह विशाल द्वीप जल-मग्न हो गया और उसी का अवशिष्ट भाग आज लंका के रूप में विद्यमान है।[१९] इस जल-प्लावन के भयंकर रूप का वर्णन करते हुए वहाँ लिखा है कि उस लेमूरिया द्वीप में देवताओं के रुष्ट हो जाने पर ही यह विनाशकारी जल-प्लावन हुआ था और इसमें चार लाख गलियाँ, पच्चीस राजमहल, रावण के कितने ही विशाल दुर्ग, जो तूतुकुड़ी से लेकर मन्नार तक बने थे, डूब गये। यह जल-प्लावन की घटना अत्यन्त प्राचीन युग में हुई थी।[२०]

भारतीय ग्रन्थों के अतिरिक्त विश्व के अन्य भाषा-ग्रन्थों में भी जल-प्लावन सम्बन्धी प्रमुख घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। यूनानी ग्रन्थों में प्रसिद्ध है कि ड्यूकलियन (Deucalion) तथा उनकी पत्नी पीरिया (Pyrrha) के समय में भयंकर जल-प्लावन हुआ था। वहाँ के ग्रन्थों में लिखा है कि लौहयुग में पाप तथा अत्याचार अधिक बढ़ गये थे। सभी व्यक्ति अत्यधिक पतन की ओर जा रहे थे। उस समय ज्यूज़ (Zeus) नामक देवता ने भयंकर जल-वृष्टि करके उस पतित सृष्टि के विनाश का निश्चय किया। तत्काल घोर वर्षा होने लगी और समस्त सृष्टि जल में डूब गई; परन्तु ड्यूकलियन ने एक पोत का निर्माण किया और उसके द्वारा अपनी पत्नी सहित उस जल-प्लावन से अपनी रक्षा की। जब धीरे-धीरे जल कम होने लगा, तब उनका

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१७. कालसप्ततिका, ५६-६२
१८. महापुराण १/१५८ तथा १३/११६-११७
१९. तमिलम् तमिलरम्, पृ० १०।
२०. वही, पृ० १८-१९।

वह पोत थिसली (Thessaly) में ग्रौथरस पर्वत (Mount Othrys) पर जाकर ठहरा ग्रौर वहाँ पहुँचकर उन दोनों ने पुनः नवीन मानव-सृष्टि का विकास किया।[२१]

इसी तरह बेबीलोनिया के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख मिलता है। वहाँ के ग्रत्र-हसिस (Atra-Hasis) महाकाव्य में जल-प्लावन का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि ग्रार्डटीज (Ardates) की मृत्यु के उपरान्त उसका पुत्र ज़िसूथ्रस (Xisuthros) राजगद्दी पर बैठा। उसने ग्रठारह सर (१८ × ३६०० वर्ष) तक राज्य किया। उसी के समय में एक बार भीषण जल-प्लावन हुग्रा। राजा को उस जल-प्लावन की सूचना स्वप्न में मिली। ग्रतः वह एक नौका तैयार करके उसी में बैठा रहा ग्रौर जल के कम हो जाने पर उसने ग्रपनी नौका से तीन बार पक्षी उड़ाये। दो बार तो पक्षी लौटकर उसी की नौका पर ग्रा गये, किन्तु तीसरी बार कोई पक्षी लौटकर नहीं ग्राया। तब उसने जान लिया कि ग्रब जल-प्लावन उतर चुका है ग्रौर भूमि निकल ग्राई है। ग्रतः वह ग्रपनी सुरक्षित नौका से बाहर निकला ग्रौर उसने देवों को बलि प्रदान करके नई भूमि पर बेबीलोनिया नामक नगर का पुनः निर्माण किया।[२२]

बेबीलोनिया के 'गिलगमेश' (Gilgamesh) महाकाव्य में जल-प्लावन की एक ग्रौर घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। वहाँ पर लिखा है कि तत्कालीन समाज में ग्रत्यधिक दुष्कर्म एवं पापाचार बढ़ गये थे। ग्रतः परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने महान् जल-वृष्टि द्वारा उसके विनाश का निश्चय किया। उसी समय भयकर वर्षा होने लगी, जिसमें पृथ्वी के सभी भाग जल-मग्न हो गये ग्रौर सारा समाज उस जल-प्लावन में डूब गया। केवल एक धार्मिक व्यक्ति उत्नपिश्तम् (Utnapishtam) ही एक नौका के द्वारा उस भीषण जल-प्लावन से बचा। उत्नपिश्तम् ने ग्रपनी उस नौका में सभी प्रकार के जीवों के जोड़े, कोष, सभी प्रकार के कलाकार एवं कारीगर ग्रादि ग्रपने साथ ले लिये थे। ग्रन्त में उनकी नौका एक पर्वत पर ग्राकर रुकी ग्रौर जल-प्लावन के कम हो जाने पर देवों को बलि प्रदान करके उत्नपिश्तम् ने बेबीलोनिया की नूतन सभ्यता का विकास किया।[२३]

जल-प्लावन का ऐसा ही विस्तृत उल्लेख ईसाई धर्म-ग्रन्थ बाइबिल में मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि ग्रादम की वंश-परम्परा में नूह नामक एक बड़े ही सच्चरित्र एवं धर्मात्मा व्यक्ति हुए थे। वे बड़े ही ईश्वरभक्त थे। उनके समय में सारी पृथ्वी पर ग्रनाचार एवं दुष्कर्म बढ़ गये। सारा समाज चरित्र-भ्रष्ट हो गया। तब परमेश्वर यहोबा ने इस पतित समाज के विनाश का निश्चय किया ग्रौर हजरत नूह से कहा कि ग्राज से

२१. *Myth of Ancient Greece and Rome*, p. 22-23.

२२. *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature*, P. 149-159.

२३. *Encyclopaedia Britanica*. Vol. 7, p. 176.

ठीक सातवें दिन एक भीषण जल-प्लावन आयेगा और तुम अपनी रक्षा के लिए एक ३०० हाथ लम्बी, ५० हाथ चौड़ी तथा ३० हाथ ऊँची नौका बनवा लेना। परमेश्वर के संकेत के अनुसार ठीक सातवें दिन जल-प्लावन आरम्भ हो गया और हजरत नूह अपने साथ अपना परिवार, प्रत्येक जीवधारी का एक-एक जोड़ा तथा अन्य आवश्यक सामग्री लेकर उस नाव पर चढ़ गये। उनकी वह नौका अराराट पर्वत पर जाकर रुकी और वहीं पर धर्मात्मा नूह ने देवताओं को बलि प्रदान करके नई मानव-सृष्टि का विकास करना आरम्भ किया।[२४]

जल-प्लावन सम्बन्धी इस विश्व-विश्रुत घटना का उल्लेख चैल्डिया के साहित्य में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि पूर्वकाल में जब जनता में पापाचार एवं अनाचार अधिक बढ़ गये, तब उनसे रुष्ट होकर परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने भयकर वर्षा द्वारा उस जन-समाज के विनाश करने का निश्चय किया और तत्कालीन धार्मिक पुरुष हसीसद्रा (Hasisadra) को यह आदेश दिया कि जब मैं महावृष्टि द्वारा उत्पन्न जल-प्लावन से इस सृष्टि का विनाश करूं, तब उससे पूर्व ही तुम एक नौका निर्माण करके उसमें अपनी पत्नी, मित्र तथा अन्य परिवार के व्यक्तियों के साथ-साथ समस्त पदार्थों के बीज लेकर चढ़ जाना। अन्त में नियत समय पर उत्पन्न भीषण जल-प्लावन ने समस्त पापमयी सृष्टि को नष्ट कर दिया और धर्मात्मा हसीसद्रा अपने परिवार एवं समस्त पदार्थों के बीजों सहित नौका द्वारा उस विनाश से बचे।[२५]

जल-प्लावन की यही घटना मुस्लिम धर्म के सुप्रसिद्ध धर्मग्रन्थ क़ुरान-शरीफ़ में भी मिलती है। यह घटना पूर्णतया बाइबिल के अनुसार ही है और इसमें भी हजरत नूह के नौका द्वारा जल-प्लावन से बचने, पापी व्यक्ति के नष्ट हो जाने आदि का बाइबिल जैसा ही वर्णन मिलता है। बाईबल के वर्णन से इस वर्णन में अन्तर इतना ही है कि बाइबिल में धर्मात्मा नूह की नाव अराराट पर्वत पर आकर रुकती है, जब कि क़ुरान-शरीफ़ में वह 'जूदी' पर्वत पर आकर ठहरती है।[२६]

जल-प्लावन की इसी प्रमुख घटना का संकेत पारसी धर्म के प्रमुख धर्मग्रंथ 'बेंदीदाद' में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि सामाजिक अनाचार एवं पापाचार को देखकर देवताओं ने बहुत कुछ सोच-विचारकर भयंकर हिमपात के साथ-साथ भीषण जल-प्लावन लाने का निश्चय किया, परन्तु तत्कालीन धार्मिक व्यक्ति यीमा को अपनी रक्षा के हेतु सूचित कर दिया था। अन्त में नियत समय पर भयंकर हिमपात के साथ जल-प्लावन आया और उसमें समस्त अनाचारी एवं पापाचारी डूब गये। केवल यीमा ही सुरक्षित बचे।[२७]

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२४. बाइबिल (हिन्दी संस्करण), उत्पत्ति खंड, अध्याय ६, ७, ८।
२५. *Vedic India* by Regozin, p. 340.
२६. *The Holy Quran* 11/3/25-49.
२७. आलोचना, वर्ष २, अंक ४, पूर्णाङ्क ८, जुलाई १९५३, पृ० ३१।

जल-प्लावन की इसी घटना का उल्लेख सुमेरियन ग्रंथों में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि राजा ज़ियूसुद्दू (zi-u-Suddu) को स्वप्न में जल-प्लावन के होने की सूचना प्राप्त हुई। राजा ज़ियूसुद्दू ने एक बड़ी नौका तैयार कर ली। वह जल-प्लावन सात दिन तक रहा, जिसमें अन्य समस्त सृष्टि का तो विनाश हो गया, किन्तु धर्मात्मा ज़ियूसुद्दू ही शेष रहे, जिनसे आगामी नूतन सृष्टि का विकास हुआ।[२८] ऐसे ही असीरिया के ग्रंथों में भी जहाँ-तहाँ जल-प्लावन के संकेत मिल जाते हैं। एक घटना का उल्लेख इस प्रकार मिलता है कि पूर्वकाल में भयंकर जल-प्लावन से बचने के लिए नायक ने एक विशाल नौका का निर्माण किया, जिसकी योजना परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने ही उसके सम्मुख रखी थी और उस नौका पर अपने परिवार, कुशल कारीगरों, जानवरों आदि को चढ़ाकर नायक ने उस भीषण जल-प्लावन से अपनी रक्षा की थी।[२९]

इनके अतिरिक्त वेल्स, लिथुआनिया और आइसलैंड के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन-संबंधी घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। यह दूसरी बात है कि वहाँ यह जल-प्लावन जल-वृष्टि द्वारा नहीं आता, अपितु राक्षस की रक्त-धारा के बहने से जल-प्लावन का भयंकर दृश्य उपस्थित होता है।[३०] ऐसे ही चीन, ब्रह्मा, इंडोचायना, मलाया, आस्ट्रेलिया, न्यूगिनी, मैलैनेशिया, पालीनेशिया, उत्तरी-दक्षिणी अमेरिका आदि देशों के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख मिलता है। इन समस्त घटनाओं की तुलना करने पर ज्ञात होता है कि दक्षिणी एशिया की सभी घटनायें समान हैं, क्योंकि उनमें सर्वत्र सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वी के डूबने एवं तत्कालीन सृष्टि के विनष्ट होने का वर्णन मिलता है। उत्तरी एशिया की घटनाओं में से चीन, जापान आदि के साहित्यों में जल-प्लावन द्वारा पूर्ण विनाश का वर्णन नहीं मिलता। यूरोप में भी पूर्ण विनाश की ओर कम संकेत किये गये हैं और अफ्रीका के साहित्य में तो जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख नहीं के बराबर है।[३१]

इस प्रकार विश्व भर के साहित्य में जल-प्लावन-संबंधी घटना का वर्णन पढ़कर हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि आधुनिक मानव-सृष्टि के विकास से पूर्व अवश्य कोई ऐसी जल-प्लावन-संबंधी भीषण घटना घटित हुई थी, जिसमें इस मानव-सृष्टि से पूर्व की सृष्टि का विनाश हो गया और उसी सृष्टि के अवशिष्ट एक धर्मात्मा, सच्चरित्र एवं सज्जन महापुरुष द्वारा वर्तमान मानव-सृष्टि का

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२८. *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 138-140.

२९. वही, पृ० १३७-१३८।

३०. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 7, 176.

३१. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 7, p. 177.

विकास हुआ। इसीलिए मानव-सृष्टि के सभी धार्मिक ग्रन्थों में जल-प्लावन की घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है और उसी घटना के उपरान्त नई सृष्टि के विकास की सूचना मिलती है। ये ही वर्णन जल-प्लावन की घटना के ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व की ओर भी संकेत करते हैं, क्योंकि मानव का इतिहास इसी सुप्रसिद्ध जल-प्लावन की घटना के उपरान्त आरम्भ होता है। अतएव यह निर्विवाद सत्य है कि 'जल-प्लावन' मानव के आरम्भिक इतिहास की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना है।

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ध्रुवदेवी की जाति

एस० एन० प्रसाद*

ध्रुवदेवी की जाति प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास की एक जटिल समस्या है क्योंकि इतिहासकार के समक्ष किसी भी प्रकार की सुरक्षित सामग्री अभी तक सुलभ नहीं है जिससे इसके जाति-निर्धारण की महत्त्वपूर्ण समस्या पर प्रकाश पड़ता हो। इन प्रकार संपूर्ण समस्या प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास के अध्येता के समक्ष पहेली के रूप में दिखाई पड़ती है। अतः लेखक को कतिपय अन्य स्रोतों का आश्रय लेना पड़ रहा है जिनके आधार पर वह केवल प्राकल्पना ही कर सकता है। ऐसे अन्य स्रोत भी दुर्भाग्य से बहुत ही कम हैं, यदि कुछ हैं भी तो उन पर सहसा विश्वास करके कुछ निष्कर्ष निकालना उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता।

इन कठिनाइयों के अतिरिक्त यह अवश्य ही कहा जा सकता है कि इस समस्या के हल निकालने के अध्ययन की प्रक्रिया स्वयं में महत्त्वपूर्ण और मनोरंजक है। ध्रुवदेवी का विवाह गुप्तों के वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के परिवेश में पारस्परिक वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के स्वरूप के अतिरिक्त, राजनीतिक दृष्टि से भी कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं था। गुप्त सम्राटों में वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के माध्यम से राजनीतिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ करने की एक स्वस्थ परम्परा पाई जाती है।[1] इस नीति को गुप्त नृपों ने राज्य-विस्तार, संगठन आदि को ध्यान में रखते हुये राजनीतिक अस्त्र के रूप में प्रयुक्त किया था।

बहुत संभव है कि ध्रुवदेवी सर्वप्रथम समुद्रगुप्त के अयोग्य ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त की राजमहिषी रही हो और कालान्तर में वह शकारि चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य, जो समुद्रगुप्त का सुयोग्य कनिष्ठ पुत्र था, की महारानी हो गई हो।[2] कतिपय

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*प्रवक्ता, प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति एव पुरातत्त्व विभाग, सी० एम० पी० कालेज, प्रयाग।

१. ज० रा० ए० सो० १८८९, पृ० ५५; ज० रा० ए० सो० १८९३, पृ० ८१, अल्टेकर, न्यू० स० न० ४७; ज० रा० ए० सो० ब०, १९३७, न्यू० सं०, पृ० १०५ और आगे; ए० भ० ओ० रि० इ०, जि० १२, पृ० ५०; ज० बि० उ० रि० सो० जि० १९, पृ० ११३; वही, जि० २१ पृ० ७७; वही, जि० २२ पृ० २७५; इ० हि० क्वा०, जि० १५ पृ० ५८२; इ० क०, जि० ९ पृ० १००; ज० ए० हिं० हि० सो० जि० ६ पृ० १३९; थामस कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० ११५ और अन्य, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० ३०, पृ० १; इ० हि० क्वा०, जि० २०, पृ० ३४५; पो० हि० ए० ई० पृ० ५३०; अल्टेकर, वाकाटक गुप्ता एज, पृ० १०२; पा० टि० २; हेरास, रिलेशन्स बिटविन दी गुप्ताज़, कदम्बाज़ एण्ड वाकाटकाज़, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो० जि० १२, पृ० ४५५।

२. प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४; फलीह का इ० इ०, जि० ३, पृ० १४।

विद्वान् इस सम्बन्ध की ऐतिहासिकता को सन्देह की दृष्टि से देखने की चेष्टा करेंगे क्योंकि समुद्रगुप्त जो परमभागवत था, निश्चय ही हिन्दू धर्म का वास्तविक प्रतीक था। उसने अनार्य भारतीय वर्ण-व्यवस्था के नियमों की मान्यताओं को तोड़कर अपने ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त[३] का विवाह एक शक कन्या के साथ कैसे किया होगा, यह प्रश्न निश्चय ही विचारणीय है किन्तु समुद्रगुप्त ने स्वयं ही अपने अभिलेख में इस प्रकार के विवाह का उल्लेख किया है।[४] 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति', जिसमें इस तथ्य का उल्लेख है, का प्रशस्तिकार भी गुप्त साम्राज्य के प्रशासन का एक विशिष्ट अधिकारी था। वह समुद्रगुप्त का सन्धिविग्रहिक (युद्ध और शान्ति का मन्त्री), कुमारामात्य (गुप्त प्रशासन में वर्त्तमान आई० ए० एस० के प्रकार की राजकीय प्रशासकीय सेवा की गुप्तकालीन उपाधि), एवं महादण्डनायक (पुलिस व्यवस्था एवं न्याय का प्रधान) आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण पदों पर सुशोभित था। अतः इस उल्लेख की विश्वसनीयता में किंचित् मात्र भी संदेह के लिए स्थान नहीं है। समुद्रगप्त की 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' से यह तथ्य स्पष्ट है कि उसके क्षणभर में उन्मूलन करनेवाली भुजाओं के बल के भय से कुषाण, शक, मुरुण्ड, सिंहल तथा अनेक द्वीपों के शासकों ने समुद्रगुप्त की प्रभुता स्वीकार की। इन्होंने अपने को समुद्रगुप्त की सेवाओं के लिए आत्मनिवेदन किया तथा उसके गरुड़ांकित मुहर की अपने राज्य में शासन के लिए याचना की। इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने अपने राज्य की सुन्दरी कन्याओं को भेंट किया तथा वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भी स्थापित किये।[५] 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' के इस विषय में विद्वान् एकमत नहीं हैं। कुछ

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३. सिलवाँ लेवी, ज० ए०, जि० २३, पृ० २०१ और आगे; आर० सरस्वती, इ० ए० जि० ५२, पृ० १८१ और आगे; अल्टेकर, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० १४, पृ० २२३ और आगे; वही, जि० १५, पृ० १३४ और आगे; आर० डी० बनर्जी, ए० आई० जी०, पृ० २६ और आगे; डा० डी० आर० भण्डारकर, मालवीय कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० १८९ और आगे; डा० काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० १८, पृ० १७ और आगे; विन्टरनित्स, अयंगर कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० ३५९ और आगे; स्टेन कोनो, ज० बि० उ०रि० सो०, जि० २३, पृ० ४४४ और आगे; डा० वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशी, ३, हि० क्वा०, जि० १०, पृ० ४८; वही, इ० ए०, जि० ६२, पृ० २०१ और आगे; एन० दास गुप्ता, इ० क०, जि० ४, पृ० २१६ और आगे; वी० राघवन, बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी मैगजीन, जि० २, पृ० २३-५४ तथा ३०७; डा० हेमचन्द्र रायचौधरी, पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री आफ ऐंशेंण्ट इण्डिया पृ० ४६५; डा० रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार, वाकाटक गुप्ता एज, पृ० १४८-१५२; कृष्णदत्त वाजपेयी, ज० न्यू० सो० इ०, जि०, २३, पृ० ३४० और आगे; वही डा० सरकार ज० इ० हि०, जि० ११, पृ० ५३५; कृष्णदत्त वाजपेयी, साप्ताहिक हिन्दुस्तान (३० मार्च, १९६९), अंक २६, पृ० १०।

४. "दैवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशाहीशकमुरंडैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्मदङ्क स्वविषयभक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहुवीर्य्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य" प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४ का० इ० इ०, जि० ३, पृ०-१४

५. प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४

के अनुसार यह वाक्य शक के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है। परन्तु यह मत उचित नहीं है क्योंकि 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' में केवल तीन शक्तियों का ही वर्णन नहीं है। डा० सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय ने हरिषेण के इस कथन की ऐतिहासिकता को नहीं स्वीकार किया है क्योंकि उन्हें इसमें काव्यात्मक अतिशयोक्ति का दर्शन होता है।[६] परन्तु डा० चट्टोपाध्याय के मत से सहमत नहीं हुआ जा सकता क्योंकि हरिषेण युद्ध और शान्ति का मंत्री, कुमारामात्य तथा महादण्डनायक जैसे महत्त्वपूर्ण पदों का अधिकारी था।[७] वह पहले एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पदाधिकारी था बाद में कवि। युद्ध और शान्ति का मन्त्री युद्ध के अवसरों पर सम्राट् के साथ रहता था। उदयगिरि के गुहालेख से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि सन्धिविग्रहिक युद्धादिक काल में राजा के साथ ही रहता था।[८] इस महत्त्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक उल्लेख को सहसा कोरी कवि-कल्पना तथा अतिरंजित उल्लेख मानना समीचीन नहीं है। प्रशस्ति की इस पंक्ति से स्पष्ट है कि इन विदेशी शासकों ने अपने तथा अपने यहाँ सुन्दरियों, स्वयं अपनी कन्याओं, आदि को सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त को भेंट किया होगा। इस संदर्भ में 'स्वामी' शब्द बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण है। 'स्वामी' शब्द प्रायः शकों के साथ जुड़ा रहता था। ध्रुवदेवी को वैशाली की मुहर में,[९] संजन ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख[१०] में तथा राजशेखर की "काव्यमीमांसा"[११] में ध्रुवस्वामिनी कहा गया है। "स्वामी" शब्द शक उत्पत्ति का है तथा यह पुरुषवाचक है। इसका स्त्रीलिंग निस्संदेह 'स्वामिनी' ही होगा। इस प्रकार ध्रुवस्वामिनी के साथ संलग्न 'स्वामिनी' के आधार पर इसे शक प्रमाणित किया जा सकता है। 'प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति' की तेईसवीं पंक्ति से यह स्पष्ट है कि शक आदि नृपों ने समुद्रगुप्त के आधिपत्य को ही केवल नहीं स्वीकार किया बल्कि अपनी कन्याओं को भी उस सम्बन्ध को दृढ़ करने के लिये भेंट में दिया होगा। उनमें शकों की भी कन्यायें होंगी यह स्वाभाविक है। इस समय के नामों में कन्याओं के साथ 'स्वामिनी' शब्द के प्रयोग का नाम कदाचित् ध्रुवस्वामिनी का ही है। 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' की तेरहवीं पंक्ति से यह स्पष्ट है कि शकों ने समुद्रगुप्त के आधिपत्य को स्वीकार किया तथा अपने प्रति समुद्रगुप्त के मित्रतापूर्ण सम्बन्ध के लिए बहुत सम्भव है कि अपनी कन्या ध्रुवस्वामिनी का

६. डा० सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय, अर्ली हिस्ट्री आफ नार्थ इंडिया, पृ० १९५।

७. "सन्धिविग्रहिककुमारामात्यमहादण्डनायकहरिषेणस्य सर्वभूतहितसुखायास्तु"—प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति ३३।

८. कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः।
भक्त्या भगवतः शम्भोर्गुहामेतामकारयत्॥
चन्द्रगुप्त II का उदयगिरि गुहा अभिलेख, श्लोक ५।

९. डा० राधा कुमुद मुकर्जी, दी गुप्ता इम्पायर, पृ० ४६।

१०. अमोघवर्ष प्रथम का संजन ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख, ए० इ०, जि० १८, पृ० २४८।

११. काव्यमीमांसा ९, ४७।

विवाह समुद्रगुप्त के ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त के साथ कर दिया हो। ध्रुवदेवी सम्भवतः ध्रुवस्वामिनी (जो कि शक नाम है)[१२] का भारतीयकरण जान पड़ता है। यह बहुत उचित है कि यह नाम शक-गुप्त-वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के बाद ही रखा गया होगा। हिन्दुओं में आरम्भ से ही कन्याओं का नाम देवी या देवीतुल्य अन्य नाम रखने की परम्परा थी और आज भी है। ध्रुवदेवी शब्द पूर्णरूपेण भारतीय है। अतः यह प्रतीत होता है कि गुप्त सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त की कुलवधू ध्रुवस्वामिनी के नाम का ध्रुवदेवी के रूप में भारतीयकरण किया गया। इसी कारण गुप्त वंश के अभिलेखों में "ध्रुवस्वामिनी" (मौलिक नाम) नाम का प्रयोग नहीं पाया जाता। गुप्त राजाओं के अभिलेखों में उसे उसके भारतीय नाम "ध्रुवदेवी" के नाम से अभिहित किया गया है। गुप्त नृपों की विशेषतः समुद्रगुप्त की भागवत धर्म के प्रति विशिष्ट निष्ठा तथा भारतीय परम्पराओं के प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा का द्योतन इसी से हो जाता है कि उसने अपनी ज्येष्ठ पुत्रवधू के शक नाम "ध्रुवस्वामिनी" तक को भी भारतीय संस्कृति के आवरण में रंग दिया।

गुप्त अभिलेखों से पता चलता है कि समुद्रगुप्त का उत्तराधिकारी उसका पुत्र चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य था। परन्तु कतिपय साहित्यिक, आभिलेखिक तथा मुद्रा-संबंधी स्रोतों से समुद्रगुप्त और चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य के अनन्तर रामगुप्त नामक एक शासक के विषय में बोध होता है जिसने बहुत सम्भव है इन दोनों सम्राटों के मध्य कुछ समय के लिए शासन की बागडोर सम्हाली हो।[१३]

समुदगुप्त जो कि गुप्त साम्राज्य का प्रधान शिल्पी था, के सैन्य-संगठन तथा बहुमुखी प्रतिभा से अनेकों समकालीन शक्तिशाली शासकों को उससे झुककर तथा मैत्री सम्बन्ध स्थापित करके रहना पड़ा था। ऐसी शक्तियों में शकों की शक्ति ने जो कि किसी भी रूप में कम भयंकर न थी, कन्योपायनादान की नीति से समुद्रगुप्त को अपने

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१२. धर्मादित्य कालीन फरीदपुर ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख में "गोपाल स्वामी" देखें, सरकार, सेलेक्ट इंस्क्रिप्शन्स, पृ० ३५४। गोपालचन्द्र कालीन फरीदपुर ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख में "वत्स स्वामी", सरकार, वही, पृ० ३५७। मल्लालसारुल का गोपालचन्द्र के समय का विजयसेन के अभिलेख में महावामनस्वामी, वत्सस्वामी, सरकार, वही, पृ० ३६१। शार्वनाथ का १९३ गु० स० (५१२ ई०) का खोह ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख—

महादे का कुमारदेकरमुत्पन्नो महाराज कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामी तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां रामदेकामुत्पन्नो महाराज व्याघ्रस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यामज्झितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराणजयनाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्या मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-शर्द्धनाथः कुशली तमसा-नद्धाउत्तत्पार आश्रम के

सरकार, वही, पृ० ३७१; पा० टि० ३, मुरुण्डदेवी को मुरुण्डस्वामिनी भी कहा जाता था, पृ० ३७०-३७१।

१३. देखें, पा० टि० ३।

पक्ष में किया। समुद्रगुप्त ने सम्भवतः उसके वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध को अपने ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त के साथ स्वीकार किया होगा। ध्रुवदेवी का नाम ऐतिहासिक है।

समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु के बाद ऐसा आभास होता है कि गुप्त साम्राज्य पर अल्प काल के लिए दुर्दिन के मेघ छा गये थे। यह समुद्रगुप्त के शत्रुओं के लिए निःसन्देह स्वर्णिम अवसर था कि उसके दुर्दिन से लाभ उठायें—कुछ ने उठाने की चेष्टा भी की जिनमें शक प्रमुख हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश उसका उत्तराधिकार, भारतीय राजनीति की परम्परा के अनुसार, रामगुप्त ऐसे निर्बल, शासक को मिला। शक ने उसको परेशान करने के लिए तथा अपनी कन्या अथवा बहन ध्रुवस्वामिनी को ऐसे क्लीव शासक के हाथ से छुड़ाने के लिए आक्रमण किया तथा उसमें सन्धि की सबसे प्रमुख शर्त ध्रुवस्वामिनी को वापस लेना रक्खा। (चाहे जिस रूप में) इसी आड़े समय में गुप्तवंश के वीर समुद्रगुप्त की प्रतिष्ठा पर आँच लगते देख उसके छोटे भाई चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य से न रहा गया होगा। फलतः उसने स्वयं (ध्रुवदेवी के वेष में) शक स्कन्धावार में जाकर शकराज की हत्या की तथा बाद में अयोग्य एवं क्लीव भाई रामगुप्त का भी वध कर दिया और उसकी पत्नी ध्रुवदेवी से स्वयं विवाह कर लिया।

रामगुप्त के प्रतिद्वन्द्वी शत्रु के विषय में विद्वानों में गहरा मतभेद है। प्रो० राखालदास बनर्जी के अनुसार वह कोई कुषाण शासक रहा होगा क्योंकि "शक" शब्द का प्रयोग भारतीय इतिहास में बहुत लचीले रूप में हुआ है जैसे "यवन" शब्द केवल मुसलमानों के ही लिए नहीं वरन् विदेशी शत्रु के लिए होता था। इसी प्रकार "शक" शब्द का प्रयोग भी था। अतः "दैवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशाहि" लोगों ने निश्चय ही समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु पर लाभ उठाने की चेष्टा की होगी। डा० दशरथ शर्मा के अनुसार यह कोई "मुरुण्ड" शासक रहा होगा।[१४] परन्तु अधिकांश विद्वान् शक को ही मानते हैं जिसकी चर्चा बाणभट्ट ने भी की है। राजशेखर ने उसे अपने काव्यमीमांसा में 'शकाधिपति' ही कहा है। वे भारत के अधिकांश भागों पर शासन करते थे। चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य ने उनको पूर्णरूप से उन्मूलन कर "शकारि" की उपाधि से अलंकृत किया था। डा० अल्तेकर ने ठीक ही कहा है कि चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य का शक शासक रुद्रसेन II से युद्ध हुआ था। इस मत की पुष्टि मुद्राओं से और अधिक हो जाती है। शकों को "महाक्षत्रप" उपाधि दीर्घ काल से प्रयोग में नहीं थी परन्तु शक स्वामी रुद्रसेन II ने उसे धारण किया था। यह निश्चय ही उसके शक्ति तथा राजनीतिक समृद्धि का द्योतक है। वह अपने पूर्ववर्ती शक नृपों से निश्चय ही अधिक शक्तिशाली एवं राजनीति में आगे रहा होगा। अतः यह बहुत सम्भव है कि समुद्रगुप्त महान् के मृत्योपरान्त जब गुप्त साम्राज्य का सिंहासन एक अति अयोग्य तथा क्लीव के हाथ में चला गया था, उसने

१४. डा० दशरथ शर्मा, दी शक राइवल ऑफ रामगुप्त, इ० क०, जि० ५, पृ० ३२८-३०।

उचित अवसर समझ कर गुप्त साम्राज्य के कुछ अंश उससे छीन लिये होंगे। इस प्रकार रुद्रसेन II ने समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु के उपरान्त अपने राज्य का विस्तार किया तथा "महाक्षत्रप" की उपाधि से विभूषित हुआ। परन्तु उसे उस निर्बल नृप के कनिष्ट भ्राता चन्द्रगुप्त II ने, जो कि वास्तव में विक्रम में आदित्य के समान था, पराजित किया।[१५]

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१५. डा० उदयनारायण राय (रीडर, प्राचीन इतिहास विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, प्रयाग) के अमूल्य मार्ग-दर्शन तथा सक्रिय सहायता के लिए मैं उनका ऋणी हूँ। श्री विद्याधर मिश्र (प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन इतिहास विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय) के प्रति आभारी हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धान में अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण सुझाव दिये हैं।

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF ANCIENT INDIAN VILLAGES

By LALLANJI GOPAL*

Indian villages have been characterized as self-sufficient and not dependent upon any outward source for any of their necessities. 'They in fact, include a nearly complete establishment of occupations and trades for enabling them to continue their collective life without assistance from any person or body external to them.'[1]

As early as the reign of Candragupta Maurya we find Megasthenes testifying to the economic self-sufficiency of Indian villages He remarks that the husbandmen with their wives and children live in the country and never go to the town either to take part in its tumults or for any other purpose.[2] The village life was complete by itself. The description of the lay-out of villages in the *Mānasāra*[3] shows that there was provision for men belonging to different avocations and occupations.

Of all things it is the *balute* system or *batai*[4] which is mostly responsible for preserving the integrity and unity of the autonomous life of the village corporations. The *balute* system aimed at making

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1. H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (London, 1913), p. 125. Also *ibid.*, p. 175.

2. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1877), Fragment I, p. 42, Fragment XXXIII, p. 84.

3. IX, especially verses 144-45, 158, 217 ff.

4. According to this system the villager did not make payment to the village artisan each time the latter performed any work. The payment was made in kind at each harvest, the artisans receiving from all villagers a share of the produce. The amount of grain paid depended on the volume of services performed and the grain produced. The sociologists call this pattern of economic organization, which ties classes not engaged in agriculture as a primary occupation to the village economy through their traditional service relationships with the land-owning class, as the *Jajmān—parjan* or *Jajmānī system*. See T. O. Biedelman, *A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmānī System* (New York, 1959); W. H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmānī System* (Lucknow, 1936).

the village life self-sufficient by attaching into a permanent bond the different elements necessary for the communal life of a village.[5] The basis of village life is the arable land and the system of individual peasant proprietorship increased the attachment of the cultivator to his land thus guaranteeing the continuance of village economy for a long time. The fixed share of the artisan in the agricultural output removed the possibility of his going elsewhere in search of greater economic benefits. Any other system of remuneration would have left the artisan discontented with his lot and migrating from place to place. In the harmonious development of the village community the artisans had their own place, secure and stable, and, undisturbed by a ruthless struggle for existence and the many worries which a modern artisan has to face, and could devote themselves to their work with peace of mind.[6]

The *batai* system seems to have existed in any case in the time of Pāṇini. A *sūtra* in Pāṇini[7] clearly refers to craftsman attached to a village (*grāmaśilpins*). Elsewhere Pāṇini[8] mentions a village carpenter evidently to distinguish him from others who were not thus attached to a village.

We find an express testimony to the existence of this system in a passage in the *Arthaśāstra*[9] which speaks of the allotment of grain-

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5. A. S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 90; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Craftsman*, p. 4.

6. G. Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), pp. 312–320.

7. VI, 2, 62.

8. V, 4, 95.

9. V, 2, 10-11 : *Niṣpanna haritapakvādānam varayeyuḥ, anyatra śākakaṭabhaṅgamuṣṭibhyām devapitṛpūjādānārthaṃ gavārthaṃ vā. Bhikṣukagrāmabhṛtakārthaṃ ca rāśimūlaṃ parihareyuḥ.* In *Arthaśāstra* V, 3, 23 the salary to be paid to *grāmabhṛtakas* is mentioned along with the salaries of other state servants—*grāmabhṛtakasaittritīkṣṇarasadabhikṣukyaḥ pañcaśatāḥ.* But this does not make all village servants state servants. The reference probably covers cases of those village servants who were employed in state service. The *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* of Bhikṣu Prabhāmati explains *grāmabhṛtaka* as 'barbers etc.' and the *Nītinirṇīti* of Yogghama as 'potters, smiths etc.' The Malayalam commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyānam* (on V, 3, 23) understands the term to mean washerman, barber etc. Kangle (*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II, p. 64, f.n.) rightly takes it to correspond to "the modern balutedars." In *Arthaśāstra* II, 24, 30 also a similar arrangement has been made—*prasīrṇaṃ ca puṣpaphalam śrotriyāstapasvinaścāharayuḥ, rāśimūlamuñchavṛttayaḥ.* But here we do not find a clear reference to the *grāmabhṛtakas*. The facilities given to the village servants can be gathered from other passages in the text.

share for religious and charitable purposes as also for payment to the village servants. This brief reference with the term *grāmabhṛtaka* applied to artisans and men of some other occupations serving a village, indicate that the payment in kind in the form of a share of grain-produce made at the time of harvest was in the nature of a remuneration for their services.

A. S. Altekar[10] rightly sees in the *Smṛti* injunction requiring artisans to serve the king in lieu of wages,[11] evidence for the prevalence of the *balute* system in ancient times. It was quite in keeping with the things that whereas the traders had to pay taxes in cash and the cultivators paid a fixed share of the agricultural output. the artisans, who did not receive wages in cash for their services should have been required to pay their taxes in terms of labour.

The *Arthaśāstra* also shows that the village artisans worked for the king and that the state supervised this type of services and main-

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Thus in connexion with the settlement of new lands the *Arthaśāstra*, II, I. 10-11 advises that fields were to be taken away from those who do not till them and were to be given to others or were to be tilled by village servants and traders—*Akṛṣatāmācchidyānyebhyaḥ prayacchet. Grāmabhṛtakavaidehakā vā kṛṣeyuḥ.* According to *Arthaśāstra* III, II, 29 the king, a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas, a village servant, a leper and a wounded man. an outcaste. a Cāṇḍāla. a person following a despised profession. a blind. deaf. dumb or self-invited person, a woman and a king's officer could not be cited as witnesses except in the case of their own groups—*Rājaśrotriyagrāmabhṛtakakuṣṭhivraṇinaḥ patitacāṇḍālakutsita karmaṇo'ndhavadhiramūkāhṃvādinaḥ strīrājapuruṣāśca, anyatra svavargebhyaḥ.*

10. *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 93 f.

11. Gautama. X, 31-32 says that the artisans as well as those who live by personal labour and the makers of boats and of wheeled conveyances should do for the king a day's work every month. Similar rules envisaging the artisans as paying tax in terms of labour are found in the *Smṛtis* of Manu, VII, 138 and Viṣṇu, III, 32. Cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, ccxxiii, 33.

12. II, 35, 4—*Teṣu caitāvaccāturvarṇyam, etāvantaḥ karṣakagorakṣakavaidehakakārukarmakaradāsāśca, etāvacca dvipadacatuṣpadam, idaṃ caiṣu hiraṇyaviṣṭiśulkadaṇḍam samuttiṣṭhatīti.* In *Arthaśāstra*, II, 15. 63 *viṣṭi* is said to include the group of sweeper, watchman, weigher, measurer, supervisor of delivery, receiver of tallies, slaves and labourers—*Mārjakarakṣakadharakamāyakamāpakadāpakaśalākā pratigrāhakadāsakarmakaravargaśca viṣṭi. Arthaśāstra,* II, I, 35 implies that *viṣṭi* was one of the gains received by the king from the villagers. It says that if a villager is without shelter for outsiders and if men are engrossed in work on the fields an increase in the treasury, *viṣṭi*, goods, grains and liquids follows—*Nirāśrayatvād grāmāṇāṃ kṣetrābhiratatvācca puruṣāṇāṃ kośaviṣṭidravya-*

tained an account of it. The *Arthaśāstra* requires the *gopa* (who looked after a group of five or ten villages) to enter in his register of houses the special charge named *viṣṭi* along with other revenue items to be charged from farmers, cowherds, traders, artisans, labourers and slaves. *Viṣṭi* is generally explained as unpaid labour performed by the villagers. Again, the revenue-head called *rāṣṭra* (country-part), which the superintendent of the magazine (*koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*) was to look after, includes *saṁhatikā*[13] or work performed in lieu of taxes.[14] This term includes such work as pounding rice, splitting pulses, frying, fermenting and grinding grains, the pressing of oil, and the work of extracting and treating juice of sugar-canes, which may be taken to represent work required to be done by the artisans. It is to be noted that in both these cases the references are to incomes derived from 'villages' and not from cities, or 'forts' (durgas), as the *Arthaśāstra* names them. The *Arthaśāstra* implies a different system of taxation for the artisans and craftsmen residing in cities and towns. It includes the income from the guilds of craftsmen and artisans (*kāruśilpigaṇa*) in the list of royal receipts under the head 'fort' (*durga*).[15] The existence of two separate systems of taxes, one in terms of labour in the case of village artisans and another, in the form of cash for city craftsman, is implied by the

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dhānyarasavṛddhirbhavati. In I. 4. 1 economics, which consists of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, is said to be beneficial because it yields grains, cattle, money, forest produce and *viṣṭi*—*Kṛṣipāśupālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā, dhānyapaśuhiraṇyakupyaviṣṭipradānādaupakārikī.* For references to the employment of *viṣṭi* for army see *Arthaśāstra*, IX. 2, 9—*Sainyamanekamanekasthamuktamanuktaṃ vā vilopārthaṃ yaduttiṣṭhati tadautsāhikam—abhaktavetanaṃ vilopaviṣṭipratāpakaraṃ bhedyaṃ pareṣāṃ, abhedyaṃ tulyadeśajātiśilpaprāyaṃ saṃhatam mahat;* X, I, 9—*Caturthe viṣṭirnāyako mitrāmitrāṭavībalaṃ svapuruṣādhiṣṭhitam;* X, I, 17—*Purastādadhvanaḥ samyakpraśāstārakṣaṇāni ca. Yāyādvardhakiviṣṭibhyāmudakāni ca kārayet;* X, 4, 17—*Śibiramārgasetukūpatīrthaśodhanakarmayantrāyudhāvaraṇopakaraṇagrāsavahanamāyodhanācca praharaṇāvaraṇapratividdhāpanayanomiti viṣṭikarmāṇi.*

13. In Grantha and Malayalam manuscripts the reading is *siṁhatikā*. The Tamil-Malayalam commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* and the *Pratipadapañcikā* by Bhaṭṭasvāmin have respectively *siṁhanikā* and *saṁhanikā*. The term has been used in a technical sense, but as remarked by Kangle, some derivation can be suggested for *saṁhatikā* and *saṁhanikā*, but not for *siṁhatikā* and *siṁhanikā*.

14. II. 5, I. 8—*Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣaḥ sītārāṣṭrakrayimaparivartakaprāmityakāpamityakasaṁhatikānyajātavyayapratyāyopasthānānyupalabhet...... Kuṭṭakarocakasaktuśuktapiṣṭakarma tajjīvaneṣu tailapīḍanamaudracākrikeṣvikṣūṇām ca kṣārakarma saṁhatikā.*

15. II, 6, 1—3.

Śaṅkhalikhita Smṛti[16] which says that the towns were exempted from the dues for unpaid labour (*vaiṣṭika*) and for services as messengers (*jaṅghika*). Megasthenes also testifies that generally the workmen, the handicraftsmen and the artisans had to render to the state certain prescribed services but sometimes had to pay a tribute.[17]

The actual number of village servants rendering service under the system of *balute* probably varied with the needs of each individual case. It is, however, fair to suggest that the artisans or craftsmen who worked on this basis generally belonged to occupations or industries which were either of direct help to agricultural needs, or were otherwise necessary for the social life of a villager. The statement of Patañjali that in each village there were at least five artisans is of much significance for social history. Nāgeśa mentions a potter, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a barber and a washerman as included in this list of five artisans.[18] Nāgeśa seems to be supported by Jain works which have a similar list, said to include five important craftsmen, obviously from the point of view of a villager. These are a cloth-maker, a potter, a carpenter, a blacksmith and a barber.[19]

It is mostly thanks to periodical markets that the needs of villagers are generally satisfied; but in view of the absence of any reference to village *hāṭs* in ancient literature the question may be raised as to how the ancient villages provided for all their requirements. It is, however, to be remarked that the self-sufficiency of villages did not amount to their having been totally cut off from towns and cities. On the other hand, there are indications that the facilities of communication and transport were not denied to villages. Not only were there roads and streets in the villages themselves, they were connected with cities by established roads.[20] Indeed,

16. Quoted in *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 662.

17. U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta, 1929), p. 176.

18. On Pāṇini, I, I, 48; Kielhorn, I, 118.

19. *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*, p. 156; *Ṭikā* (Hari), 947, p. 426a, quoted by J. C. Jain, *Life in ancient India as depicted by Jain Canons* (Bombay, 1947), p. 97.

20. In the *Mānasāra* (IX, 97—104, 132—37, 183—208, 322—24, 328—52, 420—40, 459—64, 477—81) we find detailed provisions about the construction of different type and size of roads in the villages. According to the *Mānasāra* the maximum width of the main road of a village was 5 daṇḍas; the width of others ranging between 1 and 5 daṇḍas; see E. B. Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*

Indian literature is full of references to men belonging to different walks of life, journeying from one village to another, covering large tracts and taking part in trade and commerce.[21] It seems, however, that in later times when insecurity spread in the country the periodical markets[22] supplemented the self-sufficiency of villagers by fulfilling their needs from time to time.[23]

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of India (London, 1915), p. 12. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, I (2). 7, 112. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla (V. 19; VII, 23, 82; II, 40) mentions village *rathyās* or roads fit for the use of chariots. In one instance (IV. 93) it even indicates that such roads were of considerable width. Moreover, some inscriptions that record gifts of land mention royal roads or simple roads in connexion with the enumeration of the boundaries of fields of villages granted—N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III (Rajshahi, 1929), pp. 158 ff; *E. I.* III, no. 40. Again, in some of the literary references to caravans marching from one commercial centre to the other we read that the road passed through villages and other smaller habitations—*Divyāvadāna*, p. 232, *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, I, 3078. It has, however, to be recognised that the roads were generally uneven and dusty. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers to the mud on the village roads (VII, 23, 82), and remarks that travelling on them was slow, due to the ups and downs. A lively and realistic account of the condition of roads is revealed by some of the utterances made by the troops during the march of Harṣa's army—*Harṣacarita*, pp. 183f.

21. Cf. *Dasaveyāliya Cūrṇi*, p. 58—we read of a villager proceeding to trade with his bullock-cart loaded with corn.

22. Later inscriptions record the grant of villages along with their *haṭṭa* (*E. I. XXII, no.* 25, p. 155), *haṭṭavara* or *haṭṭiyagṛha* (*E. I.* XIX, no. 49, p. 282). The Dabok inscription dated A.D. 813 (*E. I.* XX, no. 13) refers to two streets (vīthi) in a *haṭṭa* and to a road (*mārga*) leading to the *haṭṭa*. A Damodarpur inscription records the details of the procedure connected with sale and purchase of a plot of land for a *haṭṭa*—*E. I.* XV, No. 7 (no. 2). The Ghatiyala inscription dated A.D. 860 (*E. I.* X, no. 38) describes how when the Rohinsakupaka village had become unsafe on account of the Abhiras, Kakkuka constructed a *haṭṭa* decorated with variegated streets and, promising the people means of livelihood, established them there. The taxes collected from the *haṭṭas* must have been an important source of income. *Haṭṭika* (E. I., IV, no. 34, p. 254) or the tax realised from the *haṭṭas* was one of the dues granted by the kings to brāhmaṇas or religious institutions.

23. It need not be emphasised that local markets, as distinct from periodical markets, must always have existed with the use of the barter.

SECTION VII

FOLKLORE

A NOTE ON THE STUDY OF FEASTS AND FESTIVITIES OF THE HINDUS

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI*

The religious and social life of the Hindus abounds with numerous feasts and festivities all round the year. These centre round the worship of various deities on particular days considered sacred for the purpose, as also birth, death, marriage and other memorable events in one's family. Their forms differ from place to place, though they follow almost the same or similar patterns everywhere. Some of these are old and of wide prevalence, while many are of a local nature confined to more or less small areas. Most of them have lost their erstwhile grandeur and minute details and are generally observed in truncated forms due to the impact of urban conditions; quite a number have become or are fast going to become defunct. It is high time that an organized attempt were made with the help of a band of competent scholars representing different parts of the country to compile faithful descriptions of the rites and rituals connected with the feasts and festivities with special reference to their salient features and their local variations. It will present a vivid picture of India as it is or at least as it was in the recent past.

The descriptions will be useful if prepared embodying the information required in the draft pro-forma given below:

1. Title of the festival–
2. Meaning of the title (where it is not apparent)–
3. Date and time of its performance (the particular *tithi* or day and hour)–
4. Enumeration of the rites and rituals connected with it--
5. Name with a brief description of an old work, if any, which refers to, sanctions or describes the festival.

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The few descriptions found here and there of some of the festivals are usually based on superficial observations and are far from satisfactory, lacking relevant information on many points. In these circumstances want of proper appreciation due to ignorance of details often leads to misunderstanding with neighbours and stands in the way of the cultivation of the desired intimacy and friendly relations. The undercurrent of unity is missed by the casual and superficial observer. Its discovery through sufficient knowledge of facts is the source of joyful regard for the person so far ignored.

We might begin with descriptive accounts of All-India Festivals or festivals current over many parts of the country and the Holi. Though each of the festivals is essentially one and the same everywhere they are observed, they have their differences which are none the less prominent. The three are known respectively as Durgāpūjā, Kālīpūjā and Do'yātrā in Bengal, names which point to their local distinctive features. Gorgeous worship of Durgā and Kālī, popular deities of Bengal, and swinging the images of Viṣṇu and his consort are the principal functions on these occasions here. Burning effigies of Rāvaṇa and enacting other events pertaining to Rāma–Demon clash described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, festivals of light and colours appear to constitute the main ceremonies elsewhere. Details require to be collected.

Śivarātri, Janmāṣṭamī, Rāmanavamī, Vasantapañcamī and Nāgapañcamī are other festivals with wide currency and enjoying varied degrees of popularity.

Besides festivals of different types are observed in different areas on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra, full-moon days of the months of Vaiśākha, Śrāvaṇa and Kārtika as well as on the Makara-Saṁkramaṇa day or the day on which the Sun enters the Capricorn—days which are regarded specially sacred. Ritualistic differences of different parts require to be scrutinized.

Marriage and other rites including funeral rites which are primarily Vedic have numerous and interesting differences which ought to be studied with the help of the scriptures.

Local festivals of which the number is a legion are either sanctioned by the Śāstras or supported by customs sometimes of hoary

antiquity. In this connection folk deities demand special study which is expected to yield interesting results. The identity of these deities is generally unknown. They have been indiscriminately affiliated to the Brahmanic pantheon and identified with one or other of the Brahmanic gods. Most of them have no images but have anthropomorphic descriptions in Sanskrit or the regional languages. Stories regarding their greatness are often told on the occasion of worship which occasionally contain references to distinctive elements. Details of these deities are difficult to be collected due to scarcity of written records and the presence of hopeless corruptions in course of oral transmission among illiterate persons who are their principal custodians. The following points should be kept in mind in this connection :–

1. Name of the deity.
2. Purpose of worship.
3. Place of worship.
4. Special day for worship.
5. Any provision for daily worship.
6. Caste of the Worshipper (if the Services of a Brahmin priest are not required).
7. Description of the deity.
8. Details of the rituals.
9. Any story about the greatness of the deity.

FOLKTALES OF THE MIRIS

By PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI*

Like other peoples of Assam the Miris of Upper Assam too have interesting folktales. As some of the Miris have retained a rather close community life, myths and explanatory tales still play a clear role in either determining their attitude towards the unseen and seen worlds or in controlling their beliefs and activity. Some of their beliefs find echoes among other plainsmen of the land. For instance, it is a widespread belief that if one takes away a fish caught by a fish-eagle one is likely to lose a son. Miris explain the origin of the belief in this manner: In olden days God decided to make the fish-eagle king over all birds. So He asked the bird to observe a fast of two days. It failed to keep the fast. So God cursed the bird, "You will get a fish to eat only if you keep a fast of twelve days." The crest-fallen fish-eagle said, "If someone snatches away the fish I catch at the end of twelve days, I'll have to starve. What'll I do then?" God said. "I can't revoke my curse, but if anyone takes away the fish you catch, he will lose his son."

This myth has a sequel, in a test taken by God in order to find a bird fit to be the king. God prepared a cauldron of boiling oil and said, "Whichever bird is able to take a dip in the oil would be considered fit for kingship." While the other birds delayed taking the test, the slim drongo swooped into the oil and flew out proving its competence to be the king. Because the bird took a bath in boiling oil it turned black, but it now is so bold that it even pursues larger birds like crows and kites and drives them off. An Assamese proverbial saying which describes a person who is irresolute or who shilly-shallies, goes somewhat like this: "Ah, you did up and dressed, the drongo has already become the king." The tale has an *Ao Naga* analogue.

This tale explains why the drongo is black; certain other tales explain why human beings do not see the gods, why monkeys live in jungles, why swine live under their raised houses while dogs live

* Hillside, Gauhati—3.

in them (this has *Ao Naga*[1] and *Wancho* parallels), why leeches and mosquitoes suck human blood, why Miris have no letters, and so on. The myth explaining how Miris lost their letters has an Abor version, indicating that Miris and Abors have certain things in common. It has also parallels among Thadu Kukis, Nagas,[2] Garos[3] and certain tribes in South-east Asia. Daying Ba-bu, the god of wisdom, gave to human beings speech and then asked them to take the letters with which they could write down their speech. The ancestor of the Miris took down the letters on a deerskin. He kept the deerskin in the loft and forgot all about it. Much later, one day when he had nothing to eat, he took down the skin, roasted it in the fire and ate it up. Thus the letters were lost. The Mois of Annam explain their illiteracy in this manner:[4] "When the Great Spirit told all the nations to bring writing materials, on which the alphabet would be inscribed, the Mois, with typical improvidence, instead of providing tablets of stone or even wood, turned up with a piece of deerskin, which later, complete with alphabet, was eaten up by the dogs."

All over India we find animal tales in which one animal tries to outwit another. The jackal or fox figures prominently in such tales, for instance, in the Assamese "The Fox and the Monkey."[5] In a Kachari tale the place of the fox is occupied by a hare. The hare is tricked by a monkey and the latter is also tricked by the no less clever hare. Certain motifs in the Miri tale "The Monkey and the Tiger" recall parts of the Assamese and Kachari parallels. In the Miri tale, the monkey eats up some fruits and gives his friend the tiger only the peels. So the tiger invites him to get some honey from beehive on a tall tree. The bees bite the intruder and he drops down in a Miri place. As he cannot get out of the mire the monkey entreats the tiger thus, "I am sorry for what I did you. Please save me now. Instead of allowing me to die here in the mire you may as well take me out and eat me." The tiger takes him at his word and wants to eat him, but he says, "I'm muddy all over, why not get me washed?" When he is washed and cleaned he says,

1. Praphulladatta Goswami, *Asamiya Janasahitya*, 1965, p. 129.
2. William Shaw, *The Thadou Kukis*, 1229, p. 94, see also foot-note.
3. Dewan Singh Rongmutha, *Folk-tales of the Garos*, 1960, pp. 1-2.
4. Norman Lewis, *A Dragon Apparent*, p. 89.
5. J. Borooah, *Folk-tales of Assam*, 1915, pp. 8—16.

"Let me dry my body in the sun while you go to that village and get some fire so that you can roast me and have a tasty meal." As the tiger leaves for the village, the monkey climbs up a tree and escapes.

In the second part of the Kachari tale of the Monkey and the Hare,[6] the monkey is saved by a tiger, but the tiger there is cleverer for when the monkey escapes to a tree, the tiger feigns death and lies on the ground unmoving. The monkey finding his enemy dead dances and puts his head into the open jaws of the apparently dead tiger, who suddenly closes his mouth with a crunch.

Formula tales are rather few in Assam. In such tales the form is fixed, one incident following close on another according to a set pattern. The incidents go on accumulating till the climax, then there is a turning back to the earlier incidents. "Why the back of the toad is full of warts" is a formula tale. It can be summarised in this manner: One noon, a bat was eating seeds in a tree. A frog suddenly croaked and frightened it. The bat flew away and frightened a squirrel who was nibbling at the berry of a palm. The squirrel ran away and a berry dropped on a barking deer. The frightened barking deer ran away and knocked off a bamboo. The bamboo hit a crab and broke its leg. In severe pain the crab moved away and bit off the tail of a snake. In pain the snake rushed up to the nest of a tailor bird and ate up its eggs. The weeping tailor bird approached the public to give it justice. So all came and sat in an assembly. The snake was hauled up, but it said, "I am blameless. It is because the crab bit off my tail that I ate up the tailor bird's eggs." So the crab was brought up. In this way the incidents are gone over backwards and ultimately the crime is placed on the shoulder of the frog. The assembly poured hot ashes on the back of the frog as a punishment, and since then its back is full of warts. The tale has Mikir and Kuki parallels.

Miris have other kinds of tales too, for instance, tales illustrative of a belief in fate and wisdom. One day God's wife said to him, "Why don't you bestow wealth on that unfortunate person?" God said, "An unfortunate person can never acquire wealth." To prove the point he poured gold coins into the boat of the man.

6. J. D. Anderson, *Collection of Kachari Folk-tales and Rhymes*, 1895, pp. 27–31.

The latter thought there must have fallen a larger amount of gold coins in his yard. So he left his boat and ran home as fast as he could. There was no gold in his yard, nor did he find the coins in his boat. This is about fate, and who does not lean on fate sometimes? In a Central India tale[7] a trader overhears that God Shankar will shower gold in the yard of a poor Brahman. So he exchanges his house with the cottage of the Brahman. The Brahman gets the gold while the greedy trader not only does not find any gold but loses his house as well. In a Khasi tale[8] a poor man does not get the promised money because while going to find it he shuts his eyes on the road and misses it.

Here is a tale on a more realistic plane, which illustrates the truth that one should not plant anything on the boundary of one's field. Ngate and Narah had a common boundary where Ngate planted a pumpkin seedling. The plant spread into Narah's field and bore fruits. Narah's wife took away the fruits and this led to a feud between the neighbours. One day Narah invited Ngate to a drink. Ngate drank too much and while he remained intoxicated, his host carried off his cattle. When he came to Ngate he realised that it was the pumpkin plant raised on the boundary which led to this feud and to this trickery.

Miri folktales have not been recorded to any considerable extent, only a few having seen print. If they are recorded we will find in them many features in common with tales recorded in other parts of Assam, thus showing evidences of give and take among the various cultural groups of the state. I have already pointed to certain similarities with Assamese and Kachari folktales. To give another instance, the Miri tale of "Lightning and Thunder" is substantially the same as the Kachari "Raona and Raoni."[9] In both a brother develops an unusual passion for his sister, the latter being unwilling to marry him escapes up into the sky. The fair-skinned sister fleeing from her brother is the lightning while the brother who pursues crying and shouting is the thunder. The tale of a Lightning Girl is found also in Western India.

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7. Srichandra Jain, *Bindhyabhumi Ki Lokakathaen*, 1955, pp. 10-11.
8. Ivan M. Simon, *Khasi and Jaintia Tales and Beliefs*, 1966, pp. 96–99.
9. Bhabendra Narzi, *Boro-Kacharir Janasahitya*, 1957, pp. 79-80.

SECTION VIII

ASTRONOMY

बृहत्संहिताया विमर्शः

श्री बलदेव उपाध्यायः*

मिहिरभक्तोऽवन्तिमिहिरो वराहमिहिरो महीयते कर्ता बृहत्संहिताया ज्योतिर्विद्धितायाः। जनको[1] मिहिर (=आदित्य-) दासो गुरुश्चापि। समधिगतमिहिरवरप्रसादेन वराहमिहिरेण वन्दितो मिहिरो ग्रन्थादौ हार्द्या। यद्यपीदमीयो गुरुर्भिन्नो जनकादिति ज्ञायते पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकाया मङ्गलश्लोकेन[2] तथापि तत्र 'येनास्मिन् नः कृतो बोधः' इत्येकवचनान्तताऽलं द्वयोरैक्यप्रतिपादनाय। वाराहीसंहितेत्यभिधानान्तरं बृहत्संहितायाः।

द्वादशोत्तरचतुश्शतसंख्याके शाके समजनि जनिरस्य लब्धवर्णस्येत्यनुमानम्। यद्यपि न कृता संख्यावता तेन स्वकीयसमयचर्चा विशदा तथापि पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकाख्ये करणग्रन्थे निजे समाश्रुतो गणितारम्भाब्दः सप्तविंशत्युत्तरचतुश्शते (४२७) शाके। एवं खलु प्रसिद्ध्यत्येतदीया जनिस्ततः पूर्वम्। तेन बृहज्जातक-बृहद्यात्रा-बृहद्विवाहपटलयात्रेति ग्रन्थत्रयरचना बृहत्संहितातः प्राक् कृतेति स्वयमेवोक्तं बृहत्संहितायाम्।[3] बृहत्संहिता नूनं प्रौढरचनेति संभवे पञ्चदशवर्षदेशीयो न प्रभवेत् कर्तुं स ताम् इत्यतोऽपि प्राक् पश्चाब्दा निर्धारयितुं शक्यन्ते।

विषयविवेचनम्—नभोगतपिण्डानि प्रभावयन्ति मानवभाग्यमिति शक्यते वक्तुं तद्भाग्यम्। भारते वर्षे सुपुरातनोऽयं विश्वासः। केचन विश्वासमिमं 'बेबिलोन' इत्याख्यदेशात् संप्राप्तं मन्वते। ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु सूत्रग्रन्थेषु च नक्षत्रविचारो लभ्यते। पुरोहितवद् भूपः फलितज्योतिर्विदं समाश्रयेदिति धर्मसूत्रेषु विधिः। मागधानां पुरोहितानुचरवर्गाणां फलितज्योतिर्विदां च गणना कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रे नानवद्या। शुभाशुभलक्षणैर्भाविकथनाय, सैन्योत्साहाय, रिपुत्रासाय चापेक्ष्यते फलितज्योतिर्विद् भूपैः। तदुक्तं बृहत्संहितायाम्—

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* अनुसंधान-संस्थान-संचालकेन, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालये, वाराणस्याम्

१. तदुक्तमुपसंहाराध्याये बृहज्जातकस्य तेनैव—
आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः ॥९॥

२. दिनकरवसिष्ठपूर्वान् विविधमुनीन् भावतः प्रणम्यादौ।
जनकं गुरुं च शास्त्रे येनास्मिन् न कृतो बोधः॥

३. १, १०।

अप्रदीपा यथा रात्रिरनादित्यं यथा नभः।
तथाऽसांवत्सरो राजा भ्रमत्यन्ध इवाध्वनि ॥१, ८॥
नासांवत्सरिके देशे वस्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता।
चक्षुर्भूतो हि यत्रैष पापं तत्र न विद्यते ॥१, ११॥

अभूवन् फलितज्योतिषविषयका बहवो ग्रन्थाः प्रागिति नास्ति संशीतिलेशः। पाणिनीयाष्टाध्याय्या महत्त्वेन पूर्ववर्तिव्याकरणग्रन्थलोपवद् वराहमिहिरकृतबृहत्संहिताया महिम्ना प्रायः समे सुपुरातना ज्योतिर्विषयका ग्रन्थास्तिरोहिताः। वराहमिहिरो गर्गासितदेवलवृद्धगर्गनारदपराशरादीन् पूर्ववर्तिनो ग्रन्थकारान् स्मरति स्वकीये ग्रन्थे। एतेषां ग्रन्थकाराणां ग्रन्थखण्डितांशा लभ्यन्ते। तत्र वृद्धगर्गसंहितायां गार्गीसंहितायां वा खण्डितांशा आधिक्यतो दृश्यन्ते। ग्रन्थोऽयं ग्रीसदेशीयानां भारतशासनोल्लेखाय सुप्रसिद्धः। खैस्ताब्दात् पूर्वं प्रथमशताब्द्यामुपलभ्यते स्म ग्रन्थरत्नमिदमित्यत्र नास्ति किमपि गमकम्। म्लेच्छयवनेषु फलितज्योतिषशास्त्रं सम्यक् स्थितमिति ते पूज्यन्त ऋषिवत् पुनः किं वक्तव्यं दैवविद्-द्विजस्यार्हणाविषये इति भावार्थकः कथनमस्मिन् ग्रन्थे विद्यते। वराहमिहिरेणापीदृशमेवोक्तं[1] तच्चास्माद् ग्रन्थाद् गृहीतमिति फलितज्योतिषाध्ययनार्थं तद्विदेशगमनकल्पना भ्रान्त्यनिर्लिप्ता, तद्ग्रन्थवर्णितविषयाणां ग्रन्थानां तद्ग्रन्थरचनतः प्रागेव विनिर्मितत्वात्। पूर्वाचार्यं ग्रन्थालोडनपूर्वकं कृतेयं कृतिः समासत इति प्रतिजानीते स बृहत्संहितायाम्—

आब्रह्मादिविनिःसृतमालोक्य ग्रन्थविस्तरं क्रमशः।
क्रियमाणकमेवैतत् समासतोऽतो ममोत्साहः ॥१ अ० ५ श्लो०
भूयो वराहमिहिरस्य न युक्तमेतत्
कर्तुं समासकृदसाविति तस्य दोषः।
तज्ज्ञैर्न वाच्यमिदमुक्तफलानुगीति
यद्बर्हिचित्रकमिति प्रथितं वराङ्गम् ॥४६, २॥

आर्यभटेन गोलपादे भूभ्रमणसिद्धान्तः प्रत्यपादि सर्वतः प्राक् "अनुलोमगतिनौंस्थः" इति। ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते[2] ब्रह्मगुप्तेन प्रत्यादेशि सः "प्राणेनैति कलां भूर्यदि" इति। एवमेव वराहमिहिरेण चन्द्रग्रहणादिविषये प्रदर्शिता स्वोपज्ञता। 'भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे'[3] इति प्रतिपादयता तेन चन्द्रग्रहणकारणं भूच्छायेति प्रदर्शितम्। संपूर्णः श्लोकश्चेत्थम्—

भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे भास्करमर्कग्रहे प्रविशतीन्दुः।
प्रग्रहणमतः पश्चान्नेन्दोर्भानोश्च पूर्वार्द्धात् ॥

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१. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्।
ऋषिवत् तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः ॥२, १४॥
२. ११ अध्याये
३. ५, ८

धीमत्तल्लजो वराहमिहिरः स्वसिद्धान्तस्थापनात् प्राक् प्रचलितपूर्वं 'राहुकृत-मर्कचन्द्रयोर्ग्रहणम्' इति सिद्धान्तं निराकृत्य तस्मिन् काले स्वपाण्डित्यं प्रदर्शितवान् सडिण्डिमघोषम् । तत्कृतं खण्डनमवश्यमध्येयम्—

यदि मूर्तो भविचारी शिरोऽथवा भवति मण्डली राहुः ।
भगणार्द्धेनान्तरितौ गृह्णाति कथं नियताचारः ॥५ अ० ४ श्लो०॥

अनियताचारः खलु चेदुपलब्धिः संख्यया कथं तस्य ।
पुच्छाननाभिधानोऽन्तरेण कस्मान्न गृह्णाति ॥५, ५॥

अथ तु भुजगेन्द्ररूपः पुच्छेन मुखेन वा स गृह्णाति ।
मुखपुच्छान्तरसंस्थं स्थगयति कस्मान्न भगणार्द्धम् ॥५, ६॥

राहुद्वयं यदि स्याद् ग्रस्तेऽस्तमितेऽथवोदिते चन्द्रे ।
तत्समगतिनान्येन ग्रस्तः सूर्योऽपि दृश्येत ॥५, ७॥

रात्रौ भूच्छायाराहित्येन चन्द्रग्रहणाभाव इत्याशङ्कापि निराकृता तेनेत्थम्— "यथा वृक्षस्य दीर्घचया स्वच्छाया खल्वेकपार्श्वे भवति तद्वद् निशि निशि दिनेशस्य भूमे-रावरणवशाज्ज्ञेया तच्छायेति । प्रतिमासं चन्द्रग्रहणं कुतो नेति शङ्कापि समाहिता[1] एवं सत्यपि वराहमिहिरेण 'चन्द्रग्रहणकारणं भूच्छाया' इति ज्ञानं पूर्वाचार्येभ्य उपगतमि त्यूरीकृतम्—

एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यैः ।
राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः ॥५, १३॥

वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिषशास्त्रं त्रिधा विभजते । १. सिद्धान्तज्योतिषं गणितीया-धारश्च । तन्त्रेति नामान्तरम् । २. होरा जन्मपत्रादिकं संबध्नाति । भट्टोत्पलाचार्येण 'होरायाम् = जातके' इति प्रतिपादितं बृहत्संहितायाः[2] टीकायाम् । इदमभिधानं सुस्पष्टं ग्रीकभाषीयम्; ३. संहिता भौतिकफलितज्योतिषं संबध्नाति । यत्र ग्रन्थे कात्स्न्येन ज्योतिषशास्त्रवर्णनं सा संहिता ।[3] होरा-गणिति-संहितेति समुदितं त्रिस्कन्धज्योतिष-शास्त्रम् ।

बृहत् संहितायाः साहित्यिकं सौन्दर्यम्

इयं बृहत्संहिता वराहमिहिरप्रणीतग्रन्थेषु मूर्द्धन्यमणिरिव शोभते । तेषु समेष्वियं महिष्ठा । वाराहीसंहितेत्यभिधानान्तरमस्याः । इह ग्रन्थे महानुभावोऽयं ग्रामं गच्छंस्तृणं

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१. ५।१०
२. १, ६
३. १, ९

स्पृशतीति न्यायेन बहुविधं भूगोलछन्दःकाव्यादीनां कोशं संनिवेशितवान् फलितज्योतिशास्त्रवर्णनपरोऽपि। सांवत्सरेण विदुषा तेन छन्दसि भाषायां च पूर्णतः प्रदर्शितं वैदुष्यम्। ग्रन्थस्यास्यानुवाद आरब्यभाषामयोऽलबरूनीमहाशयेन संपादितोऽभिव्यनक्ति ग्रन्थमहिमानं सहस्राब्दीतः पूर्वमितः। तद्रचनायां यत्र क्वापि साध्यो हि कवित्वयोग्यतासंस्पर्शो विद्वन्मनोहारी। प्रस्तूयते किमपि निदर्शनम्। तत्र विभाव्यतां सौष्ठवं सुधीभिः।

अगस्त्यस्य मुनेः प्राधान्यद्वारेण समुद्रशोभामुपवर्णयितुमाह——

समुद्रोऽन्तः शैलैर्मकरनखरोत्खातशिखरैः
कृतस्तोयोच्छित्त्या सपदि सुतरां येन रुचिरः।
पतन्मुक्तामिश्रैः प्रवरमणिरत्नाम्बुनिवहैः
सुरान् प्रत्यादेष्टुं मितमुकुटरत्नानिव पुरा ॥१२, १॥

भगवतागस्त्यमुनिना पूर्वं जलापहरणेन तत्क्षणमेव सागरो रम्यो विहितः। जलाभावात् तत्रत्या पर्वता रत्नादिसमलंकृत मूर्धानो देवानधरीचक्रुरिवेत्याकूतम्।

शरद्वर्णनचमत्कृतिरतुला। नदीनां प्रत्यहं जलाल्पत्वात् पुलिनानि भवन्ति व्यक्तानि। तानि च हंसैः सेव्यन्ते। पार्श्वद्वयाधिष्ठित चक्रवाका (चक्रवाका लोहितवर्णाः पक्षिविशेषाः) सस्वनहंसपंक्तिः शरत् ताम्बूलरक्तोत्कषिताग्रदन्ती योषेव शोभत इत्युत्प्रेक्षते ग्रन्थकारः——

पार्श्वद्वयाधिष्ठितचक्रवाका-
मापुष्णती सस्वन हंसपंक्तिम्।
ताम्बूलरक्तोत्कषिताग्रदन्ती
विभाति योषेव शरत् सहासा ॥१२,८॥

अन्यच्च——

इन्दीवरासन्नसितोत्पलान्विता शरद् भ्रमत्षट्पदपंक्तिभूषिता।
सभ्रूलताक्षेपकटाक्षवीक्षणा विदग्धयोषेव विभाति सस्मरा ॥१२,९॥
इन्दोः पयोदविगमोपहितां विभूतिं द्रष्टुं तरङ्गवलया कुमुदं निशासु।
उन्मूलियत्यलिनिलीनदलं सुपक्ष्म वापी विलोचनमिवासिततारकान्तम् ॥१२,१०॥

भूमेः शोभावर्णनम्——

नानाविचित्राम्बुजहंसकोककारण्डवापूर्णतडागहस्ता।
रत्नैः प्रभूतैः कुसुमैः फलैश्च भूयंच्छतीवार्घमगस्त्यनाम्ने ॥१२,११॥

भुजङ्गप्रयातच्छन्दोनिबद्धं मेघवर्णनमिदम्—

तडिद्धेमकक्ष्यैर्बलाकाग्रदन्तैः
स्रवद्वारिदानैश्चलत्प्रान्तहस्तैः ।
विचित्रेन्द्रचापध्वजोच्छ्रायशोभै-
स्तमालालिनीलैर्वृतं चान्दनागैः ॥२४,१७॥

द्रुतविलम्बितच्छन्दोनिबद्धं च तत्—

सशिखिचातकदर्दुरनिःस्वनै-
र्यदि विमिश्रितमन्द्रपटुस्वनाः ।
खमवतत्य दिगन्तविलम्बिनः
सलिलदाः सलिलौघमुचः क्षितौ ॥२४,१९ ॥

पीताम्बरवेष्टितशरीरस्य भगवतो नन्दनन्दनस्य कान्तिं चोरयतां मेघानां वर्णनम्—

सन्ध्यानुरक्ते नभसि स्थितानां-
मिन्दीवरश्यामरुचां घनानाम्
वृन्दानि पीताम्बरवेष्टितस्य
कान्तिं हरेश्चोरयतां यदा वा ॥२४, १८॥

इह पेपीय्यतां याथातथ्येन काव्यमाधुर्यम्—

शालीक्षुमत्यपि धरा धरणीधराभ-
धाराधरोज्झितपयः परिपूर्णवप्रा ।
श्रीमत्सरोरुहततताम्बुतडागकीर्णा
योषेव भात्यभिनवाभरणोज्ज्वलाङ्गी ॥१९, १६॥

क्षत्रं क्षितौ क्षपितभूरिबलारिपक्ष—
मुद्धुष्टनैकजयशब्दविराविताशम् ।
संहृष्टशिष्टजनदुष्टविनष्टवर्गां
गां पालयन्त्यवनिपा नगराकराढ्याम् ॥१९, १७॥

पेपीयते मधु मधौ सह कामनीभि-
र्जेगीयते श्रवणहारि सवेणुवीणम् ।
बोभुज्यतेऽतिथिसुहृत्स्वजनैः सहान्न-
मब्दे सितस्य मदनस्य जयावघोषः ॥१९, १८॥

बृहत्संहिताया भौगोलिकं महत्त्वम्

एवं तावद् ग्रन्थस्यास्य सुविशङ्कटो विषयवस्तुसीमा। फलितज्योतिषमाहात्म्यवर्णनानन्तरं निरूप्यन्ते ग्रन्थकारेण दिवाकरगतिप्रभावाः, चन्द्रगतपरिवर्तनानि ग्रहैः सार्धं च तत्संयोगाः ग्रहणानि च। तदनन्तरं विभिन्ननक्षत्राणां प्रभावो मानवभाग्ये केन रूपेण जायत इति समुपवर्णितम्। चतुर्दशेऽध्याये भारतीयभूगोलस्वरूपं तात्कालिकं प्रसङ्गतः समुपस्थापितमिति महते ज्ञानाय तद्विदाम्।

ज्योतिषशास्त्रप्रतिपादनपरेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे भूगोलकोशरत्नानि पूर्वस्मिन् खण्डे प्रायशः सर्वत्र विकीर्णानि। तत्र स्मृता देशा जना जनपदाश्च बाहुल्येन न श्रूयन्ते। तेषां केचन प्रस्तूयन्ते—

सुह्मजनाः (५, ३७)। अपरान्त्या जनाः (३, ४०; ९, १५), अपरान्तका वा (५, ७०; १४, २०)। सिंहपुरकाः (३, ४२), कुकुराः (५, ७१; १४, ४), कोटिवर्षाः (९, ११), शूलिकाः (९, १५; २१; १०, ७; १४, ८; २३; १६, ३४)। प्रत्यन्ताः (५, ३१।९, १७, २१।१०, ६)=गह्वरवासिनः। चारुदेवयः (९, १८)=चारुदेवी नदी तत्तटनिवासिनः। जाङ्गलाः (९, २९)—जाङ्गलम्=स्वल्पोदकस्थानम्, तत्र ये निवसन्ति ते। पारतः (१४, २१), पारता जनाः (१०, ७।१३, ९।१६, ४।१२, २१), पारतरा जना वा (१०, ५)=पर्षियनजनाः। आवगाणा (११, ६१; १६, ३७)। माण्डव्याः (१४, २; २२, २७)। उज्जिहानाः (१४, २)। असिकाः (११, ५६)। देविका (११, ३५)=एतन्नामिकानदी। नीपाः (१४, २)। गौरग्रीवाः (१४, ३)। पाण्डुगुण्डाः (१४, ३)। पुरिकाः (१४, १०)। तालिकटाः (१४, ११)। सौरिकीर्णाः (१४, ११)। फणिकाराः (१४, १२)। आवर्त्तकाः (१४, १२)। पिशिकाः (१४, १४)। कार्मणेयकाः (१४, १५)। ऋषिका जनाः (१४, १५)। मरुचीपट्टनम् (१४, १५)—तु० मछलीपट्टन इति। चेर्यार्यकाः (१४, १५), तु० (पांड्य) चेरी। बलदेवपट्टनम् (१४, १५)। अरवाः (१४, १७)=अरबदेशीयाः नारीमुखाः (१४, १७)। मार्गराः (१४, १८)। कर्णप्रावेयाः (१४, १८)। चञ्चूकाः (१४, १८)। शान्तिकाः (१४, २०)। वोक्काणाः (१४, २०।१६, ३४)। तारक्षितिः (१४, २१)। हलडाः (१४, २२)। फल्गुलुकाः (१४, २३)। गुलुहाः (१४, २३)। मरुकुच्चाः (१४, २३)। वसातयः (१४, २५।१७, १९)। वाटधानाः (१४, २६; १६, २१)। शरधानाः (१४, २६)। पुष्कलावताः (१४, २६)। कैलावताः (१४, २६)। कण्ठधानाः (१४, २६)। कच्छाराः (१४, २७)। माणहलाः (१४, २७)। कोहलाः (१४, २७)। डामराः (१४, ३०)। कुनटाः (१४, ३०)। गोलाङ्गूलाः (१६, ३)। पारा (१६, १०)। भासापराः (१६, ११)। समन्त्रिषिकाः (१६, ११)—प्रभृतयः। एवमेव नदीपर्वतनामान्यपि संदृब्धानि तत्र। कस्य ग्रहस्य प्रभावेण के के देशा जनपदा वा प्रभाविताः, वस्तूनि वा प्रभावितानि जायन्त इत्यनूनकं चित्रमुपस्थापितम्। ग्रहगतयो युद्धनिर्णायिकाः, स्वामिग्रहस्य कारणेन संवत्सरस्य शुभाशुभं संपद्यते फलम्। इन्द्रध्वजोत्सवस्य कवित्वपूर्णं

वर्णनं द्वाचत्वारिंशदध्याये विलोकनीयम् । वास्तुविद्या-भूगर्भादिविद्या-प्रासाद-प्रतिमा-गवाश्च—पुरुषलक्षणानि (५२-६७) वर्णितानि । स्त्रीप्रशंसाध्यायः (७३) सुभाषितार्थं संग्रहार्हः । यथा—

रत्नानि विभूषयन्ति योषा भूष्यन्ते वनिता न रत्नकान्त्या ।
चेतो वनिता हरन्त्यरत्ना नो रत्नानि विनाङ्गनाङ्गसङ्गम् ॥७३, २॥

ब्राह्मणाः पादतो मेध्या गावो मेध्याश्च पृष्ठतः ।
अजाश्वा मुखतो मेध्याः स्त्रियो मेध्यास्तु सर्वतः ॥७३, ८॥

आब्रह्मकीटान्तमिदं निबद्ध
पुंस्त्रीप्रयोगेण जगत् समस्तम् ।
व्रीडात्र का यत्र चतुर्मुखत्व-
मीशोऽपि लोभाद् गमितो युवत्याः ॥७३, २०॥

यत्राकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति ॥६९, २३॥

एतदनन्तरमेकस्मिन् प्रकरणेऽन्तःपुरजीवनवर्णना । तत्र खलु कामसूत्रार्थशास्त्र सादृश्य दृग्गोचरायते । ततः परं शय्या आस्तरणानि च कथं भवेयुरिति । रत्नानां वर्णनम् (७९-८२) अध्यायेषु । दीपकदन्तधावनवर्णनोत्तरं शाकुनप्रकरणमेकादशाध्यायेषु । विवाहपटलाद्यनन्तरं शास्त्रानुक्रमणीं विरचय्य समापितो ग्रन्थो ग्रन्थकारेण ।

प्रयुक्तानि च्छन्दांसि

बृहत्संहितायामुपयोजितानिच्छन्दांसि षष्टिसंख्याकानि साहित्यनदीष्णानामप्याश्चार्याय कल्पन्ते । भट्टोत्पलेन टीकाकृता व्याख्यातानि तानि ग्रहगोचराध्याये नयनगोचरीभवन्ति । ग्रन्थस्यास्योत्तरार्द्धे छन्दोनामसूची विलोकनीया । विन्ध्यादिवर्णनप्रसंगे गद्यमपि विद्योतते ग्रन्थकृताम् । एवं तावद् गद्यपद्योभयनिबद्धोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।

बृहत्संहिताया भाषा

इह ग्रन्थे प्रयुक्ता संस्कृतभाषा वैलक्षण्यमावहति । शब्दानामर्थविकासः, अन्याभ्यो भाषाभ्यश्च शब्दादानमपि ग्रन्थस्यास्य वैशिष्ट्यम् । पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकायां यत्र संप्रवेशशब्द-प्रयोगस्तत्र बृहत्संहितायां संप्रयोगशब्दः (द्र० ३९ पृ०) । द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयेश्लोके आर्याशब्दो मातृवाचकः । संस्कृतभाषायामार्येति शब्दो नास्ति मातृवाचकः । महाभारते (३, १२, ८७) प्राकृतभाषायां च स दृश्यते पूज्यस्त्रीवाचको न तु मातृवाचकः (द्र० पिशलकृतस्य ग्रामातिक देर प्राकृत स्प्रारवेन इत्यभिधस्य ग्रन्थस्य १०६, १४३, १४५ कण्डिकाः) । नाटकेषु श्वश्रूवाचकोऽपि । द्वितीयेध्याये (६६ पृ०) अनूकशब्दः प्राग्जन्म-वाचकः । अथर्ववेदे (४, १४, ८, ९, १३, २१) शतपथब्राह्मणे (३, ८, ३, २७) ऐतरेय-ब्राह्मणे (७, १) चानूकशब्दार्थः सास्ना मूत्रवस्तिर्वा "अनूकं मूत्रवस्तिः स्यात् सास्ने येके

वदन्ति च" इति सायणवचनम् । कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रे (१६, ७, २२-२४) कशेरुकेति तदर्थः । सुश्रुते "व्याघ्रर्क्षनकुलानूकैः पैत्तिका नराः स्मृताः" इत्यत्रानूकशब्दः शीलार्थकः । अमरकोशे, अभिधानरत्नमालायाम् (५, ४३), वैजयन्त्याम् (२५०, ५), शाश्वतकोशे (६७३) चानूकशब्दः कुलशीलोभयार्थकः । मेदिनीकोश एवैकलः—'अनूकं तु कुले शीले पुंसि स्याद् गतजन्मनि' इत्यभ्यधात् पुंस्यनूकशब्दं गतजन्मार्थकम् । राघवकृतनानार्थमञ्जर्यामप्ययमर्थोऽवाप्यत इत्यापटेमहाशयोऽनवलोकितमेदिनीकोशः । एवं सत्यपि बृहत्संहितागतानूकशब्दो न पुंसि—

"आश्रयभावावलोकननिर्याणगत्यनूकानि" (२ अ०, ४ श्लोकानन्तरं गद्यम्) ।

एतदनन्तरवर्तिनि गद्ये 'गणयाग'-शब्दो द्रष्टव्यः । तदर्थस्तु गुह्यकपूजनम् इति । निषेकशब्दार्थो गर्भाधानम् । निष्ठाप्रत्ययान्तस्य निपूर्वकस्य √ सिच् धातोरर्थस्तु प्रक्षेपणात्मकः—

जगति प्रसारितमिवालिखितमिव मतौ निषिक्तमिव हृदये ।।२, ५।। २, ५ श्लोकानन्तरं गद्ये 'मृगचक्रम्' 'श्वचक्रम्' इत्यादिशब्दगतचक्रपदार्थश्चेष्टितमिति । वातचक्रम् इत्यत्र चक्रशब्दार्थोलक्षणम् इति । अत्रैव नीराजनशब्दः । तदर्थस्तु-नीरेण जलेन मन्त्रपूतेनाजनम् = क्षेपणं स्पर्शनमिति । पुष्यस्नानार्थे घृतकम्बलशब्दः । नृपमुकुटार्थे पट्टशब्दः —पट्टपरीक्षा.......।

'चारोदयाः प्रशस्ताः' (६, १२) इत्यत्र चारशब्दार्थोऽवस्थितिरिति । ग्रन्थकारेण सन्नन्तप्रयोगः विभक्षयिषु-(१९, १) इति । यङन्त प्रयोगाः पेपीयते, जेगीयते, बोभुज्यत इति । यङ्लुक्प्रयोगश्च-नरिनर्ति (१३, २) इति । तद्धितान्तप्रयोगाणां तु भूयस्त्वम् ।

सत्यपि भाषाप्रयोगनैपुण्ये वराहमिहिरेण पादपूर्त्यर्थमङ्गीकृताः कतिचन शब्दाः । अथ-शब्दः स्वार्थे (४, २४।८, १९।१०, ११), अथ शब्दः पादपूरणे (४, २५।५, ७४। ८, २६) ।

इह होराजामित्रत्रिकोणकेन्द्रादयो ग्रीकभाषायाः शब्दाः सुस्पष्टम् । एतेषां संस्कृतीकरणप्रयत्नो रोचकः । होरा-पणफर-आपोक्लिम-हिबुक-त्रिकोण-जामित्र-मेषूरण-क्रिय-तावुरि-जितुम-लेय-पाथोन-जुक-कौर्प्य-तौक्षिक-आकोकेरो - हृद्रोगेत्थसि-प्रभृतिशब्दाः सन्ति । क्रान्तिवृत्तम् = (राशिचक्रम्) इत्यादयः शब्दा अनुवादमूलकाः । बृहत्संहितायां तु पञ्चषा एव ते शब्दा गृहीताःबृहज्जातके तु प्रायः सर्वे प्रयुक्ताः ।

संक्षेपतो वराहमिहिरज्ञानस्यानन्त्यविषये नास्ति द्वापरत्वम् । तट्टीकाकारो भट्टोत्पलमहाभागोऽप्यसामर्थ्यं व्यक्तीकरोति बृहत्संहितागतविषयवस्तुतत्वव्याख्याने "केवलमक्षराणां व्याख्या क्रियते न चास्माकं तथाविधं प्रावीण्यम्" (७६, ४) इति ।

विवृतिटीकाकारो भट्टोत्पलः

सुप्रसिद्धोऽयं टीकाकारः काश्मीराभिजनः । खण्डखाद्यटीकाकारेण वरुणेन तु सुस्पष्टमेतस्य काश्मीरीयता साधिता । खण्डखाद्यटीकया स्पष्ट्युत्तरपञ्चदशशतशाकीयेन

पञ्चाङ्गकौतुकेन च ज्ञायते यदासीत् भट्टोत्पलस्य टीका लब्धप्रचारा काश्मीरेषु । बृहज्जातकटीकायां ८८८ मिते प्रणीतायामनेन तत्प्रणयनकालः ८८८ मितः शाको दर्शितः—

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्ट ८८८ मिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

बृहत्संहिताटीकाकालोऽपीत्थमेव लिखितस्तेन—

फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितस्य गुरोर्दिने ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

अनेन वराहमिहिरस्य यात्राबृहज्जातकलघुजातकबृहत्संहितेति ग्रन्थेषु टीकिता टीका । बृहत्संहितान्ते स्वकीयटीकागौरवं तेन स्वयं वर्णितम्—

आचार्यप्रवरस्य बोधजलधेः पारं तितीर्षुर्जनो
व्यामुह्यन्नभिधेयरत्ननिचयैः काङ्क्षस्तरीं भ्राम्यति ।
इत्येवंविधमाकलय्य करुणामालम्ब्य भट्टोत्पल-
श्चक्रे तत्कृतिसंहिताविवरणं स्थैर्यं प्लवं कीर्तये ॥

वस्तुतः सपुरातनेकाले संहिताशाखाविविधविषयज्ञानं भारते वर्षे कियदभूत ? तज्ज्ञानसंवर्धनं च क्रमशः केन प्रकारेण जातम् ? इत्याद्यैतिह्यबोधनार्थं बृहत्संहिताया उत्पलटीकाऽनन्योपायः । भट्टोत्पलः प्राचीनग्रन्थशोधकस्तद्वाचनं च सुविस्तृतमिति ज्ञायते तट्टीकया बृहत्संहितायाः । वराहमिहिरलिखिता विषया आधिक्यतः प्राचीनग्रन्थेभ्य गृहीता इति तत्र टीकायां दर्शितं पदे पदे तेन । क्वचित् क्वचिच्च तेन तद्ग्रन्थनामान्यपि समुट्टङ्कितानि । प्रसङ्गतश्च प्रायः सर्वत्र तत्तद्विषयकप्राचीनसंहिताकृतामुद्धृतानि वचनानि । क्वचित्त्वेकस्मिन्नेव विषयेऽष्टाधिकप्राचीनसंहिताकृतं वचनोल्लेखः । सर्वास्ताः संहितास्तदा सुलभा अभूवन्निति सुस्पष्टं विज्ञायते भट्टोत्पलटीकायां तदुद्धरणैः । महामतिना तेन संहिताजातकयोस्तदन्तभेदविषये चानेकपौरुषग्रन्थकारनामानि । तद्वचनानि च सादरं गृहीतानि टीकायाम् ।

भट्टोत्पलकृता मौलिका ग्रन्थाः

भट्टोत्पलेन ब्रह्मगुप्तकृतखण्डखाद्यटीकापि कृतेति ज्ञायते बृहत्संहिताटीकावचनेन—"खण्डखाद्यकरणेऽस्मदीयवचनम्" इत्यनेन । वराहमिहिरपुत्रस्य पृथुयशसः 'षट्पञ्चाशिका' इति जातकग्रन्थेऽपि लिखिता टीका भट्टोत्पलेन । तस्या एका प्रतिः पूनाकालेजसंग्रहे (सं० ३५५, सन् १८८२-८३) विद्यते । यात्राग्रन्थटीकानोपलभ्यते संप्रति । खण्डखाद्यटीका भूर्जपत्रलिखितैतदीया काश्मीरेषूपलब्धा साम्प्रतं डेक्कनकालेजसंग्रहे विद्यते ।

F. 28

अनेन महाभागेन टीकातिरिक्ताः स्वतन्त्रा ग्रन्था अपि लिखिता इति प्रथमाध्याये 'अस्मदीय वचनम्' इत्युक्त्वार्यानिर्देशेन ज्ञायते। गणितस्कन्धमधिकृत्य स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थरचनाऽनुमीयते। खण्डखाद्यटीकागतमपि शक्नोति भवितुमुक्तवचनम्। द्विसप्तत्यार्यामितः प्रश्नज्ञाननामकः प्रश्नग्रन्थ एतदीयः। अलबेरुनीमहाशयमतानुसारेण 'राहुन्नाकरणम्' इति 'करणपातः' चेति करणग्रन्थद्वयमप्येतदीयम्। बृहन्मानसग्रन्थटीकाटीकिताऽनेन। एकेनैव ग्रन्थकारेण रचितस्य करणद्वयस्यासंभवः। उक्तग्रन्थद्वयस्याभिधेयमपि वैचित्र्यमावहतीतीह वेरुनीमहाशयस्य स्यात् कोऽपि भ्रमः। भट्टोत्पलविरचितः 'श्रूधव' इत्यभिधोऽयेको ग्रन्थ इति तन्मतम्। इहापि नाम्नि विद्यते काचित् त्रुटिः। तेनास्य ग्रन्थस्य कालादिमानविषये लिखितम्। श्रूधवेत्यभिधाः सन्त्यन्येऽपि ग्रन्था इति तद्व्याहारः। दत्तेन श्रूधवविषयकेण मनाक् परिचयेन ज्ञायते यद् शकुनसंबद्धौ प्रश्नसंबद्धौ वा भवेतां तौ ग्रन्थाविति। भट्टोत्पलकृतो वास्तुविद्याग्रन्थोऽपीत्यवगम्यते तट्टीकया बृहत्संहितायाः—"तथा चास्मदीयवास्तुविद्यायाम्" (५२, ५७) इति।

भट्टोत्पलीया देशभाषा

बृहत्संहितायाष्टीकायां भट्टोत्पलविरचितायां देशभाषीयाः सन्ति प्रयुक्ताः केचन शब्दाः। तेषामध्ययनेन भट्टोत्पलस्य जनिभूः पार्यते निश्चेतुम्। प्रस्तूयन्ते तथाविधा इह कतिचन शब्दाः—

१. जानुकपिच्छे चतुरङ्गुले च चतुरङ्गुलप्रमाणे कार्ये ये च लोके 'एक्कलके' इति प्रसिद्धे (५७, १७)।
२. मृदङ्गो वादित्रो मण्डलेति प्रसिद्धः (६७, ९५)।
३. क्ष्वेडः सुखशब्दः शोडनिकेति प्रसिद्धा (८५, ३९)।
४. भृङ्गारवद् विरुवति वाशति। भृङ्गारो दांदानी दमनी (८७, ६) इति।

भृङ्गारोभृङ्गारी वा झिल्लिकेति मे मतम्, वराहमिहिरेणापि 'निशि द्वयंगुलशरीरा' इति स्वीकृतत्वात्।

इत्थं बृहत् संहितायाः क्रियमाणोऽयं विमर्शो नानाविषय परिज्ञानोपयोगी विलक्षण विचित्र प्राचीन पदार्थानुशीलन प्रवीणो जिज्ञासूनां विद्वद्धौरेयाणां ध्यानमवश्यमेव स्वस्मिन् दीयमानमपेक्षते इति विरमति विशेषपल्लवनात्।

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SECTION IX
COMMENTS AND CORRECTIONS

VOPADEVA AND HEMĀDRI ON BHAKTI-RASA

By V. RAGHAVAN*

I have read the note of Dr. K. Krishnamurti on *Vopadeva and Hemādri on Bhakti-rasa* in the last issue of the *J. G. Jha Research Institute* XXV, Jan.–Oct. 1969, parts 1–4, pp. 404–9; the actual matter bearing on the subject proper here is just two pages. It has recently become a regular practice of the writer of the above mentioned note to begin his articles with some negative remarks about the modern Alaṁkara trinity–Kane, De and myself. This may be a useful way of enhancing the value of one's own contribution–only when these remarks are based on a proper or full study of the concerned works and there is any substance in such remarks. In the present note he says that in my work on *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,* I make just a passing reference to Hemādri. This is no passing reference but reference enough and relevant to the subject-matter on hand in that work of mine.

On the other hand, Dr. Krishnamurti must have read my book *The Number of Rasas* to see that I have dealt with Bopadeva and Hemādri on Bhakti-rasa etc., adequately in that book where it is quite relevant to deal with these two authors and the subject touched upon by Dr. Krishnamurti in his note. Pp. 133, 142-3, 169, 2nd edition of *The Number of Rasas* may be seen. The importance of Bopadeva's contribution and the same *vis-a-vis* the Caitanyaism of Bengal–all this I have duly mentioned there. My *Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja* may also be seen (pp. 184. 2nd edn. R. K. Math, Madras 4) where again I have highlighted the contribution of Bopadeva and Hemādri and the indebtedness of the Caitanya rhetoricians of Bhakti-rasa to these two authors.

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ERRATA

On pages 17–19 read महाभागा: etc. for महाभाग: etc.

On pages 527–530 read Pāli for Pālī.

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Published By



Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
Motilal Nehru Park
Allahabad-2 (India)